THE SYNTAX OF SOPHOCLES

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THE SYNTAX OF SOPHOCLES

BY

A. C. MOORHOUSE

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To M. M.

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PREFACE

There is a need for more detailed study of the syntax of the major Greek authors of the Classical period than has hitherto been provided; and the lack of this work is the more surprising when notice is taken of the availability of adequate studies of Greek of both earlier and later periods, of Homer on the one hand and of papyri and the *New Testament* on the other. In the language of Sophocles, as in other poetic composers, the range of use is wider than in contemporary prose, since the author feels free to use constructions (especially from Epic) no longer current in everyday speech. At the same time, however, Sophocles can use on a limited scale contemporary colloquialisms, and innovations, and sometimes syntagms of extreme boldness, are not absent. One of these last features may be specially mentioned here as a noteworthy idiosyncrasy, the blending of constructions, in which elements of two alternative constructions are combined in a single unit. The end result is an unusually rich and varied collection of uses. These I have tried to put in their historical context, examining their source and development, and with comparison especially with usage in Aeschylus and Euripides. My interest is essentially syntactic and linguistic, not stylistic; I have avoided stylistic discussion, which would inordinately lengthen the work.

Since it may be of interest to note distinction of use in lyric, such passages, associated with the presence of Doric forms, are marked with an asterisk.

I am happy to express my indebtedness to the Leverhulme Trust, for their award of an Emeritus Fellowship and a generous grant in aid of the work; and also to University College, Swansea for sabbatical leave for the same purpose. My son gave valuable assistance in preparation of the manuscript.

Bath A.C.M.

CHAPTER ONE

NUMBER AND GENDER

A. Number

§ 1. *Singular*

In the singular in nouns, multiple parts of the body can be thus represented in poetical use ('representative' singular, one standing for more of the same kind (Schwyzer 42, Lasso de la Vega 1, 243)). *T.* 517* χερὸς πάταγος 'clash of fists' (descriptive of a fight). *An.* 530* τέγγουσ' εὐῶπα παρειάν (both cheeks must be meant). Cf. E. *Med.* 1070 δότ', ὦ τέκνα, ... δεξιὰν χέρα, and Barrett on πούς at *Hipp.* 1134*.

A use which is found in prose, especially in historical writing, has the singular of an ethnic (e.g. ὁ Μῆδος) used collectively of a people or host. This is not exactly paralleled in Sophocles, but analogous is *An.* 106* τὸν λεύκασπιν 'Αργόθεν ('Απιόθεν, Ahrens) φῶτα βάντα, of the army from the Peloponnese. Also, of a class of men: *An.* 690 ἀνδρὶ δημότῃ, of the citizens. In gnomic statement ἀνήρ in the singular of men, mankind: *An.* 721 φήμ' ἔγωγε πρεσβεύειν πολὺ [φῦναι τὸν ἄνδρα πάντ' ἐπιστήμης πλέων. So γυνή of womankind: *A.* 580 κάρτα τοι φιλοίκτιστον γυνή.

Of a smaller number of individuals, not a whole group: *T.* 257 ξὺν παιδὶ καὶ γυναικί 'with wife and child', said of Eurytus who had several children.

There is special dramatic effect of irony in *OT*, where a crucial point in the plot concerns the number of persons involved in the killing of Laius: if more than one, then Oedipus was not guilty. 122 ff.: *Creon.* λῃστὰς ἔφασκε συντυχόντας οὐ μιᾷ [ῥώμῃ κτανεῖν νιν, ἀλλὰ σὺν πλήθει χερῶν. (The plurality of the attackers is made clear by the polar expression οὐ μιᾷ ... χερῶν: without this the plural λῃστάς would not necessarily indicate more than one.) *Oedipus.* πῶς οὖν ὁ λῃστής ... ἐς τόδ' ἂν τόλμης ἔβη; 'how would the robber have been so bold?' (Oedipus uses the generalising article, ὁ λῃστής 'any robber' (Ch. 8 § 14), but ironically it can also mean 'the particular robber'.) Oedipus continues with the singular in 139 f., which thus becomes a prophesy of his own self-blinding. Further, in 292 ff.: *Chorus.* θανεῖν ἐλέχθη πρός τινων ὁδοιπόρων. *Oedipus.* ἤκουσα κἀγώ · τὸν δ' ἰδόντ' οὐδεὶς ὁρᾷ. After more references in the singular, there is reversion to plural in 308 τοὺς κτανόντας.

In the substantival participle the singular can have general, and so collective, reference. *E.* 697 δύναιτ' ἂν οὐδ' ἂν ἰσχύων φυγεῖν: 'the man with strength' means any such man. In *OT* 293 τὸν δ' ἰδόντα 'him who saw' need not be restricted to one such person, compounding the ambiguity just noticed. In the neuter: *T.* 144 τὸ νεάζον 'youth, those who are young'.

§ 2. *Dual*

The dual as a category was always liable to erosion. The principal and permanent opposition in number was that of one (singular)/ not-one (plural). The dual divided the latter into two/ more-than-two. In its decay it therefore combined with, and was replaced by, the plural and never the singular. The continuance of the dual in Attic was one of its notable archaisms in syntax (Schwyzer, *Synt. Arch.*, 5; Humbert 16 f.; Lasso de la Vega 1, 223). Though now decaying, it still remained in late C. Vth., and Sophocles did not hesitate to use it, especially where it gave a metrically convenient form (Cuny 88-161, on tragic use). It was in general lexically restricted to parts of the vocabulary dealing with 'natural' pairs, but even here there was further conventional limitation. Thus it was used for certain parts of the body, for χείρ and πούς, but not for others such as ὀφθαλμός, ὦμος, βραχίων (Cuny 127 ff.: Chantraine 24 notes equivalent restrictions in Homer). The other area concerned is that of words for 'brother' and 'sister': for the two pairs of brothers (Eteocles and Polynices) and sisters (Antigone and Ismene) there are used the duals of ἀδελφός (*An.* 13, 55), -ή (*OC* 1290), κασίγνητος (*An.* 21, *E.* 977). But the plural was also possible (*OC* 535* ἀδελφεαί, 1056* -άς). But 'parents' (οἱ τεκόντες, γονεῖς) are never dual (Chantraine, loc. cit., Wackernagel 1,83).

From χείρ the nom. and accus. dual χεῖρε is missing in Sophocles, but χεροῖν (gen. and dat.) occurs often. In the dative it has different prosodic value from the plural χερσί(ν), and it is notable that in no instance could χερσί(ν) replace χεροῖν without damage to the metre. So *E.* 1129 νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄντα βαστάζω χεροῖν: ib. 54, 326, 431, 712, 1132 (all final in iambics). From πούς also there is no nom. or accus. dual. Dative ποδοῖν occurs at *E.* 567, where ποσί would have been metrically suitable: so too at *A.* 246*. *OT* 718 has ἄρθρα ποδοῖν (gen.) and ib. 1034 ποδοῖν ἀκμάς, but 1032 ποδῶν ἄρθρα, with no apparent reason for the change.

With the numeral δύο and with ἄμφω dual substantives are regular (without lexical restriction here to natural pairs). *P.* 539 ἄνδρε δύο, *OC* 496 δυοῖν κακοῖν (also *OT* 640), ib. 818 παίδοιν, *An.* 13 ἀδελφοῖν, *A.* 1028 βροτοῖν, 1304 ἀριστέοιν. *OC* 483 ἀμφοῖν χεροῖν. But plural substantives can also be used with δύο, as too in Homer. *A.* 237 δύο δ' ἀργίποδας κρίους. *P.*

117 δύο δωρήματα (but neuter dual forms are more rare). (At *E.* 702 δύο Λίβυες ... ἐπιστάται, Λίβ. ἐπ. is probably predicative. Ib. 370 τοῖς λόγοις ἔνεστιν ἀμφοῖν κέρδος: it is possible to take ἀμφοῖν separately from λόγοις as pronominal, 'for you both'.)

Plural and dual nouns may be coupled together: so with strong probability *An.* 533 τρέφων δύ' ἄτα κἀπαναστάσεις θρόνων (ἄτα L, -ας A). Jebb finds 'scornful vigour' in the use of the dual form ἄτα, but does not explain how he arrives at it: the comparison of ib. 58 μόνα νὼ λελειμμένα does nothing to help. There is more point in Müller's note, that Creon regards the two sisters (whom v. 533 describes) as a pair of like-minded pests: in fact they were not really like-minded, but Creon did not know this. As for the use of the plural form ἐπαναστάσεις, the dual form in this declension was comparatively more rare (Schwyzer 1, 573); and it may have been a further objection to a dual form that the noun is more obviously abstract than ἄτη (which is personified also in *OC* 532* and in Aeschylus). A second possible example is *OC* 532*, where the reading is δύ' ... παῖδες, δύο δ' ἄτα (so L[2]: ἄται codd. al.). (If παῖδες is to be retained, and not changed to παῖδε, alteration is required in the corresponding line 518.)

In *OT* 1459 ff. there is a change from plural to dual which might make a contrast. Oedipus is talking of the future fate of his four children, and first speaks of his two sons, using the plural (παίδων δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀρσένων ... ἄνδρες εἰσίν). Then he refers to his two daughters, and now uses the dual in a series of forms (ταῖν δ' ἀθλίαιν οἰκτραῖν τε παρθένοιν ἐμαῖν, continuing with αἷν (1463, -6), μετειχέτην (-65), τοῖν μοι φίλοιν δακρυρροοῦντοιν (-72, with rare form of the participle), ἐκγόνοιν ἐμοῖν (-74)). Only σφᾶς (-70) breaks the series (σφὼ perhaps avoided *metri causa*). The change may be a random one, but possibly the series of duals stresses that the girls make a pair, equally helpless and dependent on Oedipus, in contrast with the independent males. However, it has to be noted that Oedipus goes on with plurals to refer to his daughters in vv. 1480 ff.

Pronominal forms of the dual, νώ 'we two', σφώ 'you two', τώδε, τούτω and ἐκείνω 'these, those two', have reference to persons mainly as described above, and their use too is not compulsory. So *OC* 857 τῶνδε, but 859 τούτοιν, referring to the same sisters: 1379 τοιώδε of the two brothers, ib. αἵδε of the sisters. *P.* 118 ποίω refers to a 'non-natural' pair which has just been mentioned (117 δύο δωρήματα — wisdom and nobility are intended): on such anaphoric use of the dual see Schwyzer 48, Lasso de la Vega 1, 224. *OC* 342 σφῷν is taken by Kühner-Gerth 1, 71 as referring to two pairs, i.e. both the two brothers and the two sisters: and Hom. *Il.* 8, 185 f. would give support, where the names of two pairs of horses are made the

subject of dual ἀποτίνετον. But it is not difficult to take σφῷν as used of the two sisters only.

§ 3. *Plural in nouns: motive for plurality*

The use of the plural in nouns in Sophocles both shares in features common in Greek literature, and develops some specially tragic features. Cf. Schwyzer 42 ff.; Chantraine 30 ff.; Lasso de la Vega 1, 238-41, 244 ff.; H. L. Jones, *The Poetic Plural of Greek Tragedy* (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, 1910); E. Volp, *De usu numeri pluralis Aeschyleo et Sophocleo* (Marburg, 1888); Bruhn 2 ff.; Stanford 272 f.

The plural is used in a number of forms where singular is possible, but where there is an underlying idea of plurality. The usage is common Greek, and often goes back to Homer. Of place: *T.* 955* ἐκ τόπων 'from this land' (a collection of τόποι): τόπος 11 times singular in Sophocles, and 11 times plural (statistics of Jones, corrected). On the two occasions where a place-name is added, the singular is used for particular reference: *OT* 1134 τὸν Κιθαιρῶνος τόπον, *A.* 437 τὸν αὐτὸν ἐς τόπον Τροίας. *OC* 2 τίνας χώρους ἀφιγμεθ' ...; (but χῶρος more often singular: 15 sing., 5 pl.). πεδία (4 sing., 8 pl.). πάγοι (3 sing., 5 pl.). Of travel: *E.* 68 ὁδοῖς refers to the sum of the action, 'my journeying' (in the course of which many ὁδοί would be traversed), rather than the location: similarly *OC* 553, *An.* 226. Perhaps the abstract action causes also the plural of νόστος: *A.* 900* ὤμοι ἐμῶν νόστων, *E.* 193*. For 'house' the plural forms are generally preferred in tragedy, and the notion of it as a collection of rooms is a possible cause; another is the effect of dignity. Jones quotes these figures for the three tragedians: δόμος (S. 4 sing., 72 pl.: A. 16, 113: E. 49, 524), δῶμα (S. 5, 15: A. 12, 45: E. 60, 149), οἶκος (S. 27, 32: A. 14, 22: E. 74, 192). Generally it is not possible to see any difference of meaning between singular and plural: thus in the same context we find *P.* 60 ἐξ οἴκων, 311 ἐς οἴκους, 383 πρὸς οἴκους, and 58, 488, 548 πρὸς οἶκον, 240 ἐς οἶκον (in the last three cases metre would rule out a simple replacement with the plural). There is a contrast of meaning at *T.* 689 ἔχρισα μὲν κατ' οἶκον ἐν δόμοις κρυφῇ: κατ' οἶκον 'at home' (or, 'in the house' as opposed to 'outside', Jebb), and ἐν δόμοις 'in my apartments' (i.e. the γυναικωνῖτις). κλισίαι *A.* 192*, of a single tent, is common Homeric.

Some tools and instruments have plural because of composite nature. τόξον has 4 sing., 24 pl. uses, and the plural usually means 'bow with arrows' (e.g. *P.* 68, 75, 113): for this elliptic use (= τόξον plus an addition), cf. Schwyzer 51, Kurylowicz 205. But *P.* 652 plural τόξων of arrows only, 710* of bow only (for which τόξον singular 4 times). Contrast ξίφος 'sword'

(by its nature more unified), 7 sing., 3 pl.: plurals at *An*. 820*, with meaning 'activity of sword-fighting'; at *A*. 231*, of Ajax killing numbers of cattle with many sword-thrusts; and ib. 730, referring to many swords. ὄχοι plural, of one chariot: *E*. 727, fr. 672 (not *pl. maiestatis*, as Pearson: cf. Epic ἅρματα). σκῆπτρον, 4 sing., 5 pl.: this word can mean a stick in the hand of a blind man (*OT* 456 σκήπτρῳ προδεικνύς), or of a traveller (ib. 811 σκήπτρῳ τυπείς); but also the sceptre, the symbol of authority, when it assumes the plural because more than the physical object itself is meant (coupled with θρόνους OC 425, 449, 1354; with δόμους Ἀτρειδῶν *E*. 651). But once sing. σκῆπτρον with this last sense, *P*. 140*. θρόνος, 1 sing., 17 pl.: the sole singular use has literal reference, *OT* 161* θρόνον ... θάσσει (and the same literal sense, of a single throne, occurs twice in the plural, *E*. 267, fr. 144); elsewhere the plural is used with the sense of official dominion, as *An*. 173 κράτη δὴ πάντα καὶ θρόνους ἔχω.

Among names for parts of the body, πρόσωπον 'face' has 6 sing., 3 pl. (all of a single face). γένειον 'beard', 2 sing., 1 pl. Words for 'hair' favour the singular markedly. θρίξ, 5 sing., 1 pl. (*OC* 1625, where a number of persons are concerned). κομή, 5 sing., 2 pl. (of which *A*. 1209* refers to one person). στέρνον 'breast', which can extend to 'seat of emotions, heart', 2 sing., 8 pl.: in the purely physical sense always plural (6 times, of which 5 relate to one person). νῶτον, 2 sing., 6 pl. (4 of one subject). Pl. θυμοί 'fits of passion' appears ruled out for Sophocles (and for tragedy generally), though read by some at *A*. 718* and *OT* 893*: cf. Jebb on the former, Müller on *An*. 493. Pl. φρένες once in the physical sense 'midriff', *T*. 931: in extended senses, 'heart, mind' etc., both numbers are used, giving 30 sing., 36 pl. (of which 29 of one person). The influence of metre may be tested for this word (for which metrical influences are found in Epic use: Lasso de la Vega 1, 253). The plural is better established than the singular in Homer; later, the singular remained largely confined to serious poetry. In the genitive, singular φρενός is used in 7 passages of iambics (fragments omitted), in all of which (except perhaps *An*. 993, with the sense 'purpose') the plural could equally be used on metrical as well as semantic grounds (*A*. 482, *An*. 993, 1015, *T*. 538, 575, *OT*. 528, *E*. 809). On the other hand, the gen. pl. φρενῶν could be replaced by the sing. in 5 passages (*An*. 492, 1060, *OT* 524, 727, *E*. 992), but is required in 3 (*An*. 754, 1090, *P*. 1325): this is to omit passages with reference to plural persons (*E*. 1326, *P*. 865), and with the partitive phrase ποῦ or ποῖ φρενῶν; (*E*. 390, *OC* 310), where the plural form is semantically preferable. In this word, then, there is a marked measure of indifference in the choice of the alternative forms on metrical grounds as well as semantic.

'Bed, marriage'. The plural is found for 'bed' from Homer onwards, as a composite article. λέχος, 10 sing., 5 pl.: in the literal sense 3 sing., 3 pl. (all with singular reference); as 'wedlock', 7 sing., 2 pl. (both singular reference). λέκτρον, 3 sing., 4 pl.: of 'wedlock', 1 sing., 3 pl. (all singular reference). For γάμος the plural is more marked: 6 sing., 18 pl. (cf. *A*. 16, 10: *E*. 43, 149): of the plural examples, all save one (*OT* 1492) have singular reference. Jones suggests that the notion of repeated intercourse encouraged the plural use here: but note the use of plural generally for festivals and festivities.

In the class of words for liquids the plural shows abundance. *OC* 1598 ῥυτῶν ὑδάτων 'flowing water'. *E*. 895 νεορρύτους πηγὰς γάλακτος. *An*. 121* αἱμάτων 'streams of blood' (only here plural in Sophocles, more freely in the other tragedians). *A*. 702* Ἰκαρίων πελαγέων 'the Icarian sea'.

Abstracts especially show by the plural the variety of occurrence behind their unity (Lasso de la Vega 1, 249 ff.). ὀργαί *A*. 640*, of the variety of dispositions or moods in a man's character: cf. *An*. 356*, 1200. ἔρωτες *A*. 1205*, *An*. 617*, of the individual experiences of ἔρως. Similarly φόβοι *OT* 585, 917. So perhaps *OC* 552 τὰς ὀμμάτων διαφθοράς: but at *OT* 573 τὰς ἐμὰς ... Λαΐου διαφθοράς 'my killing of Laius', the plural must be *pl. maiestatis*. *T*. 911 τὰς ἄπαιδας οὐσίας 'childless state' would come under this head, if οὐσίας is genuine (supported by Radermacher, Kamerbeek).

§ 4. *Other motives for plurality*

In other forms, and especially in reference to persons, there are quite different motives for the plural. Each context requires individual assessment. The influence of metrical convenience must again be borne in mind, difficult though it is to assess especially when such a variety of semantic explanations is available.

(*a*) *Pl. maiestatis*, *pl. poeticus*, giving an impressive effect, with language removed from ordinary speech. This is recognized by Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1407 b 32 (used to confer ὄγκος) and 'Longinus' περὶ ὕψους 23, 3. The latter quotes *OT* 1403 ὦ γάμοι γάμοι ... κἀπεδείξατε [πατέρας, ἀδελφούς, παῖδας, αἷμ' ἐμφύλιον, [νύμφας γυναῖκας μητέρας τε, where the reference is first to Oedipus, then to Iocasta alone: 'you have produced one who is alike father, brother, child in incestuous kinship, and a bride who is child-bearing wife and mother'; and says that the use of the plural συνεπλήθυσε καὶ τὰς ἀτυχίας, i.e. magnifies the misfortune. Cf. *OC* 962 ὅστις φόνους μοι καὶ γάμους καὶ συμφορὰς [τοῦ σοῦ διῆκας στόματος. For 'death' so used, cf.

further ib. 990 φόνους πατρῴους: θάνατοι *E.* 206*, *T.* 1276, *OT* 497*. *P.* 36 φλαυρουργοῦ τινος τεχνήματ' ἀνδρός, of a single cup: the adjective φλαυρ. contradicts the dignifying effect of τεχν., making it ironic. *An.* 10 τοὺς φίλους, of Polynices (cf. Bruhn 3 for other like cases). *OT* 107 τοὺς αὐτοέντας, with dramatic irony: intended with singular reference by the oracle, but understood as plural by Oedipus.

(*b*) The plural generalizes, avoids being too specific, and so stresses the universality of the reference (cf. Wackernagel 1, 94 f.; Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 412, 1618, 1624; Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 49). *An.* 571 κακὰς ἐγὼ γυναῖκας υἱέσι στυγῶ 'I abhor an evil wife for my son': Creon is thinking only of his son Haemon, his other son is dead (v. 1303). Ib. 67 τοῖς ἐν τέλει βεβῶσι πείσομαι: Ismene has in mind only the single ruler, Creon; the plural suggests that she would do the same for whoever is in authority (if it is not *pl. maiest.*, out of respect). Ib. 565 εἵλου σὺν κακοῖς (i.e. Antigone, also masculine for generality) πράσσειν κακά. *E.* 838 ἕρκεσι χρυφθέντα γυναικῶν, of Eriphyle. Ib. 594 ἐχθροῖς, *T.* 1237 τοῖσιν ἐχθίστοισι, *OT* 366 τοῖς φιλτάτοις.

(*c*) Generality may also be used to express reserve: the speaker again avoids being specific, but with a different motive. *An.* 1263* ὦ κτανόντας τε καὶ θανόντας βλέποντες ἐμφυλίους 'O you who see killer and killed, who are of one kin' (κταν. of Creon, θαν. of Haemon). With the relative pronoun: *OT* 1184 ὅστις πέφασμαι φύς τ' ἀφ' ὧν οὐ χρῆν, ξὺν οἷς τ' | οὐ χρῆν ὁμιλῶν (i.e. his mother; note the masculine), οὕς τέ μ' οὐκ ἔδει κτανών (i.e. his father). Ib. 1176 τοὺς τεκόντας = 'father'. H. L. Jones suggests that in some nouns of relationship the plural reflects legal or oracular phraseology: so for *OT.* 1176; οἱ γονεῖς *E.* 146*, 241*, *OT* 436; οἱ φυτεύσαντες *OT* 1007, 1012, *OC* 1377 (more convincing here); παῖδες *OC* 970; τέκνα ib. 946.

(*d*) In some instances the plural may be 'sympathetic', formally influenced by another plural in the same context. So in *E.* 838* quoted above γυναικῶν may be at least partly occasioned by ἕρκεσι (so Kaibel). In *OT* 1184 f. the three relatives ἀφ'ὧν (a literal plural, referring to Oedipus' parents), ξὺν οἷς (of his mother), οὕς (of his father) make a tricolon. We could explain in this way the difficult *E.* 1233* ἰὼ γοναί, γοναὶ σωμάτων ἐμοὶ φιλτάτων (of Orestes). Jebb (and the Scholiast) takes σωμ. as referring to Agamemnon, 'offspring of the one dearest to me'; but Kaibel, 'One most dear to me of those born' (= σώματα γεγεννημένα, with a genitive of definition). On the latter view, γοναί is plural after the use in *An.* 950*, γονὰς χρυσορύτους 'the seed of Zeus that fell in golden shower', with the plural as in description of liquids; then σωμάτων is drawn into the plural with it.

§ 5. *Plural in pronouns, etc.*

In the personal pronouns both first person (the most frequent) and third person (properly demonstrative) plural forms are used of a single person. So ἡμεῖς: of men, *P.* 995 (Philoctetes), *An.* 734 (Creon, coupled with ἐμέ: πόλις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἁμὲ χρὴ τάσσειν ἐρεῖ;), *A.* 775 (Ajax), 1261 (Agamemnon), *E.* 1454 (Aegisthus), *OT* 435 (Teiresias), 1458 (Oedipus). Of women, *E.* 598 (Electra), *T.* 541 (Deianeira). In the third person: *An.* 927 οἵδε (Creon), 1312 τῶνδε κἀκείνων (of Haemon and Megareus; or these can be adjectival with μόρων). Similar use of the second person pronoun ὑμεῖς is possible at *P.* 743 (Philoctetes is addressing Neoptolemus alone in the rest of this context, as he makes clear with his use of τέκνον (repeated) and παῖ: but he may include the Chorus in παρ' ὑμῖν). For a rather more convincing case (with corresponding plural verb), note *OT* 989 ποίας δὲ καὶ γυναικὸς ἐκφοβεῖσθ' ὕπερ; and 991 ὑμῖν. The messenger may be thought to address both Oedipus and Iocasta; but the latter has made it plain that she sees no reason for fear (977 ff., dismissing such thoughts as Oedipus has as idle dreams), so that he would be an exceptionally obtuse messenger to suppose that she shares Oedipus' fears. It thus appears that we should admit the second person use (*pl. reverentiae*) for Sophocles. Lasso de la Vega 1, 264 would, on the other hand, find its earliest appearance in Isocrates.

What significance lies behind this usage? In the first place, we sometimes find assumption of greater dignity in the use of the plural. But examination of the use of ἡμεῖς for ἐγώ (together with ἡμέτερος for ἐμός and first plural verb forms for singular) shows that they are not confined to the more important or dignified characters. So the messenger at *A.* 738 βραδεῖαν ἡμᾶς ἄρ' ὁ τήνδε τὴν ὁδὸν [πέμπων ἔπεμψεν 'too late was this mission on which I was sent'. Also *An.* 1253-5 εἰσόμεσθα ... δόμους παραστείχοντες 'I shall enter the house and find out', and *T.* 390 ἡμεῖς δὲ προσμένωμεν 'am I to wait?' Also perhaps the *paedagogus* at *E.* 772 (but ἡμεῖς here could include others). Further, a woman may speak of herself not only in the plural, but in the masculine (e.g. *E.* 399; other examples below). Here the following explanation is appropriate. In the opposition singular: plural, as also in that of feminine: masculine, it is the former member which is the 'marked' term, carrying the more specific meaning (one: not-one, female: not-female). Since the 'unmarked' term may also include the neutral aspect, the plural (being unmarked) can indicate indifference, non-commitment, in respect of number, as the masculine (also unmarked) in respect of sex.

The plural can therefore be used not only where an individual enhances his own importance (*pl. maiestatis*), but also where he does not stress his

uniqueness, but avoids the vaunting possible in a bold use of 'I' (*pl. modestiae*). (There is, of course, a familiar use of the plural in *pl. sociativus*, in which the speaker links others with himself. It will be seen that I would not derive *pl. modestiae* from *pl. sociativus*: this may be done by supposing that modesty obliged the speaker to join others to himself in deprecating his own part, and then that he goes on to use the plural even when there is no question of others taking part (Schwyzer 243). The course that I have followed gives the advantage of explaining *simultaneously* the uses of plural for singular, and of masculine for feminine, for women.) A few examples may be listed here. (*a*) *Pl. maiest. A.* 775, 1261. *An.* 634, 680. *OT* 435. *P.* 92. *OC* 1037. (*b*) *Pl. modest. A.* 677. *T.* 632 (Volp, op. cit. 20, notes that ποθούμεθα is used by Deianeira, with reference to her relations with Heracles, in preference to ποθοῦμαι, which would be less delicate). *OT* 1419. Also the uses by messengers etc. listed above. Finally, we may suspect that the ability to interchange first singular and plural sometimes led to use of the facility as a feature of morphology (as an optional variant), without semantic justification. In this connection note examples of singular and plural combined: *A.* 1401 ... ἡμᾶς, εἶμι ...; *An.* 734 ἡμῖν ... ἐμέ; ib. 1194 f., with plural and singular verbs; *P.* 404 f. ἡμᾶς ... μοι.

In the case of women (where the gender of an accompanying participial attribute, if any, is masculine), examples of plural pronouns (and of verbs and possessive adjectives) are most frequent in speeches of Electra in *E.* and of Deianeira in *T.* The figures of total occurrences are as follows. (In these statistics, a second or further plural form in the same clause, either principal or subordinate, is not counted as a fresh example. Some cases are left as dubious, where it is uncertain whether the reference is singular or plural.) In *A.*: Tecmessa, 54 sg., 1 pl. (v. 233), with two dubious (vv. 791, 898). In *An.*: Antigone, 92 sg., 1 pl. (v. 926); Ismene, 20 sg., 0 pl.; Eurydice, 7 sg., 0 pl. In *T.*: Deianeira, 113 sg., 6 pl. (vv. 320, 343, 490-2, 584, 596); Nurse, 10 sg., 0 pl. In *OT*: Iocasta, 28 sg., 0 pl. In *E.*: Electra, 260 sg., 6 pl. (vv. 116, 357, 399, 597, 870, 1020), with one dubious (v. 598); Chrysothemis, 78 sg., 1 pl. (v. 898); Clytaemnestra, 58 sg., 1 pl. dubious (v. 787). In *OC*: Antigone, 49 sg., 1 pl. (v. 241*: probable, in view of v. 243* ἅντομαι); Ismene, 23 sg., 0 pl. Totals: 792 sg., 16 pl. for singular, with 4 dubious. Apart from the general rarity of the construction, it will be noted that 12 of the 16 instances of plural occur in two plays, *T.* and *E.* In the majority of cases what is involved is no more than the plural pronoun ἡμεῖς. The most striking are three instances of a plural verb coupled with a masculine plural participle, and in these especially there seems to be a common note of boldness and resolution. *An.* 926 εἰ μὲν οὖν

τάδ' ἐστιν ἐν θεοῖς καλά, | παθόντες ἂν ξυγγνοῖμεν ἡμαρτηκότες ...: Antigone, who has heard the pronouncement of her punishment by Creon, heroically faces her situation. *T.* 490 ff. ἀλλ' ὧδε καὶ φρονοῦμεν ὥστε ταῦτα δρᾶν, | κοὔτοι νόσον γ' ἐπακτὸν ἐξαρούμεθα, | θεοῖσι δυσμαχοῦντες: Deianeira resolves to endure her affliction, and not to give way to the temptation to punish Iole. *E.* 399 πεσούμεθ', εἰ χρή, πατρὶ τιμωρούμενοι: Electra resolves to seek vengeance by herself, even if it means disaster for her.

Note the absence of plural for singular in the speeches of Athena in *A.* (17 cases of singular); a goddess is a unique being and in no need of enhancement (nor of self-effacement). The only other appearance of a divinity is that of Heracles as *deus ex machina* in *P.* 1409 ff.: there is 1 pl. (1409 ἡμετέρων) against 10 sg. In Aeschylus (where generally the use of plural for singular is more sparing than in the other dramatists) I have noted no plural for singular used by divinities (*Eu.* 897 ὀρθώσομεν refers to Athena and the Eumenides). Euripides has a few examples: *Ion* 36 and *Or.* 1678 of Apollo; *Ion* 1559 and *IT* 1442 of Athena; *Alc.* 49 of Thanatos, and 70 of Apollo; *HF* 858 and 874 of Lussa. In addition there is *Bacchae*, where Dionysus is a major character: here the reckoning is 79 sg., 11 pl. But of these plurals all but one are spoken in the guise of the Stranger; only ἡμᾶς at v. 1345 is used by the god *in propria persona*.

§ 6. *Reference to the Chorus*

In the language of the Chorus in self-reference, and in reference to them by others, singular and plural are both found and are even combined in the same passages (cf. Volp, op. cit. 36-41, and especially M. Kaimio, *The Chorus of Greek drama within the light of the person and number used* (1970)). It is convenient to consider here too all the forms indicating number (i.e. pronouns, possessive adjectives, and verbs). *A.* 142 (*parodos*) ἡμᾶς, but sg. verb 136, 139, and ἐμοῦ 155. *E.* 495* (*stasimon*) μ' ἔχει (s.v.l.) ... ἡμῖν. Ib. 1230 (*stichomythia*) μοι, after pl. ὁρῶμεν. *OC* 263 ff. (spoken by actor): 263 οἵτινες ... ἐλαύνετε, but 268 σοι, 269 ἐκφοβῇ: but here Oedipus may first address all the Chorus, then the leader directly. *A.* 1185-1222* (*stasimon*): the Chorus refer to themselves six times in the singular and once in the plural. Ib. 349-51* (*kommos*): Ajax speaks to the Chorus of sailors, with pl. φίλοι ναυβάται ... ἴδεσθε: but in the following antistrophe 357-61* he uses sg. γένος ναΐας ἀρωγὸν τέχνας (i.e. the crew generally), ἁλίαν ὃς ἐπέβας ἑλίσσων πλάταν ... σέ τοι σέ τοι μόνον δέδορκα ... ἀλλά με συνδάϊξον 'Folk who serve the sailing art, you who manned the ship and wielded the blade in the sea, you alone I see ... Come, aid me to slay myself.' Here it is possible to take

συνδάιζον as spoken to the leader, but hardly so the preceding singulars, since one man could not manage and row the boats.

While metrical influence cannot be ruled out, it is clear that the singular was used to refer to the Chorus where metre was not a governing factor, and that not only where the leader is taken as their representative. Indeed, the singular is much more frequent than the plural. Kaimio (251) provides useful statistics, from which the following are extracted. The numbers show the *frequency* of each use, representing the number of lines in each style of writing in which on average one use (of sg. or pl.) occurs. So the figure 10 (Soph.) for 1 sg. in (a) means that approximately once in every ten lines of choral lyric the Chorus refer to themselves in the first person singular. The lower the figure, the greater the frequency. In (a) and (b) there is also a figure labelled 'Contact'. This is intended to show instances where members of the Chorus address each other, thus stressing their group identity. It therefore includes 2 sg. and pl. imperatives, questions etc., also 1 pl. forms as in hortative or deliberative subjunctives.

(a) *Chorus refer to themselves in lyric choral parts*

	Aesch.	*Soph.*	*Eur.*
1 sg.	11	10	11
1 pl.	49	96	84
'Contact'	73	102	60

(b) *Chorus-leader refers to Chorus in spoken choral parts*

1 sg.	5	5	5
1 pl.	12	15	21
'Contact'	31	122	15

(c) *An actor refers to the Chorus as a whole*

Sg.	58	189	514
Pl.	24	43	85

(d) *An actor refers to the Chorus in dialogue with one member of the Chorus*

Sg.	4	5	7
Pl.	20	12	21

(e) *An actor refers to the Chorus in amoebaea with the Chorus*

Sg.	8	13	27
Pl.	13	17	15

It will be seen that generally in tragedy, as well as in Sophocles, sg. occurs more often than pl.: the only exception to this for Sophocles is in (c), and here Aesch. and Eur. show a parallel tendency. Kaimio finds a number of reasons for the use of sg., based on the context of meaning: thus in categories (a) and (b) sg. is favoured in describing emotions, sensations

and opinions of the Chorus, where the Chorus refers to itself as the narrator of a story, or reflects on current events. Such use of sg. can be explained on the ground that an emotion, for example, is immediately felt by only one person, so that the instantaneous effect is brought before us. A special feature of Soph. is claimed in respect of 'contact', that internal discussion between members of the Chorus is relatively rare. As would be expected, in (c) an actor normally uses pl. in 3 person reference to the Chorus; but sg. is usual in his address to them (2 person). Kaimio notes that in Soph. the diction of the Chorus is closer to the speech of an individual than in the other dramatists. The collective role of the Chorus is played down, and the Chorus approaches nearer to the role of another actor: this is seen both in the avoidance of plurals, and in the smaller role given to 'contact' within the Chorus.

§ 7. *Plural in adjectives*

Adjectives have neuter pl. form in impersonal predicative use. *A*. 887* σχέτλια γὰρ ἐμέ ... μὴ πελάσαι 'it is hard that I should not come near him'. *OC* 495 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐχ ὁδωτά. *A*. 1126 δίκαια, *P*. 524 αἰσχρά, 1395 ῥᾷστα. With passive part.: *An*. 576 δεδογμέν' ... τήνδε κατθανεῖν. Ib. 570 ἦν ἡρμοσμένα, 447 ᾔδησθα (Cobet, for ᾔδεις τὰ) κηρυχθέντα μὴ πράσσειν τάδε 'did you know that it had been proclaimed ...?'. With verbal adjj. in -τέος: *E*. 340 ἐστὶ ἀκουστέα. *An*. 677 ἀμυντέ' ἐστί. *OC* 1426 οὐχὶ συγχωρητέα. Cf. Schwyzer 606 (γ), who notes the use especially in Herodotus and Thucydides; Kühner-Gerth 1, 66 f.; Kamerbeek on *A*. 887*.

B. *Gender*

§ 8. *Masculine*

As has been shown (in § 5 above), masculine forms may stand by neutralisation also for feminine, and this occurs both in the singular and in the plural.

In the singular, especially in proverbial or general statement. The reference is to any whom the description fits; in some cases it is to male and female persons alike, in others to females only. *E*. 771 οὐδὲ γὰρ κακῶς πάσχοντι μῖσος ὧν τέκῃ προσγίγνεται 'for not even when she is ill-treated does a mother feel hatred for her offspring' (spoken by Clytaemnestra: it is possible, though less likely, that the reference is more general, and includes the father with the mother). Ib. 1026 εἰκὸς γὰρ ἐγχειροῦντα καὶ πράσσειν κακῶς 'it is to be expected that one who makes the attempt should suffer for it' (Chrysothemis, thinking primarily of the danger of action for a

woman). *T.* 151 τότ' ἄν τις εἰσίδοιτο, τὴν αὑτοῦ σκοπῶν | πρᾶξιν, κακοῖσιν οἷς ἐγὼ βαρύνομαι 'then might one see, contemplating her own lot, what weight of ills lies upon me': Deianeira, addressing the female Chorus, says that it needs the experience of a wife and mother to understand her position; she describes such a person, using feminines (148 ff.: τις ἀντὶ παρθένου γυνή ... φοβουμένη), then continues with the masculine in αὑτοῦ. *An.* 463-4 ὅστις ... ὅδε (spoken by Antigone; reference to either male or female). *E.* 1105 ἥδ', εἰ τὸν ἄγχιστόν γε κηρύσσειν χρεών (in answer to a question 'who will report ...?': 'she will, if the nearest of kin should make the announcement'). *A.* 86 γένοιτο μέντἂν πᾶν θεοῦ τεχνωμένου 'when a god contrives' (said to Athena, who is the deity concerned in the particular case). But the feminine also occurs in such situations: *E.* 885 ἐξ ἐμοῦ τε κοὐκ ἄλλης 'on my own authority, and not that of any other person'; also with ἄλλη ib. 100, 1182.

In the plural the masculine is used of and by a single woman in self-reference, of which examples have been quoted (see § 5 above): so *An.* 926 παθόντες ... ἡμαρτηκότες, *E.* 399 τιμωρούμενοι. The masculine plural may also refer to a third person woman. *OT* 1007 τοῖς φυτεύσασιν, of Oedipus' 'mother' (see Kamerbeek ad loc.: Oedipus has learnt that his supposed father Polybus is dead, so that he can hardly here refer to him as well). Ib. 366 τοῖς φιλτάτοις, of Iocasta; *E.* 1420 τῶν κτανόντων, of Clytaemnestra; *OC* 832 τοὺς ἐμούς 'she who is my kin' (i.e. Antigone); ib. 148* σμικροῖς 'one who is weak' (the same); *T.* 1237 τοῖσιν ἐχθίστοισι, of Iole. Also ib. 336 οὕστινας, probably of Iole alone; *E.* 156* οἷς, of two women; *T.* 336 οὕστινας, of one.

The singular form τηλικοῦτος 'of such an age' refers to a single, definite woman at *E.* 614 and *OC* 751, but this is a question for morphology (on the analogy of two-termination nominal compounds, according to Kaibel). So too masculine dual forms of participles (third decl.) serve as feminines (both Homer and Classical): *OC* 1113 ἐμφύντε, *E.* 1003 πράσσοντε. There is apparently a mixture of older and newer forms at *OC* 1676* ἰδόντε καὶ παθούσα, if the reading is right (see Jebb, with Appendix: the reading is retained by Pearson and Dawe).

§ 9. *Feminine*

The feminine singular of some adjectives appears without a noun, in nominal function. So in some examples of cognate accusative (Kühner-Gerth 2, 558): *An.* 1307* ἀνταίαν ἔπαισεν, *OC* 544* δευτέραν ἔπαισας, *E.* 1415 παῖσον ... διπλῆν. With these πληγήν may be supplied from the allied

verb πλήσσω. So too *OT* 810 ἴσην ἔτεισεν 'paid equivalent penalty' (τίσιν). Also in some prepositional phrases: *An.* 994 δι' ὀρθῆς τήνδε ναυκληρεῖς πόλιν 'guide the state aright', *T.* 395 ἐκ ταχείας 'swiftly', ib. 727 ἐξ ἑκουσίας 'intentionally', *E.* 1062* ἐπ' ἴσας 'equally'. Here ὁδοῦ is commonly 'supplied' for *An.* 994, but it is not necessary, while it seems artificial in the other cases: the adjective serves as an abstract itself. See Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 916 μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας, for the use of feminine for abstract: he would so take μακράν (cf. *A.* 1040 μὴ τεῖνε μακράν), opposing the supply of ὁδόν.

τροπαία is quoted (fr. 1103), of a 'reversed wind', but it is without context. Two further cases are textually open to doubt. *A.* 208 τί δ' ἐνήλλακται τῆς ἁμερίας νὺξ ἥδε βαρος; It is possible to translate with τῆς ἀμ. as equivalent to 'the day-time', and if so, it would be easiest to align it with other adjectives of time, such as χειμερινή (sc. ὥρα, Herodotus). Ib. 799 τήνδε δ' ἔξοδον ὀλεθρίαν Αἴαντος ἐλπίζει φέρειν: Kamerbeek argues for a cognate use 'brings ruin', understanding φοράν (= 'carries a destructive carrying'; or perhaps with concrete meaning, φοράν as 'thing carried'?). But if this is too strained, emendation is not difficult (e.g. ὄλεθρον εἰς Blaydes, Jackson).

§ 10. *Neuter*

The neuter singular is used in an adjectival predicate out of concord, in gnomic utterance: the object is to avoid the more specific masculine or feminine. Cf. Kühner-Gerth 1, 58 ff., Schwyzer 605. The latter explains the neuter on the ground that the adjective has been substantivized, but this does not account for the use being favoured in gnomic and general utterance. *A.* 580 κάρτα τοι φιλοίκτιστον γυνή 'womankind is given to bewailing, to be sure'. *An.* 1195 ὀρθὸν ἀλήθει' ἀεί 'the truth is always the right course'. Ib. 1251. *OC* 592 θυμὸς δ' ἐν κακοῖς οὐ ξύμφορον 'anger in distress is not helpful'.

Adjectives (including possessives) in the neuter singular and plural, and the pronoun οὐδέν, refer to persons, both in general statement and elsewhere. *OT* 709 βρότειον οὐδέν (= βροτὸς οὐδείς), ib. 1196* βροτῶν οὐδὲν μακαρίζω (οὐδένα codd.). Fr. 724, 4 Ἄρης γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν κακῶν λωτίζεται 'Ares selects none of the base'. Fr. 314, 141 κάκιστα θηρῶν 'basest of creatures'. *P.* 446 ff. οὐδὲν κακόν ... αὐτά ... τὰ πανοῦργα καὶ παλιντριβῆ ... τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ χρηστά. Ib. 434 σοῦ πατρὸς τὰ φίλτατα 'your father's dearest friend', cf. *OT* 1474. *An.* 659 τὰ ἐγγενῆ φύσει 'those of my kin'. *E.* 538 τἀμά 'my child'. *An.* 48 τῶν ἐμῶν 'my brother'. *OT* 261 κοινῶν τε παίδων κοίν' ἂν ... ἦν ἂν ἐκπεφυκότα: probably better taken as personal, 'children most

nearly kin', rather than impersonal, 'ties consisting of kindred children' (as Bruhn, Jebb, etc.). For the neuter adjective (as well as for the repetition) cf. A. *Pers.* 681 πιστὰ πιστῶν, and see further Ch. 9 § 9 on repetition of adjectives. The personal interpretation accords better with the verb ἐκφύω, which is regularly used with the literal meaning of 'beget, give birth to; be born', and so always elsewhere in Sophocles.

CHAPTER TWO

CASE USAGE

§ 1. *Basis of description*

The theory of the function of the cases has recently been much discussed, especially by structuralists, for whom the subject provides an obvious and tempting field: cf. Lasso de la Vega 1, 290 ff. with references and discussion, and further J. P. Louw, 'Linguistic Theory and the Greek Case System', *Acta Classica* 9, 1966, 73 ff.; I. M. Anderson, *The Grammar of Case: towards a localistic theory* (Cambridge, 1971). Such work has clear bearing on the practical question, How properly, or best, should case usage be described? The usual pattern of description that we find employed is based on a dichotomy of values: on the one hand purely syntactic function (the nominative as subject of the sentence, the genitive as modifier of a noun, the dative as indirect object), on the other hand semantic content (the accusative of duration of time, the genitive of possession, the dative of the instrument). With close analysis, especially on the semantic side, it is possible thus to achieve a long list of uses, each with its appropriate label; one may so arrive at as many as thirty 'kinds' of genitive. Such analysis is sometimes scoffed at, as pedantic scholasticism, but this is to overlook the fact that only in this way does one discover the various contextual variations in regular use, as opposed to other extensions of use which, while theoretically possible, are not in fact employed, or only rarely, in the language under study. But the question arises, whether more radical treatment is possible, and in particular whether a single, homogeneous basis of analysis can be established, either for all cases, or for each individually. In the context of individual cases we must, of course, take into account what linguistic history tells us of case syncretism: since the historical Greek genitive represents an earlier genitive and ablative, and the dative similarly earlier dative, locative and instrumental (not to mention possible division in the accusative), we have to look beyond the historical forms.

Among recent workers C. L. Ebeling ('On Case Theories', *Museum* 62, 1957, 129 ff.) follows de Groot ('Les oppositions dans les systèmes de la syntaxe et des cas', *Mélanges Ch. Bally* (1939), 107 ff.) in supposing that all cases except the vocative have syntactic function, but that some of them (dative and ablative in Latin) have semantic value as well. Kurylowicz

179 ff. (also in 'Le problème du classement des cas', *Bull. Soc. Polonaise de Ling.* 9, 1949, 20 ff.) finds both syntactic and semantic functions present (as exclusive alternatives) in all oblique cases excluding the vocative, but in different degrees: he would call 'grammatical' the accusative and genitive, because their function is primarily syntactic, and 'concrete' the dative, instrumental, ablative and locative, where the function is primarily semantic. In terms of Greek grammar, this would leave the dative as semantic in all its elements, while the genitive would have a basic division between the two categories. (He distinguishes primary and secondary use by describing the latter as appearing only in certain contexts, which can be positively defined.) Louw, op. cit., claims a single fundamental meaning for each case: however, this is then seen under three different 'levels' or 'aspects', so that nominative and accusative are given what is in effect a syntactic description, and the other cases a semantic one. (I use 'semantic' in its general sense, which differs from that employed by Louw). Thus the accusative denotes relation to the constructional chain, without defining the relation; the genitive conveys the idea of restriction; the instrumental, that of togetherness.

We may recall the words of Brugmann 427, arguing against a single meaning for each case: what is usually called *Grundbedeutung* or *Grundbegriff* of the cases is rather *Gebrauchsumfang*. I propose so far as is possible to give an account on a syntactic basis, but supplemented by semantic description. This has the merit of convenience. And it is after all a regular phenomenon of language that it economizes by using a particular form for more than one purpose.

§ 2. *Oblique cases: frequency*

Statistics referring to the frequency of the cases in Greek illustrate especially the prominence of the accusative. De Mauro gives the following figures for *Iliad* 1: nom. 32.9%, voc. 2.1, acc. 33.8, gen. 14.07, dat. 16.9. For Sophocles I find as follows (taking 1,000 examples from *A*. 1-385, with omission of the vocative, and of the article): nom. 26.9%, acc. 40.6, gen. 17.0, dat. 15.5. Alternatively, these may be expressed with relation to the oblique cases only: Homer, acc. 52.2%, gen. 21.7, dat. 26.1; Sophocles, acc. 55.6%, gen. 23.2, dat. 21.2. It must be remembered that the two latter cases are both certainly syncretistic (gen.-abl.: dat.-loc.-instr.); the accusative may be too. Two factors account for the relatively greater use of the accusative. The first is the frequency of the type of sentence with the form Subject—Verb—Object. For the second I refer to de Mauro, and his further reference to the work of Zipf and Guiraud, pointing out that, in

proportion as the meanings of a word are more general and wide, the greater is its use; and conversely, the more specific its meaning, the less its use. This has bearing on the use of a form such as the accusative, which is relatively unspecific, serving to introduce a complement in a variety of ways. Structurally, the accusative is the more general oblique case, in opposition to the more special genitive and dative. (It is not in contradiction with what has been said, that Greek grammars usually require more space for description of both the genitive and the dative than for the accusative: so in Schwyzer, Chantraine, Lasso de la Vega and Funk. Being more specific, the genitive and dative lend themselves to closer, and so fuller, description).

§ 3. *Adverbal case use*

The oblique cases (excluding the vocative) may be considered in another way, in order to bring out their adverbal use, that is, their use in direct relation (as object or other complement, but not as subject) to verb forms both finite and infinite. De Mauro has statistics also on this, though Sophocles is not included in his figures. Such use can include nouns and pronouns both without and with prepositions. Thus in *OT* 1-13: ἕδρας and μοι with θοάζετε (2); κλάδοισιν with ἐξεστεμμένοι (3); θυμιαμάτων with γέμει (4); ἅ and παρ' ἀγγέλων with ἀκούειν (7); πᾶσι with καλούμενος (8); πρὸ τῶνδε with φωνεῖν, and τρόπῳ with καθέστατε (10); πᾶν with προσαρκεῖν (12); ἕδραν with κατοικτίρων (13). The copulative verb 'to be' is not reckoned. Note is taken of absolute use of the verb, with no case attached (ἐλήλυθα (7), δείσαντες, στέρξαντες (11); but not of verbs with another verb, a phrase, or a clause as complement (δικαιῶν ... ἀκούειν (6 f.), φράζ' ... τίνι τρόπῳ καθέστατε, ἔφυς with πρέπων, πρέπων with φωνεῖν (9 f.), θέλοντος ... προσαρκεῖν (11 f.)).

For this purpose I have taken as samples passages from all the plays, each of which provides 100 verb forms as a nucleus (realised, or potential only). They are: *A*. 1180-1301; *An*. 955-1086; *T*. 741-835; *OT* 300-374; *E*. 51-192; *P*. 188-303; *OC* 1457-1572. The figures give in order the number of verbs used absolutely, followed by those of accusative, genitive and dative uses associated with the remainder. Since 100 verb forms were chosen as a basis for each passage, the first row of figures, for *Verbs Absolute*, can be regarded as percentages. The case figures which follow are not percentages: they represent the gross total of both simple and prepositional uses, but the latter are also shown separately: 8pA thus refers to eight uses of acc. plus prep. in the passage from *Ajax*, in addition to which there are fifty simple uses, making a total of 58.

	A.	*An.*	*T.*	*OT*	*E.*	*P.*	*OC*	Total	Avge.
Verbs absolute	26	20	28	27	20	23	28	172	24.6
Acc.	58 (8pA)	59 (4pA)	57 (4pA)	55 (2pA)	57 (3pA)	66 (7pA)	52 (5pA)	404 (33)	57.8 (4.7pA)
Gen.	16 (11pG)	19 (15pG)	11 (6pG)	13 (5pG)	21 (11pG)	14 (8pG)	8 (4pG)	102 (60)	14.6 (8.6pG)
Dat.	21 (3pD)	23 (11pD)	23 (3pD)	13 (1pD)	26 (3pD)	16 (6pD)	25 (7pD)	147 (34)	21 (4.9pD)

Adverbal use of the oblique cases in Sophocles (per 100 verb forms)

It emerges clearly that the accusative is the adverbal case *par excellence* (62% of relevant case occurrences), and especially so the simple accusative, without preposition. The dative comes next (22%: the simple case most often, as indirect object), and last is the genitive (15%: mostly with a preposition, as with ἀπό and ἐκ after verbs of motion).

Another method of looking at the situation is to consider what proportions of verbs are associated with particular cases, and with combinations of cases. First, the verb has no oblique case as complement in 24.6% of instances. In 43% the verb is associated with accusative only (either one or more, including prepositional use). For the other cases, the genitive only is found with 7% of verbs, the dative only with 10.7%. For combination of cases, the figures are the following: acc. plus gen. 4.4%, acc. plus dat. 7.7%; gen. plus dat. 2.6%. There are only two examples of a combination of all three cases (*E.* 108 f., 137 f.), which is too few to give a unit percentage. In total, the verb is associated with an accusative, alone or combined, in 55% of instances.

§ 4. *Adnominal case use*

The second main area of use of the cases is the adnominal, where the case provides a complement of a noun, adjective or adverb: the case is used simply, or with a preposition. *OT* 307 ἔκλυσιν ... τοῦδε τοῦ νοσήματος; ib. 334 κακῶν κάκιστε; ib. 371 τυφλὸς τά τ' ὦτα τόν τε νοῦν τά τ' ὄμματα; *E.* 166* δάκρυσι μυδαλέα; ib. 61 ῥῆμα σὺν κέρδει; *P.*247 τοῦ πρὸς Ἴλιον στόλου. With an adverb: *P.* 204* τῇδε τόπων, 256 Ἑλλάδος γῆς μηδαμοῦ. Adverbial use of the accusative has been included only where there is modification of an adjective: *OC* 1458 τὸν πάντ' ἄριστον, 1514 αἱ πολλὰ βρονταὶ διατελεῖς. In order to observe the relative frequency of the adnominal and the adverbal uses, the same passages have been taken for analysis as above. There is in these a total of 201 adnominal uses, which can be divided as follows: ac-

cusative, simple, 8 (4%); with preposition, 1 (0.5%); genitive, simple, 171 (85%); with preposition, 9 (4.5%); dative, simple, 10 (5%); with preposition, 2 (1%). The genitive stands out as the adnominal case (89.5% of all relevant oblique case uses) in an even more marked fashion than the accusative as the adverbal case (62% of all relevant oblique case uses). Further points emerge from the comparison, that the adverbal use accounts for more than three quarters of the total overall, and is very much greater for the accusative and dative separately: but for the genitive the adnominal use exceeds the adverbal.

	Adverbal use	*Adnominal use*
Acc.	404 (97.8%)	9 (2.2%)
Gen.	102 (36.1%)	180 (63.8%)
Dat.	147 (92.4%)	12 (7.5%)
	653 (76.4%)	201 (23.5%)

Adverbal and adnominal use of the cases compared

§ 5. *Other case use*

Finally, reference may briefly be made to the less frequent types of case usage which are neither adverbal nor adnominal, but where the relation of the case is rather to the whole sentence, or independent. Such are the ethic dative; the accusative in apposition to the sentence; the genitive or accusative absolute; the genitive in exclamation; the genitive (with πρός) in adjuration; etc.

CHAPTER THREE

NOMINATIVE AND VOCATIVE

A. Nominative

§ 1. *Introduction*

The nominative is generally accepted as a purely 'syntactic' ('grammatical') case. It describes what the phrase is about (Chantraine 36, 'le nominatif exprime ce dont il est question dans la phrase'). Hence by far its most frequent use is for the subject of the phrase, where it is integrated in the construction. It must be remembered that in Greek, as in Latin, the subject is an *omissible* adjunct of the finite verb, naming it for fuller identification: (ὁ βασιλεὺς) κελεύει, (*rex*) *imperat* (cf. de Groot, *For Roman Jakobson*, 1956, 189 f.). On the other hand, there is non-integration where the nominative falls outside the construction, i.e. outside that of the preponderant sentence type of subject-predicate form, as in absolute use and exclamation.

The simple use of the nominative form as subject of its clause (or as attribute of, or apposition to, the subject) need not be illustrated; nor the nominative as predicate in a nominal clause.

§ 2. *Absolute uses, including nominativus pendens and nominative in apposition*

The nominative may occur where it is not integrated in its clause. In one type the anacoluthon is due to looseness of formulation, or change of the sentence structure, and is most often observed in colloquial language: the term *nominativus pendens* can be reserved for this particular form. *OT* 936 τὸ δ' ἔπος οὐξερῶ τάχα, ἥδοιο μέν, πῶς δ' οὐκ ἄν; 'the message which I am about to deliver—you may be pleased, and naturally so'. Ib. 159* πρῶτά σε κεκλόμενος (v.l. -ῳ) ... Ἀθάνα ... Ἄρτεμιν ... καὶ Φοῖβον ..., (163) προφάνητέ μοι 'I invoking you first, Athena etc.—reveal yourselves to me': the distance of the subordinate from the principal clause makes the break of construction easier. Also participial, and so with a surface resemblance, is *An.* 260 λόγοι δ' ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ἐρρόθουν κακοί, | φύλαξ ἐλέγχων φύλακα 'abuse raged with word against word (with ἀλλ. referring to λόγοι), guard accusing guard'. Here the participial phrase (which follows the main clause) acts as a summing-up of the situation, and is better called an apposition to the sentence. Cf. E. *Ba.* 1132 ἦν δὲ πᾶσ' ὁμοῦ βοή, | ὁ μὲν

στενάζων ..., [αἱ δ' ἠλάλαζον, and the other examples quoted by Jebb (especially A. *Pr.* 200). Such apposition occurs most simply as a noun: E. *Heracl.* 72 βιαζόμεσθα καὶ στέφη μιαίνεται, [πόλει τ' ὄνειδος καὶ θεῶν ἀτιμία 'we suffer violence and our laurel branches are dishonoured, a reproach to the city and dishonour to the gods'. Cf. Schwyzer 617, also *Synt. Arch.* 16, claiming that the use of the nominative is older than that of the accusative in the similar construction (Ch. 4 § 22); J. Whatmough, *C.P.* 59, 1964, 111. The simple noun construction is equivalent, at a deeper level of analysis, to the participial phrase seen in *An.* 260 (each represents an independent clause expressing a summary of the situation: in the one case φύλαξ ἤλεγχε φύλακα, in the other πόλει ὄνειδός ἐστι κτλ). Soph. does not have completely clear cases of a nominative noun so used by itself: there are neuter nouns (or equivalents) which may be either nominative or accusative. So *A.* 1210* κεῖμαι δ' ἀμέριμνος οὕτως ... λυγρᾶς μνήματα Τροίας 'I lie thus uncared for ... reminders of baneful Troy'. Ib. 1191* ὄνειδος. *An.* 44 ἀπόρρητον. *OC* 139* τὸ φατιζόμενον. These may well all be nominatives: see Ch. 4 §22, where for convenience these and clearly accusative examples are discussed together. There is a still stronger claim for a nominative in *P.* 863* τὸ δ' ἁλώσιμον ἐμᾷ φροντίδι, παῖ, πόνος ὁ μὴ φοβῶν κράτιστος 'what is in the grasp of my thought, my son, the venture which causes no alarm is best'. Here the nominal phrase, which comes first, can be labelled 'thematic', as announcing and introducing what is to follow (cf. Lasso de la Vega, 1, 324 ff.).

The absolute use of the neuter participle by itself, from the time of Herodotus onwards, is also generally taken as accusative, but may rather have a nominative source (Schwyzer 401). *E.* 365 νῦν δ' ἐξὸν πατρὸς ... παῖδα κεκλῆσθαι, καλοῦ [τῆς μητρός. See Ch. 4 § 18.

§ 3. *The naming function of the nominative*

The nominative is used to name or describe. *OT* 1234 (spoken in answer to τί φῄς;) ὁ μὲν τάχιστος τῶν λόγων εἰπεῖν τε καὶ [μαθεῖν, τέθνηκε ... Ἰοκάστης κάρα. 'What is your message?' 'The swiftest to say and understand—Iocasta is dead.' In direct quotation: *An.* 567 ἀλλ' ἥδε μέντοι μὴ λέγε 'no longer say "she here" ' (i.e. as if she is still alive). *P.* 57 λέγειν Ἀχιλλέως παῖς '(when he asks you who you are) say "The son of Achilles".' Contrast *A.* 73 Αἴαντα φωνῶ 'I call "Ajax".'

§ 4. *Use in exclamation*

The nominative is used in exclamation, with or without an introductory particle. With reference to self: *E.* 674 οἳ 'γὼ τάλαινα, *T.* 375 οἴμοι τάλαινα,

ib. 377 ὢ δύστηνος (note that ὤ is sometimes so written in exclamation, and ὦ in address). *P.* 254 ὢ πόλλ' ἐγὼ μοχθηρός, ὢ πικρὸς θεοῖς. *T.* 1046 ὢ πολλὰ ... μοχθήσας ἐγώ. *A.* 981 ὢ τάλας ἐγώ, τάλας. *An.* 228 τάλας, τί χωρεῖς ...; τλήμων, μένεις αὖ (v.l. μενεῖς) (in self-address, despite the second person verb). *A.* 803 οἴ 'γώ (rarer without adjunct). With other reference: *P.* 1187* δαίμων, δαίμων 'what a fate!'. *OT* 1155 δύστηνος, ἀντὶ τοῦ; τί προσχρῄζων μαθεῖν; 'unhappy that you are, why so order? what do you wish to know?' δυστ. is taken as self-reference (Jebb, Kamerbeek), but the switch of person in προσχρ. is then very abrupt. *An.* 891 ὢ τύμβος, ὢ νυμφεῖον, ὢ κατασκαφὴς [οἴκησις ἀείφρουρος 'ah me! the tomb, the bridal-chamber, the eternally imprisoning cavern!' *E.* 1354 ὢ φίλτατον φῶς, ὢ μόνος σωτὴρ δόμων ['Αγαμέμνονος, πῶς ἦλθες; 'ah, sweetest light of day! sole saviour of the house of Agamemnon! how have you come?': this begins with a clear exclamation (φίλτ. φῶς) and keeps the same form for the second phrase (instead of making it an address). *A.* 173* ὢ μεγάλα φάτις, ὢ μᾶτερ αἰσχύνας ἐμᾶς. *OT* 629 ὢ πόλις, πόλις (equivalent to 'how sorry the condition of the city!'). *P.* 234 φεῦ τὸ καὶ λαβεῖν [πρόσφθεγμα τοιοῦδ' ἀνδρός 'ah! actually to hear the greeting of such a man!'

§ 5. *Use in address*

The nominative is found in restricted use also in address, in which it may be coupled with a vocative form. Cf. Kühner-Gerth 1, 48; Schwyzer 63 f.; Lasso de la Vega 1, 346 ff.; Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften*, 2, 972 ff.; R. Loewe, *K.Z.* 55, 1928, 38 ff.; J. Svennung, *Anredeformen*; J. Gonda, *Nominatives*. An adjective in the nominative is coupled with a vocative noun: *A.* 641* ὢ τλάμων πάτερ (τλάμων L, A: τλᾶμον, codd. al.): cf. E. *Andr.* 348 ὦ τλήμων ἄνερ, with -ων guaranteed by metre. Ib. 903* ὦ ταλαίφρων γύναι (-φρων L, A: -φρον, codd. al.). *OC* 978 τλήμων (L: τλῆμον A), ib. 185* ὢ τλάμων (-ον codd., but -ων required by metre). Where the adjective (nom.) is attributive to a noun (voc.), the use is old and possibly IE. The best solution is that the adjective is (at least originally) in apposition and predicative: *Il.* 4, 189 φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε 'O Menelaus, you who are my friend' (Svennung, op. cit. 206). A possible case of nominative apposition is *A.* 565 ἄνδρες ἀσπιστῆρες (voc.), ἐνάλιος λεώς (nom.) 'O warriors, you who are folk of the sea'. This is not, however, conclusive, since ἐν. λ. may have vocative function with ἐν. attracted by the form of λεώς, itself unvaried for the vocative: cf. A. *Eu.* 681 κλύοιτ' ἂν ..., 'Αττικὸς λεώς. Cf. Wackernagel, op. cit. 982 on λεώς, also Loewe, op. cit. 43 fn. So *P.* 1348 ὢ στυγνὸς αἰών, with the adjective unvaried by assimilation to the noun.

The nominative of the adjective by itself is best seen as an extension of the same appositional use. With τλήμων cf. the second declension adjective φίλος: *OC* 1700* ὦ φίλος, *OT* 1321* ἰὼ φίλος, which is modelled on the Epic φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε. φίλος by itself is Epic too (*Od.* 17, 415 δός, φίλος, and with ὦ ib. 3, 375 ὦ φίλος: also with clear apposition ib. 1, 301 σύ, φίλος, ... ἄλκιμος ἐσσί. φίλος so occurs elsewhere in Tragedy: A. *Pr.* 545 ἰὼ φίλος, E. *Andr.* 530 ὦ φίλος, φίλος, ib. 1204, etc. The use is parodied in Comedy: Ar. *Nu.* 1168 ὦ φίλος, ὦ φίλος. Such uses of φίλος are taken by M. L. West (*Glotta* 44, 1966, 139 ff.) as more exclamatory than spoken in address, and in favour of this we may note the affective value of the adjective φίλος (as of τλήμων above). However, it is difficult to see such value either in a request like *Od.* 17, 415 δός, φίλος (though this could be taken in 'verbal apposition', 'give in friendly fashion': cf. Ch. 9 § 5), or in ib. 1, 301. The form φίλος is coupled with a vocative at *OC* 1700* ὦ πάτερ, ὦ φίλος, ὦ ... εἱμένος (all with reference to one person, Oedipus, and so different from the co-ordinated form of address dealt with below: see further § 10 on εἱμένος).

Among nouns, special note must be taken of θεός in two passages in *Ichneutae* (fr. 314). (i) 73 θεὸς τύχη καὶ δαῖμον ἰθυντήριε, [τυχεῖν με πράγους 'O goddess Fortune and guiding spirit, grant me success in the enterprise' (θεοί ed. pr., also Pearson: θεός recorded by Siegmann, cf. *Lustrum* 7, 1962, 279). (ii) 94 θεὸς θεὸς θεὸς θεός· ἔα [ἔα 'O god!' (or probably better, 'goddess') 'Aha!' (indicating surprise and excitement). If we take θεός in v. 94 as invocation of Fortune, first Silenus appeals to her (73), and then the semi-Chorus does the same (94). Alternatively, θεός (94) is taken as a predication (so Pearson, as equivalent to θεῖόν τι ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα): but this seems difficult to arrive at. Hunt and Page translate as 'A god ...!' (repeated), which for me leaves the meaning obscure. It is well-known that in pre-Biblical Greek the vocative form θεέ was avoided (as also in Latin the vocative of *deus*), though the reason for this is still not certain: cf. Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften*, 2, 992 f., also (and differently) *Synt.* 1, 297; Loewe, *K.Z.* 55, 1928, 48. It may be that in prayer it was preferred to address a god by his own name (so ὦ Ζεῦ *T.* 303 etc., ὦναξ Ἄπολλον *OT* 80 etc.), and not by the common appellative θεός. Biblical use of ὁ θεός in address is due to Hebraic influence. Loewe (loc. cit.) claimed that *Ichn.* 94 shows a vocative use of θεός which would be without parallel in Classical, whether it is taken as address or as exclamation; but the passage cannot be conclusive, since nominative as well as vocative forms appear in exclamation (and his point that only vocative forms are so used of an unaccompanied god's name, as at A. *Ch.* 855 Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, need not apply to a common noun such as θεός). The revised reading at v. 73 (not available to Loewe)

brings a second possible example, linked with a following indisputable vocative, δαῖμον ἰθυντήριε. From the context this appears to be invocation, and not exclamation. Unfortunately doubt may still remain, since there is the possibility of linking nominative with vocative in co-ordinated address, and in such a case of putting the nominative first, followed by the vocative, as at *OC* 1471* (see § 6).

δαίμων, unlike θεός, was regularly used in the specifically vocative form δαῖμον, as has just been seen (*Ichn.* 73): also *OT* 1311* ἰὼ δαῖμον, ἵν' ἐξήλου; 'O my fate, where have you leapt?' But *OC* 1480* ἵλαος, ὦ δαίμων, ἵλαος (v.l. δαῖμον) 'be merciful, O god, be merciful.' For other examples of nominatives, note the following (with second person verb): *An.* 1284* ἰὼ δυσκάθαρτος Ἅιδου λιμήν. *T.* 1040* ὦ Διὸς αὐθαίμων, ὦ γλυκὺς Ἅιδας. Also *P.* 1213* ὦ πόλις, ὦ πόλις πατρία, followed by σε. These all seem to be address rather than exclamation.

The articular use of the nominative of a noun in address generally occurs in speech to inferiors: so Ar. *Ra.* 521 ὁ παῖς ἀκολούθει δεῦρο (Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften*, 2, 976 f.). In Soph. the form is seen at *An.* 940 λεύσσετε Θήβης οἱ κοιρανίδαι 'behold, you princes of Thebes': the tone is one of reproach for their apathy (Jebb). (Otherwise *E.* 634, with ἡ παροῦσα in apposition to σύ: the article is required to make the participle nominal.)

§ 6. *Use in co-ordinated address*

Where there is co-ordinated, multiple address, the nominative can be used combined with (and usually following) the vocative: *Il.* 3, 277 Ζεῦ πάτερ ... Ἠέλιός τε (Svennung, *Anredeformen*, 241 ff.). In *A.* 859 ff. there is much variation in a series of nouns: ὦ φέγγος, ὦ ... πέδον ..., ὦ ... βάθρον, κλειναί τ' Ἀθῆναι (four vocatives; or perhaps better, three vocatives and one nominative, with κλ. Ἀθ. marked off by the absence of ὦ, and semantically associated with following γένος and not with what precedes), καὶ τὸ σύντροφον γένος (nominative because of the article), κρῆναί τε ποταμοί θ' οἵδε (nominative for οἵδε), καὶ τὰ Τρωικὰ πεδία προσαυδῶ (accusative with change of construction), χαίρετ', ὦ τροφῆς ἐμοί (return to vocative for summing up). Cf. a similar series in A. *Pr.* 88 ff. (but there beginning with a nominative, followed by some ambiguous forms (nom. or voc.), then vocative, and finally accusative with καλῶ). *P.* 530 ὦ φίλτατον μὲν ἦμαρ (voc. ?), ἥδιστος δ' ἀνήρ (nom.), φίλοι δε ναῦται (nom. ?). Ib. 986 ὦ Λημνία χθὼν καὶ τὸ παγκρατὲς σέλας. Ib. 867 ὦ φέγγος ... τό τ' ἐλπίδων οἰκούρημα. The use is IE, seen in Sanskrit where the second noun (nom.) is linked to the first (voc.) by *ca* (= Gk. τε) (Schwyzer 63, Wackernagel 1, 7): though τε is found in the oldest Greek examples, by the time of Soph. δέ and καί

can replace it. Also the reverse is found (nom. + voc.), *OC* 1471* ὦ μέγας αἰθήρ, ὦ Ζεῦ (here probably exclamation; and note the absence of a connective). Cf. in true invocation A. *Pr.* 88 ὦ δῖος αἰθὴρ ... παμμῆτόρ τε γῆ (v.l. -τωρ). No doubt there is stylistic variation here: syntactically there is avoidance of redundancy, the vocative is expressed only once, or with some only out of a larger number of terms, and then the construction switches to naming instead of addressing. See too Kiparsky, *Foundations of Language* 4, 1968, 54 f.: the nominative is the 'unmarked' case, used here in 'conjunctional reduction'.

B. *Vocative*

§ 7. *Use with and without ὦ (ἰώ)*

The vocative is in a unique position among the cases. It is not a 'concrete' case, but strictly it is not 'grammatical' either, since the form in the vocative stands outside the syntax of the sentence. It is principally used in address and invocation, both with and without introductory ὦ (ἰώ). ὦ was originally an interjection, and so also introduces an exclamation, in which a vocative need not be present (§ 14).

The presence or absence of ὦ, though it may sometimes be a matter of indifference, is influenced by a number of factors, and also shows much variation between different periods and authors. See generally Schwyzer 60 f.; Lasso de la Vega 1, 339 ff.; for Soph. see J. A. Scott, *A.J.P.* 25, 1904, 81 ff., ib. 26, 1905, 32 ff.; further, R. Loewe, *K.Z.* 53, 1925, 115 ff. In Epic, where it was relatively infrequent, ὦ was avoided in addressing a superior, and its use indicates familiarity or lack of reserve. In Attic prose (Plato), on the other hand, its use had increased so much that it is its absence which is remarkable and has special affective meaning (including contempt, irony); and so in orators (e.g. Demosthenes) ὦ is omitted in addressing a personal opponent. Soph. uses a particle with about 60% of all vocatives: voc. with ὦ, 532; with ἰώ, 43; without particle, 365 (fragments omitted from these figures). The corresponding figures for Aeschylus are 110, 55, 170: however, it is noted by Scott that there is no difference in pattern of use between the two authors. He finds further close resemblance with Soph. in the usage of Herodotus (who also has a figure of 60% use of the particle ὦ with vocatives). Euripides has 1144 with ὦ and 971 without; Aristophanes 1000 with, and 251 without (here approaching the higher frequency of use in Attic prose, especially since examples of parody of tragedy account for roughly a third of the number without ὦ).

§ 8. *Some cases where ὦ is required*

Certain classes of use are clearly established in Soph. ὦ is needed (i) when a participle takes the place of a substantive in the vocative, as at *E.* 134* ὦ ... ἀμειβόμεναι χάριν (see § 10): it is only the presence of ὦ in some of these instances, as in this one, which shows that the participle is not predicative. (ii) With an unaccompanied adjective: *E.* 388 ὦ τάλαινα. (iii) In address to an inanimate object, or abstract noun: *P.* 936 ὦ λιμένες, ὦ προβλῆτες, ὦ ξυνουσίαι | θηρῶν ὀρείων. Scott sees a personalizing effect in this group: alternatively we may see here, as in the previous classes, the need for easier identification of the role of the form. (iv) There also seem to be metrical or rhythmical grounds. Thus, according to Scott, ὦ is used with a monosyllabic vocative in arsis in the third foot of the trimeter (*P.* 478 δράσαντι δ', ὦ παῖ, ...) and also generally more often in the first half of the iambic line than in the second.

§ 9. *Other patterns of use or omission of ὦ*

It is clear that there are other patterns of use, even if explanation is not always available or convincing. With names of persons which are without modification or complement, ὦ is absent. Thus plain 'Ορέστα, *E.* 6, 15, 789, 1210, 1424; Κρέον, *OT* 637, 1459; Τεῦκρε, *A.* 979, 983, 990, 1164. There are only two exceptions. *P.* 794 ὦ διπλοῖ στρατηλάται, | 'Αγάμεμνον, ὦ Μενέλαε: ὦ Μεν. repeats ὦ from the introductory ὦ δ. στρατ.; it is also significant that the words are spoken by an agitated Philoctetes, in extreme pain (I refer again below to the freer use of ὦ by Philoctetes in this play). *OT* 1394 ὦ Πόλυβε καὶ Κόρινθε καὶ τὰ πάτρια ... δώματα: Πόλυβε coupled with names of places (with proper and common nouns): compare for ὦ with place names *A.* 596* (proper noun), ib. 859 f., *An.* 937, *OT* 1398, *T.* 993, *P.* 936 f., 952, 986, 1081*, 1213 (common nouns). But when the noun is modified, ὦ may occur: *An.* 572 ὦ φίλταθ' Αἷμον, *OT* 14 ὦ κρατύνων Οἰδίπους χώρας ἐμῆς, *OC* 740 ὦ ταλαίπωρ' Οἰδίπους. The absence of ὦ with the simple personal noun has been attributed to avoidance of a familiar tone (so too in Herodotus, where the three exceptions, at 1, 32 and 8, 59, receive special explanation).

Divine names are treated differently. The god most frequently addressed is Zeus: (*a*) ὦ Ζεῦ (without attribute) occurs 20 times (9 lyric, 11 other); (*b*) Ζεῦ only once, *An.* 604*. With attributes: (*a*) ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ *OT* 202*, ὦ κρατύνων ... Ζεῦ ib. 904*, ὦ Ζεῦ τροπαῖε *T.* 303, ἰὼ Ζεῦ πάνταρχε θεῶν *OC* 1085*; (*b*) Ζεῦ ἀλεξῆτορ *OC* 143*, Ζεῦ ἄνα ib. 1485*. Other divinities—Athena: (*a*) ἰὼ ἰὼ Παλλάς *T.* 1031*; (*b*) 'Αθάνα *A.* 74, 112, ὦ

χαῖρ' Ἀθάνα ib. 91 (see below on ὦ here), ἄμβροτ' Ἀθ. *OT* 159*. Apollo: (*a*) ὦ Λύκει' Ἄπολλον *OT* 919, *E.* 655, 1379, ὦναξ Ἄπολλον *OT* 80, ἰὼ ἰὼ Παιάν *T.* 221*; (*b*) Λύκει' ἄναξ *OT* 203*, ἄναξ Ἄπολλον *E.* 1376, Φοῖβε προστατήριε *E.* 637. Hades: (*a*) ὦ γλυκὺς Ἅιδας *T.* 1040*, ὦναξ Ἀΐδη ib. 1085; (*b*) ἐννυχίων ἄναξ Ἀϊδωνεῦ Ἀϊδωνεῦ *OC* 1558*. Other deities: (*a*) with ὦ, Bacchus *An.* 1121*, Pan *A.* 694*, Hermes *E.* 111, Poseidon *OC* 712*, Thanatos ib. 1574*; (*b*) without ὦ, Eros *An.* 781*. Finally, for comparison, the use of θεός: (*a*) ἰὼ θεοί *P.* 736, ὦ θεοί ib. 779, ὦ χθόνιαι θεαί *OC* 1568*; (*b*) θεαί ib. 101.

If we compare epic practice, there is a marked distinction (Scott deals with Homeric use in *A.J.P.* 24, 1903, 192 ff.: cf. also G. Giangrande, *C.Q.* n.s. 18, 1968, 52 ff. 'On the Use of the Vocative in Alexandrian Epic'). In Homer, gods are not addressed by humans with ὦ: the earliest examples of this are in *H. Hymn.* 3, where Giangrande sees imitation of priestly use in an epicletic formula. Gods speaking to other gods use ὦ only rarely, and then with expressive effect (familiar, or under influence of emotion). Address of humans to humans also shows normally absence of ὦ, so that here Tragedy and Epic are on the same lines.

What is the reason for the preponderant use of ὦ in address to gods in Sophocles? Some examples may be seen as 'epicletic formulae', e.g. *A.* 694* with its duplication (ἰὼ ἰὼ Πᾶν Πᾶν, ὦ Πᾶν Πᾶν ἁλίπλαγκτε ... ὦ ... ἄναξ); but this of course is no final answer, but only puts the question in another form. Scott sees 'an appeal to the sympathetic, human personality in the divine'. Loewe argues (op. cit. 123) that ὦ, which was used in intimate conversation with humans, and in calling their attention, was transferred to use in prayer as a form of intimate address. It appears that the worshipper, whether priest or not, feels close to the deity and speaks from his heart; he may also be thought to invoke the god's notice, to make sure of an audience. It is significant to note the two uses of Ἀθάνα without ὦ, *A.* 74 and 112. First Odysseus, then Ajax address the goddess, but in neither case is it a prayer: she is one of the *dramatis personae*, and so the address is on a par with that to human characters in the play. Only apparently an exception to this is ib. 91 ὦ χαῖρ' Ἀθάνα, spoken by Ajax on his entrance. Here there is a special form of use, an exclamatory ὦ linked with the imperative, so that strictly the vocative here too is without ὦ. It is seen as a 'hymnal formula' by Giangrande (52 n. 5), but in fact is found also in other contexts (*E.* 666 ὦ χαῖρ', ἄνασσα, spoken to Clytaemnestra; A. *Supp.* 602 ὦ χαῖρε, πρέσβυ), and has colloquial associations (so Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 22 ὦ χαῖρε λαμπτήρ). Cf. *OT* 646 ὦ ... πίστευσον, ib. 1037, where no vocative is present (§ 16 below).

It still remained possible to address a deity in prayer in the Epic manner without ὦ, as may be seen in nine of the examples quoted (i.e. all those without ὦ except for the three in *Ajax* addressed to Athena). Against this there are 36 uses of ὦ in prayer. Examples with and without ὦ may occur close together: *E.* 637 Φοῖβε προστατήριε, 655 ὦ Λύκει' Ἄπολλον (in the same speech); ib. 1376 ἄναξ Ἄπολλον, 1379 ὦ Λύκει' Ἄπολλον (ditto); *OT* 202* ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ, 203* Λύκει' ἄναξ (in the same choral lyric).

With common nouns expressing familiar family relationship there is free use of ὦ and also its omission: by contrast, Herodotus regularly uses ὦ. So with τέκνον used alone: with ὦ, *T.* 76, 741, 1070, 1146; without ὦ, ib. 68, 82, 1174, 1221. But in more emotional or impressive passages, as shown by repetition, ὦ is favoured: *E.* 1410 ὦ τέκνον, τέκνον, οἴκτιρε τὴν τεκοῦσαν. *T.* 61 ὦ τέκνον, ὦ παῖ. *OC* 1457 ὦ τέκνα, τέκνα. *P.* 799 ὦ τέκνον ὦ γενναῖον. With πάτερ used alone: with ὦ *OC* 171*, 382, 387, 407 etc.; without ὦ ib. 82, 183*, 197*, 310 etc. With repetition, ib. 1099 ὦ πάτερ, πάτερ.

There is the familiar Attic use of ὦ τᾶν (Plato, Comedy): *OT* 1145 (messenger to servant), *P.* 1387 (Neoptolemus to Philoctetes).

Some passages show a special concentration of uses of ὦ, which could be associated with more intense and impassioned feeling (though taken individually some of the cases are open to different treatment). *P.* 782-805 has a speech made by Philoctetes, when suffering from a paroxysm of pain. The following vocatives occur: 782 ὦ παῖ, 786 ὦ πούς (these two in arsis of third foot), 791 ὦ ξένε Κεφαλλήν, 793 ὦ διπλοῖ στρατηλάται, Ἀγάμεμνον, ὦ Μενέλαε, 797 ὦ θάνατε, θάνατε, 799 ὦ τέκνον ὦ γενναῖον, 801 ὦ γενναῖε. The passage contains description of his agony, imprecation against his enemies, and appeals to Death and to Neoptolemus. It closes with two lines in a different key addressed to Neoptolemus, the first being *extra metrum* to mark the change, and now the vocatives are without ὦ. 804 f. τί φῄς, παῖ; | τί φῄς; τί σιγᾷς; ποῦ ποτ' ὤν, τέκνον, κυρεῖς;

Again, it is noticeable that five of the plays begin with an address to humans accompanied by ὦ (in *A.*, *An.*, *OT*, *E.*, *P.*): in no case is the simple proper noun used by itself. *T.* falls out of the reckoning, as it is unique in starting with a monologue ῥῆσις. This leaves *OC* as the exception, with vocative without ὦ in 1 τέκνον τυφλοῦ γέροντος Ἀντιγόνη, answered by 14 πάτερ ταλαίπωρ' Οἰδίπους. Is this a sign of the low key in which the opening of this play is set, where Oedipus and Antigone appear as humble and afflicted outcasts? Contrast especially the proud tones in *E.* 1 f. ὦ τοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ | Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖ, or *P.* 3 f. ὦ κρατίστου πατρὸς Ἑλλήνων τραφεὶς | Ἀχιλλέως παῖ Νεοπτόλεμε, or the strong feeling of *An.* 1 ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα.

Normally ὦ is omitted with the class-nouns denoting inferiors (πρόσπολοι, δμῶες, etc.). Scott notes instructive exceptions at *OT* 945 ὦ πρόσπολε (Iocasta forgets the class distinction in her joy), and *An.* 1320* ἰὼ πρόσπολοι, ἀπάγετέ μ' ὅτι τάχος (Creon in despair and self-abasement).

§ 10. *Participle in address*

ὦ introduces an attributive participle (without an accompanying substantive or adjective) in address. *E.* 134* ὦ ... ἀμειβόμεναι χάριν 'O you who return the favour' (or, perhaps more closely, 'O returners of the favour': the English gloss must choose between verbal or nominal status in a way unnecessary for Greek ἀμειβ. The participle form in Greek, true to its name μετοχή, shares the two functions). *T.* 635* ὦ ... παραναιετάοντες, ib. 99* ὦ λαμπρᾷ στεροπᾷ φλεγέθων. *OT* 1327 ὦ δεινὰ δράσας. *P.* 1290, 1380, 1402. Fr. 210, 37. I have not found a distinctively vocative form of the participle in this use: fr. 185 ὀλόμενε παίδων 'O accursed of children' shows a completely adjectival use of ὀλ. which occurs already in Homer (*Il.* 14, 84 οὐλόμεν', αἴθ' ὤφελλες ...), and being assimilated to the adjectival declension does not decide between nominative and vocative in the present construction. *OC* 1700* has ὦ πάτερ, ὦ φίλος, ὦ τὸν ἀεὶ κατὰ γᾶς σκότον εἱμένος 'O father, O dear one, O (thou who art) clad in everlasting dark beneath the earth', but does this settle the issue? The form φίλος (see § 5 above) is nominative in a vocative function, and might be held to affect the following εἱμένος. In another type a vocative noun (or adjective) follows a participial phrase, in apposition to it: *A.* 845 σὺ δ', ὦ τὸν αἰπὺν οὐρανὸν διφρηλατῶν, Ἥλιε. *E.* 1163 ὦ δεινοτάτας πεμφθεὶς κελεύθους, φίλτατε.

§ 11. *Vocative of adjective in predicative use, with participle or with finite verb*

A predicative use of the adjective in the vocative is seen in *P.* 760 ἰὼ ἰὼ δύστηνε σύ, | δύστηνε δῆτα διὰ πόνων πάντων φανείς 'O unhappy one, found unhappy in all kinds of woe'. Cf. Wackernagel 1, 308; Gildersleeve § 25. This is a transform of δύστηνος ἐφάνης 'you have been found unhappy': contrast e.g. *E.* 1163 ὦ δεινοτάτας πεμφθεὶς κελεύθους, φίλτατε from an underlying ἐπέμφθης, φίλτατε 'you have been sent, O dearest'. But the first δύστηνε in *P.* 759 (vocative in exclamation) would in any case make it more difficult to follow with δύστηνος ... φανείς, and also the lateness of φανείς in the phrase. Cf. A. *Pers.* 674* ὦ πολύκλαυτε φίλοισι θανών 'O much-lamented by your friends in your death'. It is possible however to have the nominative also in this use: E. *Ph.* 1538* ὦ δεμνίοις δύστανος ἰαύων.

A further development follows, when the adjective is so used with a finite verb. Wackernagel (loc. cit.) regards this as a more purely literary

device: it is confined to lyric in tragedy. *A*. 695* ὦ Πὰν Πάν, ἁλίπλαγκτε Κυλλανίας ... ἀπὸ δειράδος φάνηθι 'O Pan, appear roving over the sea from Kyllene's ridge'. (The alternative, of an attributive use of ἁλ., has found less favour here) It is possible simply to say that this is assimilation of the adjective to the vocative noun. But the similarity to *P*. 760 suggests that there is underlying it a phrase ἁλίπλαγκτε ... φανείς, from which the verb is made finite but the vocative is preserved in a reverse transformation. Another possible example is *P*. 829* Ὕπνε ..., εὐαὲς ἡμῖν ἔλθοις (εὐαής codd.) 'O Sleep, come to us with gentle breath': but the reading is disputed (εὐαές is proposed on metrical grounds). Cf. A. *Supp*. 535* γενοῦ πολυμνῆστορ, ἔφαπτορ Ἰοῦς (πολυμνῆστορ Herm., Wil.: -ωρ al.); Theoc. 17, 66 ὄλβιε κοῦρε γένοιο. The construction was developed in Latin Augustan verse, probably under Greek influence (Löfstedt 1, 103): cf. Tib. 1, 7, 53 *sic venias hodierne* with *P*. 829*.

§ 12. *οὗτος*

Demonstrative οὗτος, which has no separate vocative form, is used in peremptory address. *OT* 532 οὗτος σύ 'you there', Oedipus in anger to Creon. Ib. 1121 οὗτος σύ, πρέσβυ, Oedipus in proud confidence to his herdsman. *A*. 71 οὗτος, σὲ ... καλῶ 'Ho there, I summon you', Athena calling Ajax: the summons repeated, ib. 89 ὦ οὗτος Αἴας, δεύτερόν σε προσκαλῶ. Similarly when a god summons Oedipus, *OC* 1627 ὦ οὗτος, οὗτος Οἰδίπους.

§ 13. *Αἴας, Οἰδίπους*

Among proper nouns Soph. generally uses Αἴας in address, which is the Attic vocative form. The Homeric vocative Αἶαν is possible a few times (*A*. 89 is the best attested; also at 289, 482, 923, 1015, test. Souda), though nowhere required by metre: on the other hand, Αἴᾱς is so required at *A*. 482, 525, 1269. Cf. W. Schulze, *Kleine Schriften*, 85 f. Οἰδίπους is vocative (*OT* 739 et al.): Οἰδίπου, found in some passages (e.g. ib. 405), is a new analogical formation. But these are questions of morphology, and not of syntax.

§ 14. *Co-ordinated address*

In co-ordinated address two vocatives are normally combined: *E*. 15 Ὀρέστα καὶ σὺ φίλτατε ξένων Πυλάδη. For vocative combined with nominative, see § 6 above.

§ 15. *Use of non-personal nouns as vocatives*

Vocative address is usually made to persons, but by personification the use is extended to other classes of noun in the Classical period (cf. Schwyzer 62). Soph. so uses names of places: *OT*. 1391 ff. ἰὼ Κιθαίρων ... ὦ Πόλυβε καὶ Κόρινθε καὶ τὰ ... δώμαθ' ... ὦ τρεῖς κέλευθοι κ.τ.λ. *A*. 412*, 859, *P*. 936, 1081*. Also with neuter nouns (not appellatives of persons): *E*. 86 ὦ φάος ἁγνόν, *P*. 1128 ὦ τόξον φίλον, 867 ὦ φέγγος τό τ' ἐλπίδων ἄπιστον οἰκούρημα, 530 ὦ ... ἦμαρ, 1453* ὦ μέλαθρον, *T*. 1090 ὦ νῶτα καὶ στέρν', ὦ βραχίονες. Other personifications: *An*. 100* ἀκτὶς ἀελίου ..., ὦ χρυσέας ἁμέρας βλέφαρον. *OT* 151* ὦ Διὸς ἁδυεπὲς φάτι *E*. 201* ὦ ... ἁμέρα ... ὦ νύξ ... ὦ ἄχθη. But compare also the following section.

§ 16. *Exclamatory use of the vocative; ὦ with the imperative*

Exclamatory use overlaps that in address, and in many passages introduced by ὦ (or ὤ), ἰώ, distinction is arbitrary. Furthermore, as has been seen (§ 4), the nominative is also used for exclamation, so that it is only where the vocative has a special form that it is certain, as at *P*. 759 ἰὼ ἰὼ δύστηνε σύ.

ὦ may introduce an imperative, or adjuration and imperative, which is then followed by a vocative. *A*. 91 ὦ χαῖρ' Ἀθάνα, *E*. 666. *OT* 646 ὦ πρὸς θεῶν πίστευσον, Οἰδίπους, τάδε. The same construction without a vocative: *A*. 371 ὦ πρὸς θεῶν ὕπεικε, *OT* 1037. It is likely that ὦ is not meant to introduce the vocative where that form appears in such sentences. These uses also occur in popular language (Aristophanes, Menander: Fraenkel on A. *Ag*. 22).

CHAPTER FOUR

ACCUSATIVE

§ 1. *Introduction*

The accusative is typically an adjunct of a verb, of which it serves as complement or object (external or internal: see § 2). In addition to this syntactic function of the case there are the semantic ones of goal and end of motion (answering the question 'whither?'), and of the extent of an action in time or space (answering 'how long, how far?'). Attempts are made to link these uses. The object accusative (both external and internal) could be derived from that of the goal, as showing towards what, or on what, the verbal action is directed (Schwyzer 70); the accusative of extent, from the internal accusative (ib. 69). In this way one could arrive at the goal as the basic significance of the case. Schwyzer however (ib. 67) is reluctant to take this final step, and regards it as impossible to devise a satisfactory system for the case (for lack of sufficient historical evidence). Alternatively, the object relationship between verb and noun, effecting the closest possible connection of the complement to the verbal action, may make the starting-point (Brugmann 433, Humbert 253 f.). The accusative of the goal is then introduced as a special example of this relationship.

More recent solutions have been sought in relatively more abstract definitions (but with analogies to that last-mentioned). So Gonda (*Miscel. homenaje a André Martinet*, 47 (1957)), specifically on the Sanskrit accusative: it is 'the case which expresses an unspecified or unqualified relation of a noun or pronoun to a verb or another noun'. De Groot (*For Roman Jakobson*, 187 ff., on 'Classification of cases and uses of cases'): the accusative 'has no specific content of the process-to-thing relation' (in opposition to dative and ablative which have such content). Louw, *Acta Classica* 9, 1966, 80 f.: the accusative denotes a relation to the constructional chain without defining the relation. These approaches arise from a sense of the multifarious relations which can be expressed by the accusative. They provide a kind of umbrella under which diverse uses can find shelter; and they take account of the fact that it is easier to draw up a scheme of categories of verbs governing the genitive or the dative than for those governing the accusative. But the rather nebulous relation indicated runs into difficulty with the accusative of the goal. This use of the case is universally established. On it Louw remarks that the accusative in

Sanskrit *grāmam gacchati* 'he goes to town', being non-defining, does not on its own denote 'motion towards': it does no more than bring 'town' into relation with 'go', and usually the relation need not be illustrated more fully. But is '*to* town' a minor detail, which need not be specified? Is there not in '*from* town' (to take one, the most obvious, example) a relation of equal probability and frequency of occurrence, which it would be fatal not to exclude from the interpretation of *grāmam gacchati*—as in practice all the IE languages which have the accusative as well as an ablatival case do exclude it? If the theory requires us to accept the notion of the accusative as expressing a relation with the verb, or with the construction of the sentence, which is so indefinite, it may well appear better to separate from this syntactic function that of the end of motion, and to agree to a dichotomy in the case.

This is the course adopted by Hirt, *Indogerm. Gramm.* 6, 47, who argues for separation of the grammatical (syntactic) function of the accusative from the local, with which alone a preposition can be used. Hirt points out that originally there were certainly two separate local cases, for 'place from which' (ablative) and 'place in which' (locative), which have been fused with the genitive and dative respectively in Greek. It seems reasonable *a priori*, and on structural grounds, to suppose a former third local case, the lative, for 'place to which', which was later fused with the (grammatical) accusative. It is a notable feature of Greek case history (and indeed of the *centum*-group of IE to which Greek belongs: Lasso de la Vega 1, 279), that local case-forms were lost, and that local functions expressed by pure case use (without prepositions) were progressively given less prominence. The fusion of the concrete, local ablative and locative with the grammatical genitive and dative had the result that there was no case at all in Greek either entirely or predominantly local. In prose use it became standard to use prepositions to indicate local sense, though poetry could use the simple cases. Even in Mycenaean Greek 'motion to' was regularly expressed by the accusative with the postpositive *-de*. The weakening of the lative element in the accusative must have been a very early development.

§ 2. *Accusative of the object*

The accusative of the object can be divided on semantic grounds into the external (of the affected object) and the internal (of the effected object). The effected object is that which is implied by the verbal action, and comes into existence with it, and not before (as in νοσεῖν νόσον). The object need not however be only contemporary with the verbal action, but can (when it has concrete reference) express a result which continues after it (as in ἕλκος

οὐτᾶν). By contrast, the affected object is external to the action of the verb, with its existence not dependent on it (αἶρ' αὐτόν 'lift him up'). Verbs which by their meaning are incapable of taking the external object (intransitives) may take the internal (*E.* 599 ζῶ βίον μοχθηρόν); others may take both together (ib. 1034 τοσοῦτον ἔχθος ἐχθαίρω σε).

§ 3. *Accusative of the external object*

The use of the case is general, and there is not need of regular illustration, while definition of the verbs involved would be unnecessarily lengthy: those verbs, relatively few in number, which take genitive and dative will be defined later. Cf. Kurylowicz 181: 'The accusative of the direct object is defined on purely syntactical grounds. ... There is no ... semantic common denominator to all transitive verbs except that they are just transitive, i.e. govern the accusative of the direct object.' His exception is, however, not necessary, since its reference is purely syntactic. Transitivity in the verb is not a rigid classification: it is a category of use, and so liable to fluctuation (see Kühner-Gerth 1, 293 ff., Humbert 254, and especially Lasso de la Vega 1, 357 ff.).

A few categories call for special comment (partly because the forms of our own language which are commonly used as translation are differently employed in respect of transitivity).

With verbs of *saying, speaking. A.* 73 Αἴαντα φωνῶ 'I call "Ajax" by name'; or else, 'it is Ajax I call to'. Ib. 764 αὐτὸν ἐννέπει 'he spoke to him'. *OC* 758 πόλιν φίλως εἰπών 'after making kindly address to this city'. *P.* 1065 μ' ἀντιφώνει μηδέν. *OC* 991 ἕν γάρ μ' ἄμειψαι μοῦνον 'answer me only one thing'. *P.* 884. This use of accusative of the person addressed is also Homeric (Chantraine 38, Kühner-Gerth 1, 295 n. 3). *OC* 128* ἃς τρέμομεν λέγειν 'to speak of': *E.* 523 κακῶς δέ σε λέγω. *T.* 9 ποταμός, Ἀχελῷον λέγω 'a river, I mean Achelous' (to identify - the river is not addressed). *P.* 1261 σὺ δ', ὦ Ποίαντος παῖ, Φιλοκτήτην λέγω, ἔξελθε. This is in address, with a change of person spoken to after dialogue between Neoptolemus and Odysseus. The meaning is 'I speak to Philoctetes' rather than 'I speak of, mean, Philoctetes' (which seems otiose after ὦ Ποί. παῖ). A different tone of address, rough and peremptory, is seen with an introductory accusative σε, followed by an emphasising particle. *A.* 1228 σέ τοι, τὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωτίδος λέγω 'you there, it's you, the captive woman's son, that I am speaking to'. Similar use is found with ellipse of the verb: *An.* 441 σὲ δή, σὲ τὴν νεύουσαν ... κάρα, φῄς, ...; 'you there, you lowering your head, do you admit ...?' λέγω with a predicative adjective: *OC* 939 οὔτ' ἄνανδρον τήνδε τὴν πόλιν λέγω 'I do not speak of this city as lacking in men'. The variety of

these meanings is evidence of the lack of specific sense in the accusative function, which has been noted above: the accusative provides a complement, which is differently interpreted in different contexts.

With ὄμνυμι: *T*. 1185 ὄμνυ Διός ... κάρα 'swear to, by, the head of Zeus'. The construction is found from the time of Homer on: it is either accusative in address, or else internal, the object sworn by being equated with the oath sworn.

With ἥδομαι and -χαίρω the accusative is used with a supplementary participle to indicate the source of feeling. *P*. 1314 ἥσθην πατέρα τὸν ἀμὸν εὐλογοῦντά σε 'I am pleased with your praise of my father'. *A*. 136 σὲ μὲν εὖ πράσσοντ' ἐπιχαίρω. Cf. E. *Hipp*. 1339, with χαίρω. But it is doubtful whether ἥδομαι can take an accusative noun by itself: at *OT* 936 τὸ δ' ἔπος ... ἥδοιο (ἄν), it is better to take ἔπος as nominative (*nom. pendens*, Ch. 3 § 2).

A number of verbs expressive of feeling can take as object a noun expressing the cause of the feeling. *An*. 979* μελέαν πάθαν κλαῖον 'they bewailed their unhappy fate'. *OT* 1079 τὴν δυσγένειαν ... αἰσχύνεται 'she is ashamed of my low birth'. *A*. 650 τὰ δεῖν' ἐκαρτέρουν 'I was enduring (being patient under) dangers'. T. 1046 πολλὰ καὶ θερμὰ καὶ λόγῳ κακὰ ... μοχθήσας. It should be noted that neuter adjectives, or pronouns, sometimes occur more freely than nouns in these situations: this is because an internal accusative can provide the first step towards transitivity, and an adjective or pronoun may serve in either role, as internal or external object. So μοχθῶ takes an internal object when coupled with the cognate noun μόχθους (E. *Hel*. 1446 μόχθων οὓς ἐμοχθοῦμεν): but πολλά, τάδε, etc. as its object are open to both interpretations.

For examples of other verbs used transitively by extension, cf. ἀδικεῖν *P*. 1035; μένειν *T*. 1201; τιμωρεῖν *OT* 107, -εῖσθαι *P*. 1258 'obtain vengeance from'; ὀργαίνειν *OT* 335; στένειν ib. 64; ἀραρίσκειν *E*. 147*; ᾄσσειν *A*. 40; ἀλγεῖν ib. 790.

§ 4. *Accusative with compound verbs*

A large class of verbs becomes transitive when compounded with a preverb, especially verbs of motion (Kühner-Gerth 1, 300). (*a*) In some the construction is equivalent to that of the simple verb coupled with a preposition with the accusative (in place of the corresponding preverb). *OT* 422 τὸν ὑμέναιον, ὃν δόμοις ἄνορμον εἰσέπλευσας (= εἰς ὃν ἔπλ.) 'the marriage into whose harbour you sailed, no true harbour for your house' (δόμοις best with ἄνορμον, not independent 'in the house', as Jebb: otherwise Kamerbeek, with ὅν as internal accusative). *OC* 913 εἰσελθὼν πόλιν, *A*.

723 αὐτὸν ἀμφέστησαν, ib. 863 πεδία προσαυδῶ, ib. 999 διῆλθ' Ἀχαιούς, *OT* 208* ὄρεα διᾴσσει. (*b*) Other compounds take an accusative even though this would not be the case in use with a prepositional construction in place of the preverb. *A*. 82 νιν οὐκ ἂν ἐξέστην 'I would not have avoided him'. *OC* 866 με ... ψιλὸν ὄμμ' ἀποσπάσας (with double accusative: με equivalent of ἀπό μου). Ib. 1272 μή μ' ἀποστραφῇς 'do not turn away from, abandon me' (but with genitive of place, *OT* 431 οἴκων ἀποστραφείς). *A*. 167* τὸ σον ὄμμ' ἀπέδραν 'they escaped your eye'. Ib. 491 τὸ σὸν λέχος ξυνῆλθον 'I came to share your bed'. *OT* 809 κάρα ... μου καθίκετο (rather than μου as object, with κάρα accusative of respect). The verbs in such cases acquire a new sense, in which the preverb element loses importance, and have a corresponding construction: so ἀπέδραν like ἔφυγον, καθίκετο like ἔβαλε.

§ 5. *Accusative as secondary complement of verbal phrase*

An accusative may serve as secondary complement to an already complete verbal phrase, which may therefore have in addition a primary accusative object. Such examples of *constructio ad sensum*, used with special boldness by Soph., show syntactic blending. Thus, two possible constructions, τέκνα προσαυδῶ and μηκύνω λόγον lead to the compressed form *OC* 1120 τέκνα ... μηκύνω λόγον 'I make a long address to my children', which calls to mind both the underlying forms of sentence. *E*. 556 με ... λόγους ἐξῆρχες 'you began your address to me'. Ib. 123* τάκεις ... οἰμωγὰν ... Ἀγαμέμνονα 'you waste away, making lament for Agamemnon' ('you make a wasting lamentation for ...'). *OC* 583 τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ [ἢ λῆστιν ἴσχεις ... 'you either forget what lies between ...'. Perhaps also ib. 113 σύ μ' ἐξ ὁδοῦ πόδα κρύψον κατ' ἄλσος 'guide me from the way and hide me in the grove' (πόδα κρύψον as equivalent of 'guide and hide', with Campbell). With the first object in another case: *An*. 857* ἔψαυσας ἀλγεινοτάτας ἐμοὶ μερίμνας (genitive) πατρὸς ... οἶκτον (v.l. οἶτον) 'you have touched on what I most bitterly meditate, grief for my father' (or, with οἶτον, 'on my father's doom'). *E*. 385 ἦ ταῦτα δή με καὶ βεβούλευνται ποεῖν; 'have they really decided to do this to me?': there is no need to think of any particular verb as providing the analogy here, since when a course of action which affects a person is taken, the accusative of the affected object is pre-eminently required. But cf. the accusative of the person affected after ἀγαθά, κακὰ ποεῖν. Ib. 1206 μὴ τοῦτό μ' ἐργάσῃ, *A*. 21 ἡμᾶς πρᾶγος ἄσκοπον ἔχει περάνας, *P*. 802, 940 (both with δρᾶν). So further after a phrase with an intransitive verb: *T*. 207* ἐν δὲ κοινὸς ἀρσένων ἴτω κλαγγὰ τὸν ... Ἀπόλλωνα 'let the combined voices of all the men come in their midst, singing in praise of Apollo': the notions of the men singing of Apollo, and of their joining the

singers already mentioned, are combined in a unified expression. *E.* 1377 σε ... λιπαρεῖ προὔστην χερί 'I stood before you with urgent supplication': instead of the dative (as at *A.* 1133 σοὶ ... προὔστη) the accusative is used as it would be with ἱκετεύω 'approach as suppliant, supplicate' (cf. too the use of accusative with ἱκνοῦμαι 'id.', *A.* 588 etc.). *OT* 31 σε ... ἑζόμεσθ' ἐφέστιοι 'we sit at the hearth supplicating you'.

§ 6. *Accusative with compound verbs (nomino-verbal)*

Compound verbs made up of a nominal and a verbal stem may also take an accusative object, being therefore treated as a simple transitive verb. *E.* 190* οἰκονομῶ θαλάμους πατρός 'I tend, serve in, my father's halls'. Ib. 280 μηλοσφαγεῖ ... ἔμμην' ἱερά 'sacrifices sheep as monthly offerings'. *T.* 760 ταυροκτονεῖ δώδεκα ... βοῦς 'kills twelve bulls' (ταυρ. used absolutely A. *Th.* 276). *An.* 994 τήνδε ναυκληρεῖς πόλιν 'you steer this city' (as A. *Th.* 652). *A.* 549 αὐτὸν ... δεῖ πωλοδαμνεῖν 'it is necessary to break him in like a colt'. Note that in the last two cases the compound verb requires the object, without which the sense is incomplete. In the others too the accusative object is not otiose, being required in order to introduce and support an essential modifier (the genitive πατρός, or adjectives ἔμμηνα, δώδεκα). Thus in none of these examples would the compound verb alone suffice. Contrast the otiose use of the accusative, as in *Od.* 3, 472 οἶνον οἰνοχοεῦντες.

§ 7. *Accusative with verbal adjective*

An accusative object is found after a verbally derived adjective. *An.* 787* σ' οὔτ' ἀθανάτων φύξιμος οὐδείς 'neither does any of the immortals escape from you'. (Kühner-Gerth 1, 296; Schwyzer 73) Also perhaps fr. 887, 2 τὸν ... παυσανίαν κάκ' 'Ατρειδᾶν (κάκ' *per conj.*) 'allaying the sorrows of the Atreidae'. Cf. Ch. 9 § 10.

§ 8. *Accusative with passive verb*

The accusative occurs with a passive verb in various circumstances (see also § 14 on the accusative of respect). So on the analogy of a non-passive equivalent: *E.* 1045 οὐδὲν ἐκπλαγεῖσά σε (after analogy of φοβοῦμαι, etc.); possibly also *P.* 226 (where however δείσαντες could govern the case).

A passive verb retains an accusative which it would couple in the active construction with another accusative (and this latter now becomes the subject). Fr. 659, 4 ἥτις (πῶλος) ... θέρος θερισθῇ ξανθόν 'which has the yellow crop of its mane harvested, is shorn of its yellow mane': it presupposes active θερίζειν πῶλον θέρος ξανθόν, with θέρος an internal and πῶλον an external accusative (better so than with the accusatives of the part and

whole, in view of the cognate relation of θέρος to the verb). So with verbs of *depriving*, which take two external objects in the active: *E.* 114 τοὺς εὐνὰς ὑποκλεπτομένους 'those who are robbed of their marriage beds'. Probably too ib. 960 ᾗ πάρεστι μὲν στένειν πλούτου ... κτῆσιν ἐστερημένῃ 'deprived of the possession of wealth': στερεῖν takes accusative of person with genitive of thing (so normally passive with genitive, as *A.* 511 τροφῆς στερηθείς), but compare (*a*) ἀποστερεῖν with two accusatives, *E.* 1277, and with accusative in passive, fr. 670 (s.v.l.); (*b*) E. *Hel.* 95 βίον στερείς. But στένειν could govern κτῆσιν.

The construction is also possible with verbs which would take an accusative coupled with a dative in the active: in the passive form the former dative noun becomes subject (Kühner-Gerth 1, 124 f., Schwyzer 240). *T.* 158 δέλτον ἐγγεγραμμένην ξυνθήματα 'a tablet inscribed with signs'. *An.* 408 πρὸς σοῦ τὰ δείν' ἐκεῖν' ἐπηπειλημένοι '(we) threatened by you with those dreadful threats'.

Distinguish *A.* 1178 γένους ἅπαντος ῥίζαν ἐξημημένος 'reaped from out of all his kin by the root', with ῥίζαν accusative of respect. Fr. 473 χειρόμακτρον ἐκκεκαρμένος 'shorn as, so as to be, a napkin': χειρ., which is predicative, is nominative and not accusative (*pace* Pearson).

§ 9. *Internal accusative*

The internal accusative provides a construction which found special favour in Greek, and Sophocles made ample use of its possibilities (Schwyzer 74 ff., Lasso de la Vega 1, 364 ff., and especially 367). It is seen first where the noun is related by derivation to the same stem as the verb (the cognate use, *figura etymologica*). Rarely the noun is unqualified: *OC* 477 χοὰς χέασθαι, *An.* 551 εἰ γέλωτ' (γελῶ γ' *per conj.*) ἐν σοὶ γελῶ. Jebb on *OC* suggests a tone of solemnity for this type. The cognate construction is ancient, as is paronomasia generally (Schwyzer, *Synt. Arch.* 6, 10), and may therefore have such implication, as also of archaic tradition.

The frequent addition of an adjective (or other qualifier) gives point to the use, which otherwise could be simply tautologous. *A.* 959* γελᾷ ... πολὺν γέλωτα. *P.* 173* νοσεῖ νόσον ἀγρίαν. *An.* 1046 πίπτουσι ... πτώματ' αἰσχρά.

An easy extension is to nouns semantically allied to the verb, but not formally. *T.* 866* ἠχεῖ ... δυστυχῆ κωκυτόν (κ. replacing ἀχάν). Fr. 523, 3 ὀξυπλῆγας ἠχούσας γόους. *A.* 579 μηδ' ἐπισχήνους γόους | δάκρυε. *OC* 344 τἀμὰ ... κακὰ ὑπερπονεῖτον 'you endure my distress on my behalf'. *P.* 1416 ὁδὸν ἣν στέλλῃ 'the journey on which you are setting out' (ὁδός seems to have the status of a *nomen actionis* in relation to ἰέναι, ἐλθεῖν: Schwyzer 75).

E. 1318 τοιαύτην ἐξήκεις ὁδόν. Then further *E*. 1274* φιλτάταν ὁδὸν φανῆναι, i.e. 'to make a most welcome journey and appear', with omission of the verb of *going*. *A*. 877. *P*. 1037 οὔποτ' ἂν στόλον | ἐπλεύσατ' ἂν τόνδε 'you would not have sailed on this journey': compare, with reversal of the noun and verb roles, *A*. 1045 τόνδε πλοῦν ἐστείλαμεν. *T*. 562 τὸν πατρῷον στόλον ξὺν Ἡρακλεῖ ἐσπόμην 'I went with Heracles on my father's sending' (i.e. 'sent by him'). *OC* 1400 οἷον ἄρ' ὁδοῦ τέλος | Ἄργους ἀφωρμήθημεν: instead of ὁδόν, to give 'on what a journey we set out from Argos!', there is substituted ὁδοῦ τέλος, to give with great compression 'what an end to the journey on which ...'. (This also produces a striking oxymoron, τέλος ἀφορμᾶσθαι 'to make a start on an end'.) *E*. 1415 παῖσον διπλῆν (with ellipse of the noun πληγήν) 'strike a second blow'. *A*. 55 ἔκειρε πολύκερων φόνον 'he caused slaughter of many-horned beasts by stabbing'. From a use such as ἕδραν ἕζεσθαι with ἕδραν abstract (cf. *OC* 1166 τήνδ' ὁ προσθακῶν ἕδραν, *OT* 2 ἕδρας τάσδε θοάζετε), there developed an accusative of the place (with concrete sense) on which one sat or lay. *A*. 248* ζυγὸν ἑζόμενον 'sitting on the bench'. *OT* 161* θρόνον θάσσει 'sits on the throne'. *P*. 145* τόπον ... ὅντινα κεῖται 'the place in which he lies (i.e. lives)' (as substitute for the abstract θέσιν κεῖται.

?*T*. 1062 θῆλυς οὖσα κοὐκ ἀνδρὸς φύσιν 'being a woman, not having a man's nature'. Emendation to avoid coupling οὖσα with φύσιν is not difficult and possibly desirable (*leg*. φῦσα for the former, to give a clear cognate construction, or φύσις for the latter: Jackson proposes χἄνανδρος for κοὐκ ἀνδρός, leaving φύσιν as accusative of respect). If the reading is right, οὖσα would be taken in zeugma with φύσιν, appearing here as the verb substantive and so close in sense to φῦσα (cf. Schwyzer 75). Compare *A*. 760 ἀνθρώπου φύσιν βλαστών 'born with the nature of a man'.

A further development occurs where there is suppression of the expected cognate or allied noun, and in its place is another noun which could have served as its modifier: this is another example of the compression achieved in this construction. *A*. 1096 τοιαῦθ' ἁμαρτάνουσιν ... ἔπη 'they wrongly make such statements' (τοι. ἔπη standing for ἁμαρτίαν τοιούτων ἐπῶν). Ib. 1107 τὰ σέμν' ἔπη κόλαζ' ἐκείνους 'apply to them the punishment of those proud words' (with both internal and external object: see further § 10 for other examples of this). *An*. 133* νίκην ἀλαλάξαι 'to shout a victory shout'. *P*. 151* φρουρεῖν ὄμμα 'to keep an eye-watch, keep a watchful eye'. *OC* 449 σκῆπτρα κραίνειν 'to exercise rule with sceptre, with sceptred authority'. The passive form of this is seen at *P*. 140* τὸ θεῖον Διὸς σκῆπτρον ἀνάσσεται, with σκ. now as subject. (Cf. ib. 605 ὄνομα ὠνομάζετο Ἕλενος 'his name was Helenus', a passive transform of ὠνόμαζον ὄνομα Ἕλενον: though

alternatively ὄνομα may be accusative of respect.) Uses such as *T.* 681 πονῶν πλευράν 'suffering a side-pain, a pain in the side' provide one of the forms of the accusative of respect (see § 14).

§ 10. *Double accusatives*

Double accusatives occur with use of both external and internal types together. *E.* 1034 τοσοῦτον ἔχθος ἐχθαίρω σ' ἐγώ. *A.* 738 βραδεῖαν (sc. ὁδὸν) ἡμᾶς ... ἔπεμψεν 'sent us on too late a mission'. Ib. 1107 (see § 9). *OT* 340. *An.* 1201. *T.* 50 πανδάκρυτ' ὀδύρματα [τὴν Ἡράκλειον ἔξοδον γοωμένην 'lamenting with cries and tears for the departure of Heracles'. *OC* 1204 βαρεῖαν ἡδονὴν νικᾶτέ με 'you have gratification in overcoming me, but for me it brings distress' (with much compression: the result of the victory, expressed in the oxymoron βαρ. ἡδ., replaces νίκην in the cognate accusative relation).

Two accusatives (external) occur with particular semantic classes of verbs, one of them being personal. Such are verbs of *asking, requesting, ordering; concealing; taking away* (Kühner-Gerth 1, 324 ff.). *OT* 1518 τοῦ θεοῦ μ' αἰτεῖς δόσιν 'you ask me for what is the gift of the gods': *A.* 825, *OC* 1364. *A.* 831 τοσαῦτά σε ... προστρέπω 'I request this much of you'. *T.* 1221 τοσοῦτον δή σ' ἐπισκήπτω, ib. 1206 οἷά μ' ἐκκαλῇ. *P.* 1366 κἄμ' ἀναγκάζεις τόδε; Ib. 915 οὐδέν σε κρύψω. *OC* 866 με ... φιλὸν ὄμμ' ἀποσπάσας, *P.* 376.

§ 11. *Accusative of the whole and part*

These accusatives (of the σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος) occur in partitive apposition; normally the whole refers to a person, and the part is a part of the body. The noun of the part is added to give more precise specification. *E.* 147* ἐμέ γ' ... ἄραρεν φρένας. *An.* 319 σ' ἀνιᾷ τὰς φρένας. *OC* 113 με ... πόδα κρύφον. *P.* 1301 μέθες με, πρὸς θεῶν, χεῖρα. Fr. 171, 2 τὴν ῥῖνά μ' εὐθὺς φηλαφᾷ. *T.* 225 οὐδέ μ' ὄμματος φρουρὰν παρῆλθε (φρουρὰ codd.) 'nor has it escaped my watching eye': ὄμματος φρουράν instead of φρουροῦν ὄμμα.

§ 12. *Adverbial accusative (adjectives and pronouns)*

The internal accusative of a neuter adjective or pronoun may take the place of a noun, and so provide an adverbial equivalent. *E.* 962 ἄλεκτρα γηράσκουσαν 'spending an unmarried old age' (ἀλ. = ἄλεκτρον γῆρας, or * ἀλέκτρως (not attested)). Ib. 786 ἔκηλα ... ἡμερεύσομεν 'live free from care'. *A.* 1346 σὺ ταῦτ' ... τοῦδ' ὑπερμαχεῖς ἐμοί; cf. *OT* 264. Ib. 1301* ὁ πηδήσας μείζονα δαίμων 'he who has made a greater leap'. *An.* 546 θανεῖν κοινά 'share a death'. *OT* 883* ὑπέροπτα πορεύεσθαι 'walk insolently'.

With verbs of *motion* the use develops a sense of purpose. *OC* 1291 ἃ δ' ἦλθον ... θέλω λέξαι: 'what my journey is' passes into 'why I have come' (Kühner-Gerth 1, 310 n. 6). *OT* 1005 μάλιστα τοῦτ' ἀφικόμην, ὅπως ... εὖ πράξαιμι 'I have come especially for this reason ...'. Compare the parallel development with a noun: *OC* 1400 οἷον ἄρ' ὁδοῦ τέλος [Ἄργους ἀφωρμήθημεν 'for what an end to our journey did we set forth from Argos!'. With other verbs: *T.* 550 ταῦτ' οὖν φοβοῦμαι μή ... 'this is why I am afraid lest ...' (with ταῦτ' referring back to the explanation preceding, and not introducing the μή- clause).

Πάντα occurs both with verbs (*An.* 640, *OT* 88), and with adjectives (*E.* 301 ὁ πάντ' ἄναλκις, *An.* 721 πάντ' ἐπιστήμης πλέων): in the latter the use is that of the accusative of respect, or of extent. ?*T.* 338 τούτων ἔχω γὰρ πάντ' ἐπιστήμην ἐγώ would combine πάντα most awkwardly with transitive ἔχω and its direct object ἐπιστήμην: Jackson 130 avoids this by reading τούτων—ἔχω γὰρ πάντ'—ἐπιστήμων ἐγώ. In singular with article *E.* 1009 πανωλέθρους τὸ πᾶν (with repetition).

πολύ (πολλόν), πολλά. Accusative of extent (degree) in πολύ An. 720 φήμ' ἔγωγε πρεσβεύειν πολύ. *OC* 1228* πολὺ δεύτερον. (But *Inach.* (?) 5, Page, *Lit. Pap.*, πολὺ πολυϊδρίδας 'very, very wise': here πολύ is rather anticipation, with tmesis, of πολυ- the element in the following compound.) Plural πολλά, *P.* 254 ὢ πόλλ' ἐγὼ μόχθηρος ('in respect of many things'). Of frequency: *T.* 789 πολλὰ μὲν ... π. δέ 'often', *E.* 415, *T.* 544 νοσοῦντι π. τῇδε τῇ νόσῳ (or, of extent). *E.* 1456 πολλὰ χαίρειν μ' εἶπας (degree). With adjective, *OC* 1514 πολλὰ διατελεῖς 'very continuous'.

πρῶτον 'first' (in a series of actions). *OC* 469 π. μὲν ... χοὰς ἐνεγκοῦ 'first bring libations', i.e. before doing other acts: here better as accusative (or nominative) in apposition. But with article, *T.* 563 ἡνίκα ... τὸ π. ἑσπόμην 'when for the first time I accompanied' (here the accusative is properly internal, 'when I made the first accompaniment').

§ 13. *Adverbial accusative (nouns)*

τέλος is so commonly used (*A.* 301, etc.), with the accusative (or originally nominative) in apposition to the sentence. ἀρχήν similarly: *E.* 439 ἀρχὴν δ' ἄν ... χοὰς οὐκ ἄν ποθ' ... ἐπέστεφε 'would not have poured libations for a start', i.e. 'not at all'. καιρόν with verbs of *motion*: *A.* 34 κ. δ' ἐφήκεις, ib. 1316 'at the right time', probably internal accus. (or else apposition): cf. dative καιρῷ *OT* 1516. *An.* 446 εἰπέ μοι, μὴ μῆκος ἀλλὰ συντόμως (v.l. -α) 'tell me, not at length but briefly': μῆκος internal accus. (though not impossible as external object, cf. *OC* 1139 μῆκος λόγων θέσθαι: in that case σύντομα would be better, with punctuation after μοι omitted).

§ 14. *Accusative of respect*

The accusative of respect (relation, specification) has multiple origin: Schwyzer 84 ff.; Lasso de la Vega 1, 379 ff.; E. A. Hahn, *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* 85, 1954, 197 ff., and *Naming Constructions in Indo-European Languages* (1969), 94 ff. Certain uses go back to IE. with neuter nouns denoting name, size, birth, *et sim.* So ὄνομα (*E.* 694 ὄνομα δ' Ὀρέστης (sc. ἀνακαλούμενος)); γένος (*P.* 239 ἐγὼ γένος μέν εἰμι τῆς ... Σκύρου); μῆκος (*An.* 393 ἔοικεν ἄλλῃ μῆκος οὐδὲν ἡδονῇ 'is not like any other pleasure in extent'): these were possibly originally nominatives in apposition or parenthesis (Schwyzer 86 (e)). Another, more far-reaching, theory would see the neuter as originally not differentiated in inflection in the oblique cases, so that the use here in question could be instrumental (cf. Lasso de la Vega 1, 403 ff., especially 407 f.). So too σπέρμα *An.* 981*; and non-neuter γένεσιν *T.* 380, φύσιν (coupled with βίου τροφάς) *OC* 338.

Other uses are derived from internal accusatives used with intransitive verbs. As has been seen above (§ 9), *T.* 681 πονῶν πλευράν 'suffering a side-pain', with internal accusative, may also be taken as an accusative of respect, 'suffering in the side': and then the use can be extended to adjectives, with which the internal accusative interpretation is no longer possible. Thus with nouns especially denoting parts of the body, the mind, etc. *OT* 742 χνοάζων ἄρτι λευκανθὲς κάρα 'having the first sprinkling of white on his head'. *A.* 9 κάρα στάζων ἱδρῶτι καὶ χέρας ξιφοκτόνους. Ib. 954 θυμὸν ἐφυβρίζει 'exults in his soul'. *P.* 42 νοσῶν χῶλον. Then by extension to adjectives: *OT* 371 τυφλὸς τά τ' ὦτα κ.τ.λ. *A.* 366* δεινὸν χέρας, ib. 1153 ὀργὴν ὁμοῖος, 1253 μέγας πλευρὰ βοῦς. *An.* 781* Ἔρως ἀνίκατε μάχαν. In the case of passive verbs too the internal accusative would not strictly apply: rather than assume a further extension, we can see a twofold development. (*a*) A middle verb can take a direct object: so, λούομαι τὰς χεῖρας. But a passive interpretation of the same form is also possible, and then the accusative remains as an accusative of respect. (*b*) The accusative of the part and whole in an active construction would be seen in τοῦτό με ταράσσει φρένας: turned into a passive construction this gives ταράσσομαι φρένας, as at *An.* 1095 (cf. § 8 for other retention of accusative in transformation from active to passive). *A.* 651 ἐθηλύνθην στόμα, ib. 1209* δρόσοις τεγγόμενος κόμας.

With an articular phrase: *An.* 889 ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἁγνοὶ τοὐπὶ τήνδε τὴν κόρην 'undefiled with regard to this girl'. Ib. 1062 οὕτω ... δοκῶ τὸ σὸν μέρος 'so I think (I shall do) as concerns you' (cf. *OC* 1366).

§ 15. *Accusative of extent (time and place)*

This indicates the extent of an action. Of place, with verbs of *motion*, denoting the area covered, over or through which the action occurs. *E.* 1163 δεινοτάτας πεμφθεὶς κελεύθους 'sent on (implying 'travelling on') a dreadful journey' (internal accusative). *A.* 30 πηδῶντα πεδία. *T.* 559 τὸν ... ποταμὸν Εὔηνον βροτοὺς ... 'πόρευε 'ferried men over the river E.'. *OC* 1686* πόντιον κλύδων' ἀλώμεναι. *A.* 845 τὸν οὐρανὸν διφρηλατῶν 'driving a chariot through the sky'. Ib. 995 ὁδὸς ... ἣν ... ἔβην. By extension, without motion: *A.* 878 οὐδὲ τὴν ... κέλευθον ἀνὴρ οὐδαμοῦ δηλοῖ φανείς 'nor has he been seen anywhere along the path'. (But distinguish uses with verbs of *lying*, *sitting*, such as *P.* 145* τόπον ... ὅντινα κεῖται, *A.* 249* ζυγὸν ἑζόμενον 'sitting on the bench', where the notion of extension over an area is not appropriate (contrary to Kühner-Gerth 1, 313 f., n. 13). These are better treated as internal accusative (see § 9 above).)

Of time, expressing duration. *An.* 415 χρόνον τάδ' ἦν τοσοῦτον 'this situation existed for such a length of time'. *P.* 795 τὸν ἴσον χρόνον. *OT* 1136 τρεῖς ὅλους ... ἐκμήνους χρόνους '(I used to be with him) for three full periods of six months'. But otherwise ib. 1138 χειμῶνα δ' ἤδη τἀμά τ' εἰς ἔπαυλ' ἐγὼ ἤλαυνον (χειμῶνα L, -ι A) 'when it was now winter, I used to drive my flocks to my folds'. 'During the winter' (in the sense of an extended action) is not appropriate, and the accusative has encroached on the genitive (of point of time during a period), or on the dative. Campbell and Jebb propose that the case has a durative sense, implying that the flocks were to remain there for the winter; but this is not what the sentence is about, and it overlooks the presence of ἤδη. We must compare it with ib. 1090* ἀπείρων ... οὐκ ἔσῃ τὰν αὔριον πανσέληνον (sc. ὥραν) 'you will not be without knowledge at the next full moon' (otherwise Kamerbeek, who takes τὰν ... πανσέλ. as subject of the following clause). Also perhaps *OC* 433 τὴν αὐτίχ' ἡμέραν (but duration may be allowable here). The bridge to such uses is provided by examples like καιρόν 'at the right time', *A.* 34 κ. ἐφήκεις (§ 13, probably internal accusative), ἀρχήν 'in the first place' *E.* 439, in which considerations of duration are not relevant. Compare Ar. *Ach.* 23 ἀωρίαν ἥκοντες 'having made a late coming, come at a late time'; E. *Hipp.* 1117* ἤθεα τὸν αὔριον μεταβαλλομένα χρόνον 'changing my ways on the morrow' (not time through which, as Barrett ad loc.: ὁ αὔριον χρόνος 'the morrow' is thought of synoptically, and does not stress the notion of a *period* of time).

An. 340* ἰλλομένων ἀρότρων ἔτος εἰς ἔτος 'as the ploughs go up and down year after year, from year to year'. There is a similar formula in Theoc. *Id.* 11, 69 ἆμαρ ἐπ' ἆμαρ 'day after day'. Formulas of this kind (which may

have a popular source) need not be restricted to the syntax normally applied to free forms: but an internal, adverbial use of the accusative ἔτος offers a point of departure ('making the yearly ploughing').

§ 16. *Accusative of end of motion*

The accusative of place as end of motion occurs freely without preposition, as in Homer: the use is poetical and ancient. *P.* 1332 τὰ Τροίας πεδία ... μόλῃς. *OC* 1769 Θήβας δ' ἡμᾶς ... πέμψον. Ib. 434 σ' ἂν οἴκους τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐστειλάμην 'summoned you to ...' *E.* 63 δόμους ἔλθωσιν. Ib. 163* μολόντα τάνδε γᾶν. *T.* 259 ἔρχεται πόλιν.

Rarely in lyric by extension to a person, in metaphorical use. *P.* 141* σὲ δ', ὦ τέκνον, τόδ' ἐλήλυθεν πᾶν κράτος 'to thee has come this sovereign power' (the gift of hereditary rule). Compare E. *Hipp.* 1371* νῦν ὀδύνα μ' ὀδύνα βαίνει. There is a comic example at Ar. *Nu.* 30 τί χρέος ἔβα με ...; 'what debt came upon me?': this is parody of Epic use (*Od.* 2, 28 τίνα χρειὼ τόσον ἵκει ...;). Epic parallels with persons as the end of motion are confined to the verbs from the stem ἱκ- (ἱκάνω, ἱκνέομαι), as *Od.* 7, 141 ἵκετ' Ἀρήτην 'he came to Arete'; and especially metaphorically, where the subject expresses grief, hardship, etc., as in E. *Hipp.* 1371* (*Od.* 6, 169 χαλεπὸν δέ με πένθος ἱκάνει).

§ 17. *Accusative in apposition to the sentence*

The accusative 'in apposition to the sentence' is in part a form of the internal accusative, but also appositional: Kühner-Gerth 1, 284 f., Schwyzer 617 f., Lasso de la Vega 1, 387 f., Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 757. *E.* 130* ἥκετ' ἐμῶν καμάτων παραμύθιον 'you have come a comforting of my distress', 'to comfort ... is the purpose of your coming': the internal accusative is here semantically an integral part of the sentence, and the meaning is not 'you have come' with the added comment 'and that is a comfort'. Hence in examples of this sort the label of apposition, suggestive of the added comment, is not strictly appropriate. In other examples, however, the label does properly fit. *A.* 559 κούφοις πνεύμασιν βόσκου, νέαν | ψυχὴν ἀτάλλων, μητρὶ τῇδε χαρμονήν 'be nurtured by light breezes, fostering your tender life, a joy to this, your mother': here the final phrase is non-integral and could be omitted without fatally impairing the sentence. I follow tradition in discussing here the two types of use together, despite the semantic and syntactic difference. Further examples: (*a*) integral. *OC* 92 κέρδη μὲν οἰκήσαντα τοῖς δεδεγμένοις 'having settled there with profit to my hosts'. Ib. 984 αὐτῆς ὄνειδος παῖδας ἐξέφυσέ μοι 'to her shame she bore me children'. *E.* 563 ἐροῦ ... τίνος ποινὰς τὰ ... πνεύματ'

ἔσχε 'ask as punishment for what (i.e. what she punished when) she restrained the winds'. (*b*) non-integral. Here the accusative phrase usually occurs finally, as suits an addition to the sentence (opisthothesis). *A*. 1210* κεῖμαι δ' ἀμέριμνος οὕτως, ἀεὶ ... τεγγόμενος κόμας, λυγρᾶς μνήματα Τροίας 'I lie thus uncared for, with dew ever on my hair, reminders of baneful Troy' (μνήματα plural because of the variety and also the repetition of the reminders, that the Chorus are engaged in war at Troy). *OC* 139 φωνῇ γὰρ ὁρῶ, τὸ φατιζόμενον 'I see by use of sound, as is the saying'. *An*. 44 νοεῖς θάπτειν σφ', ἀπόρρητον πόλει; 'do you intend to bury him, an act publicly forbidden?' *E*. 966 (πημονήν), *A*. 1191* (ὄνειδος), *OC* 544* (νόσον): all in final position. *OT* 603 καὶ τῶνδ' ἔλεγχον, τοῦτο μὲν ... πεύθου τὰ χρησθέντ' ... τοῦτ' ἄλλ' ... μή μ' ἁπλῇ κτάνῃς ψήφῳ ... 'so then—as proof of what I say—first go and consult the oracle ... and then ... slay me'. The unusual initial placing is required because τῶνδε is anaphoric, and also the process of proving is divided up into parts (τοῦτο μέν ... τοῦτ' ἄλλο: see Fraenkel on A. *Ag*. 1645). In the integral type the accusative shows the result of the verbal action (the effected object), as is expected of an internal accusative; in the non-integral the relation is not confined to result, but includes description or summing up of the action.

The non-integral type springs, as has been stated, from an appositional construction. Such a use could be seen, for example, in *P*. 609 (ὃν) δέσμιόν τ' ἄγων [ἔδειξ' 'Αχαιοῖς ἐς μέσον, θήραν καλήν 'leading him in bonds he showed him publicly to the Achaeans, a fine prey'. But, one may ask, why should the accusative be so used particularly, and not any case whatever? It is likely in fact that the case in apposition was at first not an accusative, but a nominative in the neuter (see Chapter 3, § 2): the number of neuters found in this use is significant. The identity of form, and similarity of use to the integral type (with internal accusative), then led to an accusative interpretation of these nominatives, and so to a non-neuter accusative 'in apposition', such as ἔλεγχον in *OT* 603.

§ 18. *Accusative absolute*

The neuter singular participle of impersonal verbs is used absolutely (earliest in Herodotus and Attic: Schwyzer 401 f., Goodwin §§ 851 ff., Lasso de la Vega 1, 393 ff.). This is a form of the accusative in apposition to the sentence, and like that may be regarded as nominative apposition, at any rate in origin (so Schwyzer). So παρόν, *P*. 1098*, fr. 564, 3. ἐξόν, *E*. 365. προσῆκον, (*per conj.*) fr. 193. The connection of thought is temporal.

Also with a subject, introduced by ὡς. *OT* 101 ἄνωγεν ἡμᾶς Φοῖβος ... μίασμα χώρας ἐλαύνειν ... ὡς τόδ' αἷμα χειμάζον πόλιν 'since this blood brings

storm on the city'. Perhaps also *OC* 380 (text uncertain). The sense is causal, and the construction must have a different source, possibly seen where the accusative can depend on a verb of *knowing*, *saying*, etc., as *OC* 1583 ὡς λελοιπότα (λελογχότα, *conj.*) κεῖνον τὸν αἰεὶ βίοτον ἐξεπίστασο 'know that he has departed from life', *E.* 882 οὐχ ὕβρει λέγω τάδ', ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον ὡς παρόντα νῷν 'I do not say this in insolence, but speak of him as present for us' (Kühner-Gerth 2, 94, n. 5). Such examples might be interpreted with the accusative absolute, for which the then current impersonal absolute use provided an analogy.

§ 19. *Some independent uses*

In oaths the accusative can be used independently: the source is an internal accusative with a verb of *swearing*. *OT* 660* οὐ τὸν ... Ἅλιον, ib. 1088* οὐ τὸν Ὄλυμπον ἀπείρων ... οὐκ ἔσῃ. *An.* 758. *E.* 1063. In other cases μά is present, originally a connective but by now probably regarded as a preposition (Moorhouse 18): *E.* 881 μὰ τὴν πατρῴαν ἑστίαν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὕβρει λέγω τάδε (note initial position of μά), ib. 626 ἀλλ' οὐ μὰ τὴν ... Ἄρτεμιν ... οὐκ ἀλύξεις. With νή in positive oath: fr. 957 νὴ τὼ Λαπέρσα, νὴ τὸν Εὐρώταν τρίτον, νὴ τοὺς ... θεούς (νή only here in Tragedy, but frequent in Comedy and in Prose).

An accusative of exclamation proper is not certainly found in Sophocles, and is very rare in Greek generally (Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1146). An example such as *An.* 1265* ὤμοι ἐμῶν ἄνολβα βουλευμάτων is better taken as nominative.

An accusative of abrupt address is found in isolation: *An.* 441 σὲ δή, σὲ τὴν νεύουσαν ἐς πέδον κάρα, φῂς ἢ καταρνῇ ...; 'you there, you lowering your face, do you admit or deny ...?' This derives from passages where a governing verb is present. Cf. *E.* 1445 and § 3 above.

§ 20. *The accusative in so-called prolepsis*

A noun or pronoun appears to be taken from a following subordinate clause (where it would normally serve as subject, or, rarely, as object) and incorporated in the preceding principal clause, being thereby advanced in the sentence (Kühner-Gerth 2, 577 ff., Lasso de la Vega 1, 386 f., J. Gonda, *Mnemosyne*, 1958, 117 ff.—the two latter both critical of the description as prolepsis). The stylistic results of this use are various (on which see especially Gonda, loc. cit.), but among others it serves to bring into prominence the advanced element, and it knits more closely together the two clauses of the sentence. But often the displacement is very slight, so that it is no more than a variation of expression, or for metrical con-

venience. *T.* 321 ξυμφορά τοι μὴ εἰδέναι σέ γ' ἥτις εἶ 'it is a misfortune not to know who you are'. Ib. 2 οὐκ ἂν αἰῶν' ἐκμάθοις βροτῶν, πρὶν ἂν | θάνῃ τις, οὔτ' εἰ χρηστὸς οὔτ' εἴ τῳ κακός 'you cannot know about any man's life, whether it is good or bad, until he is dead'. *A.* 1141 ἀντακούσῃ τοῦτον ὡς τεθάψεται 'you will have my reply about him, that he shall be buried'. *P.* 573 τόνδε μοι πρῶτον φράσον | τίς ἐστιν. *OT* 224 ὅστις ... Λάϊον ... κάτοιδεν ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τίνος διώλετο 'who knows by whose hand Laius perished'. Ib. 302 πόλιν ... φρονεῖς ... οἵᾳ νόσῳ σύνεστιν 'you are aware with what a sickness the city is encompassed'. With ellipse (or absence) of εἶναι: *OT* 926 αὐτὸν εἴπατ' εἰ κάτισθ' ὅπου, *A.* 103, 890*, 118 ὁρᾷς ... τὴν θεῶν ἰσχὺν ὅση. With division of a noun phrase (attribute and noun) between the two clauses: *T.* 97* ... τοῦτο καρῦξαι *τὸν 'Αλκμήνας* πόθι μοι πόθι μοι *παῖς* ναίει (Kühner-Gerth 2, 579 n. 4).

The accusative form rarely would serve as object in the subordinate clause: *An.* 883 ἆρ' ἴστ' ἀοιδὰς καὶ γόους πρὸ τοῦ θανεῖν | ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἷς παύσαιτ' ἄν, εἰ χρείη, λέγων; (λέγων *per conj.*, -ειν codd.: the status of the accusative is the same with either reading), 'do you not know that no one would cease from songs and laments before death, if there should be need of it?' *A.* 1062 αὐτὸν οὔτις ἔστ' ἀνὴρ σθένων | τοσοῦτον ὥστε σῶμα τυμβεῦσαι τάφῳ 'no one is so mighty as to bury his corpse in a tomb' (αὐτόν later taken up by σῶμα). In another relation: *OT* 767 δέδοικ' ἐμαυτόν ... μὴ πόλλ' ἄγαν | εἰρημέν' ᾖ μοι.

The usage is familiar in Greek generally from Homer on. In its simplest form the base could be a supplementary clause giving more precision: so in *T.* 321 (the first example above) with ἥτις εἶ added to εἰδέναι σε. Other cases have their origin in blending of the two constructions which are possible after verbs of *knowing*, *thinking*, *saying*, etc. (which are mainly the verbs concerned in the principal clause): on the one hand, accusative with participle or infinitive, and on the other subordinate clauses introduced by ὡς, ὅτι, etc., or by pronominal or adverbial forms (cf. Funk 252). So behind *OT* 224 lie Λάϊον κάτοιδεν ἔκ τινος διολέσθαι and κάτοιδεν ἐκ τίνος ἀνδρὸς Λάϊος διώλετο; behind ib. 302 are πόλιν φρονεῖς νόσῳ συνοῦσαν (cf. *T.* 289 for accusative and participle with φρονῶ) and φρονεῖς οἵᾳ νόσῳ πόλις σύνεστιν. Note that we cannot take Λάϊον κάτοιδεν by itself, since it gives the wrong sense 'knows Laius'; and πόλιν φρονεῖς is not possible for 'you are aware about the city'. The explanation based upon prolepsis, and nothing more, does not adequately explain the use of the *accusative* case in these examples (and on this ground too the transformational account of the construction by J. Lyons, *Structural Semantics* (1963), 107 f., is deficient). But, while the mechanism of the construction is not fully explained under the

head of prolepsis, there can be no doubt that it was developed just for this purpose, to advance an item in the sentence, and this, as well as convenience, may justify us in keeping the term prolepsis for the use. We must of course distinguish cases of hyperbaton where verbs of *knowing* etc. are not involved, such as the following: *OT* 819 καὶ τάδ' οὔτις ἄλλος ἦν | ἢ 'γὼ 'π' ἐμαυτῷ τάσδ' ἀρὰς ὁ προστιθείς (τάδε in apposition to, and anticipating, τάσδ' ἀράς), ib. 1329*: here the advanced form retains the case appropriate to its function in the succeeding clause.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENITIVE

§ 1. *Introduction*

The genitive case, as it appeared from the statistics quoted above (Chapter 2, §§ 2-4), is the one least used, despite the fact that in Greek it represents two older cases, the genitive proper and the ablative. Over a half of its uses are with prepositions (largely ablatival). It is by far the chief adnominal case, accounting for 90% of all such use; and in it alone adnominal use exceeds adverbal (63%: 36%). When the case is judged against this background, and after separation of the ablatival use (denoting 'place etc. from which'), we can on grounds of convenience, if none other, divide the remainder of the uses between the adnominal on the one hand (actualised in a great variety of different contexts) and the partitive on the other hand (chiefly adverbal, but not completely). This is how Chantraine and Humbert proceed: the latter goes further (267 f.), and finds a link between partitive and adnominal in the notion of *limitation*. The genitival complement of a verb would thus delimit its operation, which affects a part only of the object; that of a noun has, like an adjective, a defining and thus again a delimiting character. This notion of delimiting is found again in Louw (84): for him the genitive connotes the idea of restriction (thus the genitive with verbs of *eating* and *drinking*, where only part of the object is concerned; or the genitive of reference, restricting the point at issue). This approach provides the most successful attempt at finding a semantic unity behind the uses of the true genitive.

An alternative scheme has been proposed by Kurylowicz (183 ff.). This would take the adnominal use, and especially the subjective-objective, as alone primary, and the partitive would form a contextual variant of this. But what then of the adverbal partitive uses? These he is obliged to regard as all being originally adnominal, in dependence on a noun (usually accusative) which suffers ellipse: after the ellipse their character changes from adnominal to adverbal. So μετέσχες τοῦ πόνου (*P.* 248) presupposes a lost accusative μοῖραν *vel sim.* This view is in fact an ancient one, and in more recent times other authorities have sought to support it (e.g. Hirt and Ehrlich: cf. Lasso de la Vega 1, 433 ff.). But the large-scale ellipse which the theory supposes is too artificial, and is rightly rejected; and the adverbal use which it seeks to explain, has all the appearance of great antiquity.

Schwyzer's scheme is rather less tidy, though not necessarily the worse for that: he has a partitive, a pertinentive (of relation in the widest sense, embracing the usual adnominal but also including some adverbal use), and a final group of syncretistic uses where the historical development is not clear. It must be true that, whatever original basis is proposed, for Greek-speakers the genitive represented a single case, and that after the fusion with the ablative further developments took place especially in the assimilation of adverbal and adnominal use.

A. *Adnominal and derived uses*

§ 2. *Introduction*

The many semantic sub-types into which the adnominal genitive can be divided serve a practical purpose, but are all illustrations of the ways in which there is involved the sense of relationship between two nouns (that in the genitive and its *regens*); they describe the manner of the limitation or definition imposed by the one upon the other. Syntactically we may say simply that the genitive noun is in an adjectival relation to the *regens*: further, semantic analysis explores the nature of the contexts in which this occurs. Derived adverbal uses have also been included.

§ 3. *Possessive-pertinentive use*

The possessive includes the wider notions of association, connection with (pertinentive, Schwyzer). *OT* 925 τὰ τοῦ τυράννου δώματ' ... Οἰδίπου. *T.* 74 Εὐρύτου πόλιν. *E.* 252 τοὐμὸν αὐτῆς 'my very own interest': the construction brings out the link between adjective and genitive, ἐμόν being equivalent to ἐμοῦ and so expanded by gen. αὐτῆς. Of parentage: *An.* 825* τὰν ξέναν Ταντάλου 'the stranger, daughter of T.'. *T.* 181 τὸν Ἀλκμήνης τόκον. *P.* 402* τῷ Λαρτίου. It is unnecessary to suppose ellipse of υἱός, θυγάτηρ. In adverbal use: *E.* 540 πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ὄντας 'being the children of ...'. *An.* 486 ἀδελφῆς ... κυρεῖ 'she is my sister's child'. *P.* 239 γένος μέν εἰμι τῆς ... Σκύρου 'by birth I belong to Scyros' (or else, gen. of source). *OT* 1122 Λαΐου ποτ' ἦσθα σύ; 'slave of L.'. Of place, in the ancient set phrases ἐν Ἅιδου (*E.* 463, *A.* 865), εἰς Ἅιδου (*T.* 4, *OT* 1372), ἐξ Ἅιδου (*P.* 449). Here it is possible to suppose an ellipse (of δόμος); or we may think more widely of 'what belongs to Hades', 'Hades' domain' (see Schwyzer 120, Lasso de la Vega 1, 458 ff. on the alternative theories).

OC 947 Ἄρεος εὔβουλον πάγον: the use of the genitive instead of the familiar adjective Ἄρειον gives dignity (Wackernagel 2, 73: cf. *Campus Martis* for *Martius*, Tacitus). See Chapter 9 § 3 on the possessive adjective.

In adverbal use: *OC* 660 ὁ νοῦς ὅταν | αὑτοῦ γένηται 'when the mind is in control of itself' (strictly 'under its own control'). *T*. 435 τὸ γὰρ | νοσοῦντι ληρεῖν ἀνδρὸς οὐχὶ σώφρονος 'to prattle with a sick man does not belong to, is not the proper action of, a wise man' (nominal sentence).

Pertinentive, with wider sense: *E*. 501* φάσμα νυκτός 'vision seen in the night'. *P*. 43 φορβῆς νόστον 'a journey connected with food, to find food'. Ib. 12 ἀκμὴ γὰρ οὐ μακρῶν λόγων 'it is not a time for long speech'. *An*. 633 ψῆφον ... τῆς μελλονύμφου 'decree concerning your bride-to-be'. *OT* 170* φροντίδος ἔγχος 'weapon provided by thought' (or definition, 'a weapon, consisting of a thought'): 'thought-weapon' is open to equal ambiguity. Ib. 44 τὰς ξυμφορὰς ... τῶν βουλευμάτων 'the events connected with their counsels', and so 'the results of their counsels' (cf. Jebb's note and Appendix). *OC* 447 γῆς ἄδειαν 'security in the land' (i.e. a safe resting-place in it). Ib. 1506 τύχην ἐσθλὴν τῆσδ' ... τῆς ὁδοῦ 'the good fortune evidenced in this coming'. *OT* 1463 βορᾶς τράπεζα 'table for food, dining-table'. Fr. 659, 5 λειμῶνα ποταμίων ποτῶν 'pasture with running water'. Adjunct of a pronoun: *OT* 991 τί ... ἐκείνης 'what, that has to do with her'. *P*. 300 τὸ τῆς νήσου 'the situation on the island'. *E*. 92 τὰ παννυχίδων 'the events of the night festival' (see also on this use under Article, Chapter 8 § 16). Adjunct of nominalised participle: *E*. 1333 ἦν ἂν ὑμὶν ἐν δόμοις | τὰ δρώμεν' ὑμῶν πρόσθεν ἢ τὰ σώματα 'your plans (what you are engaged in) would have been in the house before you yourselves' (τὰ δρ. ὑμ. = ἃ δρᾶτε ὑμεῖς: the union with τὰ δρ. is made easier by τὰ σώματα following, with which ὑμῶν also goes): see also § 41 below. With adjectival πρέπον: *A*. 534 πρέπον γέ τἂν ἦν δαίμονος τοὐμοῦ τόδε 'this would have been fittingly associated with my fortune', with genitive instead of the dative normal with πρέπει: on the analogy of ἄξιον, which occurs (though not in Sophocles) with this sense of the genitive, e.g. Thuc. 2, 71, 2 ποιεῖτε ... ἄξια οὔτε ὑμῶν οὔτε πατέρων (ἄξιος here not in its common use with a genitive of the value or worth).

Related adverbal uses: *OT* 917 ἔστι τοῦ λέγοντος 'he is at the mercy of (ruled by) whoever speaks'. *An*. 547 μηδ' ἃ μὴ 'θιγες ποιοῦ σεαυτῆς 'do not claim as yours deeds in which you had no part'. *OT* 411 οὐ Κρέοντος προστάτου γεγράψομαι 'I shall not be enrolled under Creon as patron'. *An*. 738, *OC* 38, both with νομίζεται.

§ 4. *Objective use*

The objective genitive, depending on nouns and adjectives, is so called as representing what would be the object if the expression were verbal instead of nominal: however, the verbal background has no bearing on the choice of case. *E*. 90 στέρνων πλαγάς 'blows directed on the breast'. *T*. 476

ταύτης ὁ δεινὸς ἵμερος 'love for her'. *An.* 79 βίᾳ πολιτῶν 'violence against the citizens'. *E.* 1097* τᾷ Ζηνὸς εὐσεβείᾳ 'reverence for Zeus'. Ib. 142* ἀνάλυσις κακῶν 'a dispelling of troubles'. *A.* 264 φρούδου ... τοῦ κακοῦ μείων λόγος 'less importance is attached to the trouble when it is gone'. *P.* 828* ὀδύνας ἀδαής 'not knowing pain'. *E.* 3 ὧν πρόθυμος ἦσθα 'for which you had desire'. *A.* 799 ὀλεθρίαν Αἴαντος (s.v.l.) 'bringing destruction to Ajax'. *An.* 153* ὁ Θήβας ἐλελίχθων 'he who shakes Thebes'. *OC* 333. *An.* 492. *E.* 1386.

The objective genitive has given rise on logical grounds to the classification of a subjective genitive, where the noun would be subject of a verbal expression. So τὸν Ἀλκμήνης τόκον (*T.* 181), of 'the son whom A. bore' (see under § 3).

§ 5. *Genitive of definition*

The defining genitive provides a description of the *regens* in terms of its content, and is equivalent to an appositional construction. *T.* 574 θρέμμα Λερναίας ὕδρας 'the creature, the Lyrnaean hydra'. Ib. 1154 τὸ Θήβης ἄστυ. *An.* 472 τὸ γέννημα τῆς παιδός 'the offspring which is the maiden'. *OT* 1474 τὰ φίλτατ' ἐκγόνοιν ἐμοῖν 'my darlings, my children'. *OC* 324 ὦ δισσὰ πατρὸς καὶ κασιγνήτης ἐμοὶ | ἥδιστα προσφωνήματα 'O names father and sister, most dear to me'. *E.* 758 σῶμα δειλαίας σποδοῦ 'the body which is (reduced to) sad dust'. *A.* 309 ἐρειπίοις νεκρῶν ἀρνείου φόνου 'the ruins of corpses, of slaughtered sheep' (both genitives defining, the second more specific). *An.* 1209 ἀθλίας ἄσημα βοῆς 'indistinct, sad cry'. Ib. 1265* ἐμῶν ἄνολβα βουλευμάτων 'my luckless plans'.

Periphrastic phrases, where the group of *regens* plus *regimen* in the genitive makes a more elaborate and dignified equivalent of the genitive noun, are a mark especially of high style. Some such are stereotyped (thus with the *regens* κάρα); in others the force of the *regens* is not to be overlooked. Vocative uses in address are notably frequent. With personal nouns in the genitive: *An.* 1 Ἰσμήνης κάρα; *OT* 40, 950, *OC* 1657. *An.* 944* Δανάας δέμας. *P.* 1289 Ζηνὸς ὕψιστον σέβας, ib. 592 ἡ Ὀδυσσέως βία. Fr. 314, 252 Κυλλήνης σθένος. With common nouns, referring to both animate and inanimate objects: *T.* 507* ποταμοῦ σθένος, ὑψικέρω ... φάσμα ταύρου 'mighty river god, awful image of a horned bull'. Ib. 527* τὸ δ' ἀμφινείκητον ὄμμα νύμφας (ὄμμα stressing her beauty). *A.* 140* ὄμμα πελείας (ὄμμα shows its fear). *OC* 1568* ὦ ... σῶμά τ' ἀνικάτον θηρός (of Cerberus). *E.* 1242* περισσὸν ἄχθος γυναικῶν. *P.* 868 τὸ ... οἰκούρημα τῶνδε τῶν ξένων 'you watching friends'. *T.* 964* ξένων βάσις 'approaching strangers'. Fr. 401 συὸς μέγιστον χρῆμα (χρ. so used also in Aristophanes, and in prose: cf. Hdt. 1,

36, 1 ὑὸς χρῆμα μέγα). *P.* 952 ὦ σχῆμα πέτρας δίπυλον. *E.* 718 τροχῶν βάσεις 'speeding wheels'. *T.* 656* πολύκωπον ὄχημα ναός 'the many-oared ship (which carries him)'. On such periphrasis in Sophocles (especially as a stylistic device) see Long, *Language and Thought in Sophocles*, pp. 61-112.

§ 6. *Genitive of quality*

Here the description applies to the quality or character of the *regens*. *A.* 1004 ὦ δυσθέατον ὄμμα καὶ τόλμης πικρᾶς 'face of (showing) cruel courage' (notice the coupling with the adjective δυσθ., serving a similar function): cf. *OT* 533 τοσόνδε τόλμης πρόσωπον '(face of) such effrontery' (with hypallage, which is not inconsistent with saying that τόλμης πρόσ. makes a unity, *pace* Kamerbeek: this kind of unity provides a basis for hypallage). *An.* 114* λευκῆς χιόνος πτέρυγι 'snow-white wing' (λευκῆς χιόνος equivalent to an adjective). *A.* 616* ἔργα χεροῖν μεγίστας ἀρετᾶς 'the deeds of action marked by, famed for, the greatest prowess' (as Kamerbeek, ἔργα χερ. makes a unit which is then qualified by μεγ. ἀρ.). Without an adjective to accompany the genitive: *E.* 19 μέλαινα ἄστρων εὐφρόνη 'dark night of stars, starry night'. Cf. A. *Ag.* 1535* πρᾶγμα βλάβης, E. *Ba.* 389* ὁ τᾶς ἡσυχίας βίοτος.

§ 7. *With compound (including hypostasized) adjectives*

Compound adjectives which include a noun as base may take a genitive in the same way as the noun itself. *A.* 508 πολλῶν ἐτῶν κληροῦχον 'she who has a lot of, whose lot is, great age' (based on ἐτῶν κλῆρον, with a defining genitive). *OT* 83 πολυστεφὴς παγκάρπου δάφνης 'having a rich crown of fertile laurel'. But with the genitive referring to the adjectival member: *E.* 87* γῆς ἰσόμοιρ' ἀήρ 'the heaven, whose portion is equal to that of the earth'. So with hypostasized adjectives (on the formation, see Schwyzer 1, 436), compounded with a preposition: *A.* 1405 λουτρῶν ἐπίχαιρον 'ready for the lustration' (= ἐπὶ καιρῷ λουτρῶν). *E.* 1386* δωμάτων ὑπόστεγοι 'under the roof of the house', *A.* 796 σκηνῆς ὕπαυλον. Fr. 965, 1 ἐπώνυμος κακῶν (κακῶν *per conj.*) 'with the name of, being named after, troubles'. Fr. 941, 2 πολλῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπώνυμος 'with the name of many names, with many names' (genitive defining). With the genitive affected by the prepositional element: *P.* 401* λεόντων ἔφεδρε 'sitting on lions', *E.* 572 ἀντίσταθμον τοῦ θηρός 'compensatory for the beast' (as requital for it).

Many negative compounds can also come under this head (though an ablatival base (§ 31 below) must in addition be reckoned with). This use of the genitive is especially developed in Tragedy. *A.* 1326 ταφῆς ἄμοιρον

'without his portion of burial'. *OC* 677* ἀνήνεμον πάντων χειμώνων 'unaffected by the wind of any storm'. *T.* 23 ἀταρβὴς τῆς θέας 'without fear of the sight'. *E.* 1214 ἄτιμος τοῦ τεθνηκότος 'without honour from the dead' (subjective gen.) (cf. with similar meaning *A.* 440 ἄτιμος Ἀργείοισιν, with dative of person judging, 'in the eyes of the Greeks'; *OC* 51 ἄτιμος ἔκ γ' ἐμοῦ, with ἐκ indicating the source). *E.* 241* γονέων ἐκτίμους 'without honour for my parent' (objective gen.; ἐκ- equivalent of ἀ-). It is notable that the genitive adjunct is used freely after negative compound adjectives, but much less with positives: so ἔντιμος 'honoured by' is linked only with a dative (*E.* 239 τούτοις, *An.* 25 τοῖς νεκροῖς). *E.* 36 ἄσκευον ἀσπίδων τε καὶ στράτου 'without the furnishing of, unfurnished with, an armed host' (hendiadys). *OT* 191* ἄχαλκος ἀσπίδων 'without bronze in the form of shields, without bronze shields'. *OC* 1383 ἀπάτωρ ἐμοῦ 'without a father in me, not having me for father'. Ib. 865 ἄφωνον τῆσδε τῆς ἀρᾶς 'without utterance of this curse'. *P.* 217* ναὸς ἄξενον ὅρμον 'a haven without a ship as guest'. Kaibel (on *E.* 36) notes that, where the genitive is one of definition, usually the noun in that case is more restricted in meaning than the substantive contained in the compound, or the restriction is stressed by an epithet (*A.* 321 ἀψόφητος ὀξέων κωκυμάτων 'without a cry of shrill lament'). Sophocles observes these limits, but not Euripides, in whom the expression can become purely redundant (*Supp.* 810* τέκνων ἄπαιδα, *Hel.* 524* ἄφιλος φίλων).

§ 8. *Genitive of value, price; exchange*

A special form of the genitive of quality relates to value or price. It is still non-specialised in *OC* 1163 οὐ γαρ ἥδ' ἕδρα σμικροῦ λόγου 'this supplication is not of small account, worth'. Linked with ἄξιος: *An.* 699 χρυσῆς τιμῆς, *OT* 972 οὐδενός. Adverbal: *A.* 477 οὐκ ἂν πριαίμην οὐδενὸς λόγου βρότον 'I would not buy the man at any valuation'. *An.* 1170. *T.* 560 βροτοὺς μισθοῦ πόρευε 'used to ferry men for a fee'. *P.* 62 (σε)οὐκ ἠξίωσαν τῶν ὅπλων 'did not think you worthy of the arms'. *An.* 21 οὐ γὰρ τάφου νῷν τὼ κασιγνήτω Κρέων | τὸν μὲν προτίσας, τὸν δ' ἀτιμάσας ἔχει; 'has not Creon honoured one of our two brothers in respect of burial, but dishonoured the other?': τάφου goes more readily with ἀτιμάζω (cf. *OC* 49, ἄτιμος *OT* 789: there is the analogy of verbs of *depriving*, with ablatival genitive), but can also be linked with προτίω 'give preference in honour to'. Also with verbs of *exchanging, taking in exchange*: *A.* 208* τί δ' ἐνήλλακται τῆς ἁμερίας νὺξ ἥδε βάρος; 'what burden has this night received in place of that of the day?' *T.* 737, with ἀμείβομαι.

B. *Partitive*

§ 9. *Introduction, and independent use*

An ancient (and perhaps the original) use of the partitive genitive in IE was to represent other cases independently in the syntax of the sentence, with the significance of a part or restricted quantity of what is named in the genitive (Schwyzer 101 f.; Humbert 268 f.; Lasso de la Vega 1, 414 ff.; E. Nachmanson, *Partitives Subjekt im Griechischen*). The existence of this use is a principal reason for giving the partitive genitive separate status, instead of regarding it as another variant of the adnominal use seen above: in its independent form it is not adnominal, but neither is it necessarily adverbal (*pace* Lasso de la Vega 1, 414, who so classifies it). Survivals are most frequent in historic Greek in the objective relation, where it appears as an adverbal genitive 'governed' by the verb. As a subject, replacing the nominative, the usage is rare but none the less is securely established. Lasso de la Vega is too critical of a number of the examples quoted for subjective use. Thus on *Il.* 13, 191 οὔ πη χροὸς εἴσατο 'nowhere was any of the flesh visible', where he proposes (p. 416) that χροός is dependent on the adverb πη (and so adnominal, in a wider sense), and compares ib. 3, 400 ἦ πῄ με προτέρω πολίων εὖ ναιομενάων | ἄξεις. But he himself later shows (p. 431), quoting this latter passage, that it was only when in Classical the independent genitive of place (a special form of the partitive) became less regular that it was possible to view such genitives as dependent on an accompanying adverb; so the genitive in *Il.* 3, 400 was independent. Another example (also negative) is Ar. *V.* 352 πάντα πέφρακται κοὐκ ἔστιν ὀπῆς οὐδ' εἰ σέρφῳ διαδῦναι: on this it has been suggested (and Lasso de la Vega agrees) that ὀπῆς is governed by διαδῦναι. This appears less likely when the context is more fully examined. In v. 350 there has been a question: ἔστιν ὀπὴ δῆθ' ἥντιν' ἂν ἔνδοθεν οἷός τ' εἴης διορύξαι ...; 'is there an opening that you would be able to burrow through from inside ...?' To this the answer is given, 'It's all blocked up, and there isn't any opening (part. gen.), not even for a gnat to get through', rather than 'it's not possible for even a gnat to get through an opening': οὐκ ἔστιν ὀπῆς is the direct answer to ἔστιν ὀπή;. Other examples at Hdt. 3, 102, 2; Hippocr. π. σαρκ. 3; Xen. *Hell.* 6, 2, 20. There is the analogy of a prepositional form in *N.T.* (*Jn.* 16, 17 εἶπον ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν 'some of the disciples said': Funk § 164). There is a possible example in *A.* 189* εἰ δ' ... κλέπτουσι μύθους οἱ μεγάλοι βασιλῆς, ἢ τᾶς ἀσώτου Σισυφιδᾶν γενεᾶς ... 'if the mighty kings (the Atreidae) are spreading false stories, or one of the profligate stock of the line of Sisyphus (Odysseus)'. It has been proposed to

supply βασιλεύς (so Hermann, Kamerbeek). If the genitive is independent, it would be apparently unique in referring to a particular member of the family (γενεά), and not to one or more members unspecified. Nachmanson 18 ff. sees another example in *E*. 1322 ὡς ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ κλύω τῶν ἔνδοθεν χωροῦντος 'I hear someone within moving to come outside', with τῶν ἐνδ. as subject of χωροῦντος. Alternatively, χωροῦντος could have the meaning 'one who is moving', without expression of a pronominal subject (i.e. τινος: cf. E. 697 ἰσχύων 'one who has strength') and τῶν ἔνδοθεν would then depend on it.

As object of a number of verbs, whose meaning is such that the action operates upon a part and not the whole of the object, the partitive genitive occurs regularly, and these verbs are listed below (§§ 12 ff.). With others it is found only occasionally, alongside the usual accusative. *OT* 709 ἐστί σοι | βρότειον οὐδὲν μαντικῆς ἔχον τέχνης 'there is no mortal being that possesses any part of the craft of divination' (ἐστί better not periphrastic with ἔχον: for the genitive, cf. Pl. *Phaedr.* 244 e ἐξάντη ἐποίησε τὸν ἑαυτῆς (τῆς μανίας) ἔχοντα). Kühner-Gerth 1, 345 quotes both as showing the participle form with the sense *teilhaftig*; but it would of course be mistaken to infer an adjectival use for ἔχων, and make this responsible for the genitive. Note that the sense of '(having) a part, or share, in ...' is expressed solely by the genitive, which sets this use apart from the regular examples with genitive after μετέχω etc., where the verb itself indicates a sharing. *An.* 1068 ἀνθ' ὧν ἔχεις μὲν τῶν ἄνω βαλὼν κάτω 'because you have thrust below some of the living'. Perhaps too *E*. 653 φίλοισί τε ξυνοῦσαν ... | ... καὶ τέκνων ὅσων ἐμοὶ | δύσνοια μὴ πρόσεστιν 'in company with friends ... and those of my children who have not enmity for me' (if τέκνων is not attracted by ὅσων).

§ 10. *The partitive with non-verbal association*

The partitive genitive occurs linked with a variety of forms other than verbs. With nouns and noun-phrases: *P*. 308 βορᾶς μέρος. *OC* 868 θεῶν ὁ πάντα λεύσσων Ἥλιος 'among the gods, the Sun who sees all' (cf. *Il.* 11, 761 εὐχετόωντο θεῶν Διὶ Νέστορί τ' ἀνδρῶν). *E*. 759 ἄνδρες Φωκέων τεταγμένοι 'appointed men from among the P.'. Fr. 271, 2 Λάκμου τ' ἄπο Περραιβῶν 'from Lakmos in the, among the, P.'. *P*. 387 οἱ ἀκοσμοῦντες βροτῶν 'the unruly among men' (nominalised participle). With pronouns: *A*. 314 ἐν τῷ πράγματος 'in what circumstance?'. *An.* 248 τίς ἀνδρῶν, *E*. 170* τί ἀγγελίας. *A*. 425 οὔτινα στρατοῦ 'none in the host'. *An.* 584* ἄτας οὐδέν 'no element of calamity'. Fr. 837, 2 κεῖνοι βροτῶν. *OC* 1138 ἐς τόδ' ἡμέρας 'up to this time' = ἐς τήνδε ἡμέραν (the meaning cannot be 'up to

this moment of this day', which would be much too precise: ἡμέρας therefore has the wider sense of 'time'). *OC* 1123 ἄλλος βροτῶν. *E.* 917 αὑτὸς (ὁ αὐτός) δαιμόνων 'the same fortune'. Ib. 1362 μάλιστά σ' ἀνθρώπων ἤχθηρα 'you among men I have hated most'.

With adjectives (especially superlatives): *E.* 154* σοὶ μούνᾳ βροτῶν, ib. 530. *An.* 616* πολλοῖς ἀνδρῶν. *E.* 15 φίλτατε ξένων. *OC* 743 πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων κάκιστος. The adjective may also be articular: *P.* 24 τἀπίλοιπα τῶν λόγων (cf. Bruhn 23). With emphatic repetition of the adjective in paronomasia (see also § 32 below, and Chapter 9 § 9). *P.* 65 ἔσχατ' ἐσχάτων κακά, ib. 984 ὦ κακῶν κάκιστε. Also with substantival use of the adjective (positive): *OT* 465* ἄρρητ' ἀρρήτων 'deeds unmentionable among those which are so' (hence doubly so), *OC* 1238* πρόπαντα κακὰ κακῶν. This genitive of emphasis has a long history in Greek as well as elsewhere in IE (and in Semitic): cf. Lasso de la Vega 1, 439 ff. and especially 451 ff.; Schwyzer 100, 116.

With adverbs: *A.* 102 ποῦ σοι τύχης ἕστηκεν; 'where does he stand in the range of fortune?' Ib. 386 οὐχ ὁρᾷς ἵν' εἶ κακοῦ; *E.* 404 οἷπερ ὁδοῦ. *P.* 1180* ἴωμεν ναὸς ἵν' ἡμῖν τέτακται 'let us go where in the ship our place is assigned'. *OT* 1443 ἵν' ἕσταμεν χρείας 'where we are in the scale of need'. *E.* 1174 ποῖ λόγων ... ἔλθω; 'to what form of speech am I to come?'. Ib. 1035 οἷ μ' ἀτιμίας ἄγεις. *P.* 204* ἢ που τῇδ' ἢ τῇδε τόπων 'either here or there'.

§ 11. *Of Time and Place*

The genitive is used of time and place, with reference to a point within a larger unit.

(i) Of time, past, present, or future. Of a particular time, which has determination: *A.* 21 νυκτὸς τῆσδε 'during last night, at a point in it'; ib. 141 (if not objective). *E.* 698 ἄλλης ἡμέρας, ὅθ' ἱππικῶν ἦν ἡλίου τέλλοντος ... ἀγών, εἰσῆλθε 'on another day, when there was the chariot-race at sunrise (gen. abs.), he entered the lists' (though dative would be possible (ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ), the qualification introduced by the ὅτε -clause limits the reference to that part of the day). Ib. 817 ἀλλ' οὔ τι ... τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου | ξύνοικος εἴσειμι 'but I shall not enter the house to dwell there at any time in the future'. Ib. 478 μέτεισιν ... οὐ μακροῦ χρόνου 'will come within a short time'. *T.* 173 τῶνδε ναμέρτεια συμβαίνει χρόνου | τοῦ νῦν παρόντος 'the precise time predicted falls due within the current period'. Of time or season undetermined: *E.* 780 οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτ' ἐξ ἡμέρας 'neither at night-time nor by day' (past). *A.* 285 ἄκρας νυκτός 'at the summit of the night' (= 'at dead of night'?): continued with ἡνίχ' ἕσπεροι | λαμπτῆρες οὐκέτ'

ἦθον 'when the evening braziers were no longer burning', which expands and explains ἀκ.νυκτός, rather than identifying a particular time in it (as in *E*. 698 above). Fr. 65, 2 πνεύσαντα νυκτός, ἡμέρας μαλάσσεται 'after blowing at night, grows calm by day' (of winds, metaphorically).

(ii) Of place, of the area within which the action occurs. In contrast with the expression of time, the local use is largely poetic (especially Epic: Kühner-Gerth 1, 384). With verbs of motion: *OC* 689* πεδίων ἐπινίσεται 'moves over the level ground' (of a river): cf. *Il*. 2, 801 ἔρχονται πεδίοιο (and similarly in a number of phrases with πεδίοιο, suggesting a set formula: Chantraine 58). Fr. 314, 321* ὀμφὰ κατοιχνεῖ τόπου 'a sound goes over the district'. Compare the figurative uses in *OC* 189* εὐσεβίας ἐπιβαίνοντες 'going in (the area of) piety'; *P*. 1463 δόξης οὔ ποτε τῆσδ' ἐπιβάντες 'though I never went within, i.e. embraced, this expectation'. The preverbs ἐπι-, κατα-, support the genitive use in these examples. But distinguish *A*. 731 λήγει δ' ἔρις δραμοῦσα τοῦ προσωτάτω (-τάτου v.l.) 'the strife ceases after running towards its extreme point'. With this compare the use in prose of τοῦ πρόσω (with ἰέναι, Xen. *An*. 1, 3, 1, etc.: Kühner-Gerth 1, 385). These cannot be regarded as showing the area within which (*pace* Kamerbeek): what is in front of you remains in front, even if you follow your nose! The genitive (partitive) is that seen with verbs of *aiming at, desiring*: cf. *An*. 1033 with τοξεύω, and fr. 314, 74 τυχεῖν με πράγους οὗ δράμημ' ἐπείγεται 'grant me success in the matter towards which (οὗ) my course is aimed'. The use is not so common with plain verbs of motion because of the danger of confusion with the ablatival genitive, where the sense is the opposite.

With verbs other than of motion. *E*. 78 θυρῶν ἔδοξα προσπόλων τινὸς | ὑποστενούσης ἔνδον αἰσθέσθαι 'I thought I heard one of the servants moaning within, by the doors'. θυρῶν can hardly depend on the distant ἔνδον (despite Kaibel): take as 'in the region of the doors', giving a not very exact location. Ib. 900 ἐσχάτης δ' ὁρῶ | πυρᾶς ... βόστρυχον 'I saw a lock of hair on the edge of the mound'. *A*. 1274 ἑρκέων ... ἐγκεκλῃμένους 'shut in in the area of the lines', and so (because of ἐγκεκλ.) 'within the lines'. *E*. 760 ὅπως πατρῴας τύμβον ἐκλάχοι χθονός 'that he may be granted a tomb in his ancestral land' (the genitive not dependent on the preverb ἐκ-). *OC* 694* ἔστιν δ' οἷον ἐγὼ γᾶς Ἀσίας οὐκ ἐπακούω 'there is a plant such as I know not of in Asian soil'.

A. 659 γαίας ὀρύξας ἔνθα μή τις ὄψεται: ὀρύσσω properly 'dig' rather than 'bury', so '(I shall conceal my sword) digging (in) the earth where no one will see it'. The genitive is supported by the ἔνθα -clause, to which it can also be joined (cf. *P*. 1180*): but γαίας ὀρύξαι is quite able to stand by itself,

with a partitive genitive as seen in § 9 above. Cf. the regular τῆς γῆς τέμνειν 'ravage the land' (Thuc. 1, 30, 2 etc.).

§ 12. *Adverbal use: Introduction*

As already mentioned, some classes of verbs are followed regularly, and not only occasionally, by the partitive genitive. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish partitive and ablatival use (thus with verbs of *hearing*, § 22). The genitive is also found alongside the use of other cases (so accusative, with verbs of *sharing*, § 13; and of *eating*, § 14; dative, with verbs of *approaching*, § 18; and of *filling, being full*, § 20). Associated adjectival use is often found under the same heads.

§ 13. *With verbs of sharing*

P. 248 μετέσχες τοῦδε τοῦ πόνου; 'did you share in this enterprise?' *T.* 546 κοινωνοῦσα τῶν αὐτῶν γάμων. But with accusative *OC.* 1484* μηδ' ... ἀκερδῆ χάριν μετάσχοιμι 'may my portion not be a favour devoid of advantage' (the object is not itself something shared). *An.* 537 ξυμμετίσχω καὶ φέρω τῆς αἰτίας 'I share in and bear some of the blame' (genitive governed by both verbs, as Jebb: it is unnecessary to refer it to ξυμμετ. alone). Ib. 699 οὐχ ἥδε χρυσῆς ἀξία τιμῆς λαχεῖν; 'is she not worthy to have as portion golden honour?' With adjectives: *T.* 730 τοῦ κακοῦ κοινωνός, *E.* 87* γῆς ἰσόμοιρ' ἀήρ 'heaven, whose domain is equal to that of earth' (compendious comparison). *OT* 116 συμπράκτωρ ὁδοῦ 'companion in travel'.

§ 14. *With verbs of tasting, making trial, beginning*

The object is something of which only a part is affected. *An.* 1005 ἐμπύρων ἐγευόμην 'I sampled, made trial of burnt offerings', *T.* 1101. *E.* 468 πειρωμένῃ δὲ τῶνδε τῶν ἔργων ἐμοί 'for me, when I attempt these deeds'. But *OC* 763 τί ταῦτα πειρᾷ; has the neuter demonstrative as internal accusative, 'why do you make this attempt?' *T.* 871 οὐ σμικρῶν κακῶν | ἦρξεν τὸ δῶρον 'the gift began, set in train, great sorrows'. But *E.* 552 ἄρξασά τι λυπηρόν 'after being first in giving offence' (internal accusative, with neuter adjective); cf. with substantive fr. 368, 2 ἄρξασι Φρυξὶ τὴν κατ' Ἀργείων ὕβριν (Ἀργείους codd.) 'the Phrygians who were initiators, aggressors, in their offence against the Argives' (not 'they set this offence in train', as if to answer a question 'who started this offence?'). With ἐσθίειν, and πίνειν, which can take the genitive, Sophocles uses only the accusative: so fr. 671 ἐσθίειν τὸν δέλφακα, *OT* 1400 ὁδοῖς, αἳ τοὐμὸν αἷμα ... ἐπίετε πατρός. Adjectival: *An.* 582* κακῶν ἄγευστος αἰών 'a life without experience of evil' (but see also § 31).

§ 15. *With verbs of enjoying, benefiting from*

This is an extension of the use with verbs of *tasting*, etc. *T.* *570* τοσόνδ' ὀνήσῃ τῶν ἐμῶν πορθμῶν 'you will have this much profit from my carrying'. *E.* 211* μηδέ ποτ' ἀγλαΐας ἀποναίατο 'may they have no advantage from their splendour'. *P.* 715* ὅς μηδ' οἰνοχύτου πώματος ἥσθη 'who did not have the joy of a draught of wine' (exceptional: ἥδομαι normally with an instrumental dative). (At *OC* 436 οὐδεὶς ἔρωτος τοῦδ' ἐφαίνετ' ὠφελῶν, the reading is disputed. ὠφελεῖσθαι may take a genitive by analogy e.g. with ὀνίνασθαι (cf. Antiph. 5, 17 ὠφελεῖσθαι τοῦδε τοῦ νόμου), but this does not justify the genitive with active ὠφελῶ (as Kühner-Gerth 1, 355 proposes, equating with ἀπολαύειν ποιῶν). Active ὀνίνημι does not have such a genitive. But is another way open to preserve the text, by analogy with συλλαμβάνω, -ομαι? This verb has the sense of 'aid', in which, as occasionally ὠφελῶ (cf. *An.* 560), it takes the dative of the person (fr. 927 οὐ τοῖς ἀθύμοις ἡ τύχη ξυλλαμβάνει); and it has the genitive of the sphere of aid (*P.* 281 ὅστις νόσου [κάμνοντι συλλάβοιτο 'one who would aid (in) the sickness for me in distress'; cf. E. *Med.* 946 συλλήψομαι δὲ τοῦδέ σοι ... πόνου). This genitive has its source in the use with verbs of *seizing* (§ 16), but the metaphorical use of 'aid' may be sufficiently removed to make possible an extension of the construction to ὠφελῶ: hence ἔρωτος τοῦδ' ... ὠφελῶν 'aiding in my desire'.)

§ 16. *With verbs of touching, seizing*

A. 1172 ἱκέτης ἔφαψαι πατρός 'touch your father as a suppliant'. *OC* 373 ἀρχῆς λαβέσθαι 'to seize power'. *P.* 791 εἴθε σοῦ ... ἔχοιτ' ἄλγησις ἥδε 'would that this pain might keep hold of you'. *An.* 857* ἔψαυσας ἀλγεινοτάτας ἐμοὶ μερίμνας 'you have touched on my most bitter concern' (for the accusative οἶκτον, or οἶτον, which follows, see Chapter 4 § 5). But two passages exceptionally have accusative. *An.* 961* ἐπέγνω μανίαις ψαύων τὸν θεὸν ἐν κερτομίοις γλώσσαις 'too late he found out, when in madness he attacked the god with mocking speech' (so Mazon, rather than θεόν with ἐπέγνω: but possibly ψαύων is causal and not temporal (so Müller)). The sense of ψαύων is metaphorical, and the partitive notion, which is present in the physical act of touching, is here absent: the accus. with κερτομῶ would provide an analogy. Ib. 546 μηδ' ἃ μὴ 'θιγες [ποιοῦ σεαυτῆς 'do not claim as yours deeds in which you had no part'. ἅ cannot be an internal accus. which would give the sense 'do not claim your non-intervention as yours', so that the fact that ἅ is neuter pronominal is immaterial (*pace* Müller): ἅ is essentially an *affected* object. The accus. is best accepted as a rare use (but

paralleled in Archil. fr. 71, Alcm. fr. 38, Theocr. *Id.* 1, 59: the former two with simple θιγγάνω, the last compounded with ποτί). Metaphorical sense is present here too. Ib. 235 τῆς ἐλπίδος δεδραγμένος 'grasping the hope'. Adjectival: *OT* 969 ἄψαυστος ἔγχους 'not having touched a sword'.

A genitive is used of the part of the body with which contact is made, coupled with an accusative of the whole (Schwyzer 129 f., Kühner-Gerth 1, 348 f.): *T.* 779 μάρψας ποδός νιν 'seizing him (and seizing hold of) his foot, seizing him by the foot'. A comparable sense with verbs of *hanging, fastening by*, probably has an ablatival source: so with the verbal adjective in *An.* 1221 κρεμαστὴν αὐχένος 'hanged from, by the neck'.

Here too may be listed examples of *stepping, treading on*: *OT* 825 ἐμβατεῦσαι πατρίδος 'to put foot upon, in my country' (but with the accus. in sense of *frequent, haunt*, A. *Pers.* 449). *OC* 400 γῆς ἐμβαίνῃς ὅρων, ib. 924 ἐπεμβαίνων χθονός.

§ 17. *With verbs of meeting, acquiring; hitting, missing*

A. 924 θρήνων τυχεῖν 'to meet with lament, be lamented'. *OC* 780 ἆρ' ἂν ματαίου τῆσδ' ἂν ἡδονῆς τύχοις; 'would the pleasure which you obtained not be vain?' The accus. occurs with τυγχάνω in neuter pronominal forms: *OC* 1106 αἰτεῖς ἃ τεύξῃ, ib. 1168 (τοῦτο), *P.* 509* (οἷα). The restriction to such forms (and also use with neuter adjectives, A. *Ch.* 711, *Eu.* 30) shows that the use is an internal, adverbial accus. But at *An.* 778 αἰτουμένη που τεύξεται τὸ μὴ θανεῖν the accus. is influenced by αἰτ. *P.* 320 συντυχὼν κακῶν | ἀνδρῶν Ἀτρειδῶν 'having met with evil men in the Atreidae'. This verb normally takes the dative (comitative) under the influence of συν-. It is not impossible in the context to understand συν- not to refer to the object, but to an implied σοι, so that the verb would mean 'having *as well as you* met ...': but see Jebb, who refers to other rare uses of genitive instead of dative with ἐντυχών (*P.* 1333), προστυχών (ib. 552, *E.* 1463). At *OC* 1482* ἐναισίου δὲ συντύχοιμι is best emended to σοῦ τύχ. Ib. 1487* ἔτ' ἐμφύχου ... κιχήσεταί μου; 'will he find me still alive?' (instead of usual accus.). *E.* 869* τάφου ἀντιάσας 'obtaining burial'. Ib. 1451 φίλης γὰρ προξένου κατήνυσαν 'they have met with, reached, a kindly hostess' (so Campbell, *Introd.* 16, and Kaibel, rather than with οἶκον understood): cf. E. *Hipp.* 365* σᾶν κατανύσαι φρενῶν 'to reach, acquire, your state of mind'. *OC* 1755* τίνος ... χρείας ἀνύσαι 'to obtain what desire?'

A. 154 τῶν γὰρ μεγάλων ψυχῶν ἱεὶς | οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοις 'shooting at great spirits one would not miss them' (the genitive goes equally well with either verb: ἱείς falls under § 19 below).

Adjectival: *A*. 1283 Ἕκτορος ... ἦλθ' ἐναντίος 'he confronted Hector': cf. prepositional use, *OC* 1002 τῶνδ' ἐναντίον. *T*. 785 τἀνδρὸς ἀντίον (adj.) μολεῖν.

§ 18. *With verbs of approaching*

P. 1327 πελασθεὶς φύλαχος, *A*. 709* πελάσαι νεῶν, *T*. 17 κοίτης ἐμπελασθῆναι. (But ἐμπελάζω with dative, ib. 748: also possibly πελάζω at *A*. 889. For the dative use, see Chapter 6 § 2) Cf. prepositional use with πέλας, ἄγχι, etc.

§ 19. *With verbs of desiring, aiming at*

A. 473 τοῦ μακροῦ χρῄζειν βίου 'to desire long life'. Ib. 686 τοὐμὸν ὧν ἐρᾷ κέαρ. Similarly with ποθῶ, *E*. 4; ἵεμαι, *T*. 514; κέχρημαι 'require', *P*. 1264 (or ablatival, as with verbs of *lacking*). *An*. 1033 πάντες ὥστε τοξόται σκοποῦ | τοξεύετ' ἀνδρὸς τοῦδε 'you all aim at me like archers at a target'. Ib. 1084 τοιαῦτά σου ... ὥστε τοξότης | ἀφῆκα θυμῷ καρδίας τοξεύματα | βέβαια 'such sure arrows have I in anger discharged like an archer at your heart'. Fr. 314, 74 τυχεῖν με πράγους οὗ δράμημ' ἐπείγεται 'may I succeed in the action towards which my course is urgently directed' (cf. *Od*. 1, 309 ἐπειγόμενος ὁδοῖο). Adjectival: *E*. 3 ὧν πρόθυμος ἦσθα.

§ 20. *With verbs of filling, being full, having abundance*

The material etc. used is a stock which is drawn upon in part, in the original use. *E*. 906 πίμπλημ' ... ὄμμα δακρύων 'I fill my eyes with tears'. Ib. 730 ἐπίμπλατο | ναυαγίων Κρισαῖον ἱππικῶν πέδον 'the field of Crisa was full of crashed chariots'. Notice *OC* 527* ἦ ματρόθεν ... λέκτρ' ἐπλήσω; 'did you have your mother as partner of your bed?': forms in -θεν, though originally ablatival, are found with true genitival function already in Homer (Schwyzer 172), and ματρόθεν should be so taken here (and not as showing the source). *OT* 4 πόλις ... θυμιαμάτων γέμει 'the city is filled with incense'. *E*. 1422 φοινία δὲ χεὶρ | στάζει θυηλῆς 'the bloody hand drips with the offering'. So with μεστῶ, *An*. 280, *E*. 714 (passive); βρύω, *OC* 16; χορέννυμι, *P*. 1157* (χορέσαι στόμα ... ἐμᾶς σαρκός). Less often, but also ancient, an instrumental dative was used (Chapter 6 § 16). Adjectival: *An*. 1052 τῆς νόσου πλήρης, *P*. 1074 οἴκτου πλέως. Some compound adjectives including a notion of fullness may be included here (πολυστεφὴς δάφνης, *OT* 83; περιστεφῆ ἀνθέων, *E*. 896), but perhaps are better placed with other such adjectives as illustrating an objective use (§ 7 above).

§ 21. *With verbs of smelling, having scent*

The notion of a stock drawn upon is also seen with verbs of *smelling* and *having scent*. Fr. 565, 3 τὸ τεῦχος οὐ μύρου πνέον 'the vessel which is not redolent of perfume'.

§ 22. *With verbs of hearing, perceiving*

The use of the accusative for the sound, speech etc. heard, and of the genitive for the person etc. who is its source, is ancient (Chantraine 54, Humbert 272). The genitive here is in origin partitive and not ablatival, as is shown by the use of the genitive similarly in Sanskrit; but already in Homer local prepositions are found (ἐκ, πρός) which indicate ablatival use. Compare *OT* 7, 95 ἀκούω with παρά, ib. 43 with ἀπό, ib. 429 κλύω with πρός. But the prepositional use is much less frequent than the simple genitive. It will be convenient to consider here all use of the genitive with verbs of *hearing*. With genitive of the source alone: *P.* 976 ἄρ' Ὀδυσσέως κλύω; 'is it Odysseus I hear speaking?' *A.* 335, *OT* 1472, *E.* 1376, *OC* 1406 (with participle). Of a non-personal source: *A.* 291 οὔτε του κλυὼν | σάλπιγγος 'not having heard any trumpet'. *P.* 225 φωνῆς ἀκοῦσαι 'hear your voice'. With accusative of the sound etc. heard: *OC* 1610 ἀκούει φθόγγον πικρόν 'hears a bitter cry'. *E.* 1004 ἀκούσεται λόγους. Genitive and accusative combined: *OT* 547 τοῦτ' αὐτὸ νῦν μου πρῶτ' ἄκουσον 'hear now just this first from me', ib. 841, *T.* 422, *OC* 1350.

In other constructions. (i) accus. of the person heard about (equated with the thing heard): *P.* 591 ἄνδρε τώδ', ὥπερ κλύεις 'these two men of whom you have heard, about whom I have told you'. Ib. 261 (with supplementary participle) κεῖνος ὃν κλύεις ... | τῶν Ἡρακλείων ὄντα δεσπότην ὅπλων 'that man of whom you have heard as owner ...'. *E.* 293 (combined with genitive of the source). (ii) genitive of the thing heard. From nouns signifying the source (such as 'voice') there is extension to 'sound, words'. *An.* 1206 φωνῆς ὀρθίων κωκυμάτων | κλύει 'heard the shrill cries of a human voice'. *OC* 1187 λόγων ἀκοῦσαι. For the genitive of the person heard about, see § 37 below.

The partitive genitive occurs with other verbs of *perception* or of *learning*, used of what is perceived etc., but less freely than in Homer. *E.* 35 ὧν πεύσῃ τάχα 'matters of which you will at once receive information'. Ib. 683 ᾔσθετ' ... κηρυγμάτων, ib. 79 (with supplementary part.). Perhaps too *OC* 114 τῶνδ' ἕως ἂν ἐκμάθω | τίνας λόγους ἐροῦσιν 'until I learn about them, what they will say'. Jebb argues that 'learn from them' is ruled out, since the speaker does not propose to do more than overhear, unseen: however,

the argument is not conclusive, since one may learn from another without one's presence being noticed. But πυνθάνομαι and αἰσθάνομαι take accusative more often than genitive; οἶδα and γιγνώσκω, which both take genitive as well as accusative in Homer (Chantraine 55 f.), are followed only by the accus. in Sophocles.

Adjectival: *P.* 827* ὕπν' ὀδύνας ἀδαής 'sleep ignorant of pain'. *OT* 219 ξένος τοῦ λόγου (with extension of sense in ξένος).

§ 23. *With verbs of remembering, forgetting; caring for*

T. 1223 ὁρκίων μεμνημένος. *E.* 146* γονέων ἐπιλάθεται. Ib. 342 δεινόν σε ... κείνου λελῆσθαι, τῆς δὲ τικτούσης μέλειν 'it is strange for you to forget him, but care for your mother' (μέλειν apparently with personal subject here). Ib. 519 οὐδὲν ἐντρέπῃ | ἐμοῦ 'you take no heed of me': *A.* 90, *OT* 1226. So with στρέφομαι and derived compound forms, in all of which the meaning 'turn oneself' implies 'reflect about' (these uses are also taken as ablatival, with genitive of the cause as with verbs of emotion: § 34 below). *A.* 1116 τοῦ δὲ σοῦ ψόφου | οὐκ ἂν στραφείην 'I would not pay attention to any noise you raise'. *OT* 728 ποίας μερίμνης ... ὑποστραφείς 'with what thought in mind?' *P.* 598 τοῦδ' ... ἐπεστρέφοντο 'took account of him'. Similarly with φυλάσσομαι 'be on guard, take care': *OC* 161* τῶν ... εὖ φύλαξαι 'take good heed of that'.

§ 24. *With verbs of ruling, controlling*

The genitive indicates the sphere of rule, either of the place or of the people or thing ruled. *OT* 54 ἄρξεις τῆσδε γῆς. *A.* 1107 ὧνπερ ἄρχεις ἄρχε. Ib. 1101, with ἡγεῖσθαι. Secondarily with κραίνειν (the sense of 'rule' not original): in Homer used absolutely but later with the genitive, as in *OC* 926 χθονός, *A.* 1050 στρατοῦ. A number of the verbs are denominative formations, so that the genitive can have an adnominal source. *P.* 1292 κράτει τῶν σῶν ὅπλων 'take charge of your bow'. But with the accusative in *OC* 1380 τὸ σὸν θάκημα καὶ τοὺς σοὺς θρόνους | κρατοῦσιν '(these curses) win the mastery over your supplication and your throne' (i.e. 'over you with your supplication and claim to the throne'): the accusative here must be paralleled by cases with the accus. of a *person* overcome, as A. *Pr.* 213 τοὺς ὑπερσχόντας κρατεῖν (but cf. Johansen 220). *OT* 1104* ὁ Κυλλάνας ἀνάσσων. *A.* 1389 'Ολύμπου τοῦδ' ὁ πρεσβεύων πατήρ: but with dative fr. 270 Ἴναχε ... μέγα πρεσβεύων Ἄργους τε γύαις Ἥρας τε πάγοις καὶ Τυρσηνοῖσι Πελασγοῖς (for the locative datives, including the ethnic, cf. Chantraine 57, 80). *T.* 363 δεσπόζειν θρόνων.

C. *Ablatival*

§ 25. *Introduction*

The ablatival genitive is a concrete case, its primary function being semantic, to answer the question 'from where?'. The use without a preposition, or a verb compounded with a preverb (ἀπο-, ἐκ-, κατα-, παρα-), is ancient and especially typical of poetry: as far as possible examples will be of such use (for prepositions, see Chapter 7).

§ 26. *With verbs of motion*

With verbs of motion, or verbs implying it, to indicate the source. *OT* 152* τᾶς Πυθῶνος ... ἔβας 'you have come from Pytho'. Ib. 142 βάθρων ἵστασθε 'rise from the steps'. *OC* 226* ἔξω πόρσω βαίνετε χώρας. *P.* 1002 πέτρας ἄνωθεν πεσών. Fr. 534, 2 ὀπὸν στάζοντα τομῆς 'sap dripping from the cut wood'. *OT* 808 καί μ' ὁ πρέσβυς ... ὄχου παραστείχοντα τηρήσας μέσον κάρα ... κέντροισί μου καθίκετο (ὄχου codd., -ους, -ον edd.): if ὄχου is correct, it would be a bold use linked with καθίκετο, 'came down on (i.e. struck) my head with the goad from his chariot' (the gen. aided by the basic idea of motion in -ίκετο). So Jebb, Kamerbeek. But the two genitives then dependent on καθίκετο (ὄχου, ablatival: μου, partitive, as with τυγχάνω) are very awkward, and Jebb himself argues against taking κάρα as object of καθικ. (with μου then dependent on it), reserving the accus. object with that verb for the meaning 'reach'. With a genitive of the person the use is doubtful: *E.* 908 ἐξεπίσταμαι | μή του τόδ' ἀγλάϊσμα πλὴν κείνου μολεῖν 'I know that this adornment has come from no one but him'. The alternative is to take του as adnominal with ἀγλ., as in the parallel passage (which must have served as a model) A. *Ch.* 193 εἶναι τόδ' ἀγλάϊσμά μοι τοῦ φιλτάτου | βροτῶν Ὀρέστου.

§ 27. *With verbs of being born, etc.*

An. 38 εἴτ' εὐγενὴς πέφυκας εἴτ' ἐσθλῶν κακή 'whether you are born noble, or base from noble stock'. *E.* 775 τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς γεγώς 'sprung from my life'. *OC* 1324 τοῦ κακοῦ πότμου φυτευθείς. *T.* 401 ὧν δ' ἔβλαστεν οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν. *P.* 3 κρατίστου πατρὸς τραφείς.

§ 28. *With verbs of learning*

The use of the genitive of the source with verbs of 'hearing' has been dealt with under the partitive use (§ 22). There is more clearly ablatival use with verbs of 'learning'. *OC* 593 ὅταν μάθῃς μου, νουθέτει 'counsel me when you have learnt from me, received my information'. *E.* 889 μαθοῦσά

μου. Compare the use with ablatival prepositions: *OT* 398 ἀπ' οἰωνῶν μαθών; with πρός, *P.* 971; with ἐκ, *T.* 449. With πυνθάνομαι: *OT* 333 οὐ γὰρ ἂν πύθοιό μου. *T.* 1149 ὡς τελευταίαν ἐμοῦ [φήμην πύθησθε θεσφάτων (or possibly ἐμοῦ adnominal with φήμην). Compare ablatival -θεν *E.* 1225 μηκέτ' ἄλλοθεν πύθῃ 'learn it from no other source'.

§ 29. *With verbs of taking away, removing; receiving from*

P. 630 νεὼς ἄγοντα 'leading from the ship'. Fr. 522, 2 ποίμνας 'Ολύμπου συναγαγών 'collecting together the flocks from Olympus'. *E.* 524 δόμων φέρουσαν, ib. 1139 πυρὸς ἀνειλόμην 'lifted from the fire'. *An.* 417 χθονὸς ἀείρας, *OT* 24. With genitive of the person: *OT* 1522 μηδαμῶς ταύτας γ' ἕλῃ μου 'do not take them from me'. Ib. 1163 ἐδεξάμην δέ του 'I received it from someone'. Ib. 580 πάντ' ἐμοῦ κομίζεται, 1004 λαβεῖν ἐμοῦ.

§ 30. *With verbs of separating from, depriving; lacking; stopping, ceasing from; delivering, escaping from*

In many of these uses the simple genitive is prose use also. *P.* 1427 Πάριν ... νοσφιεῖς βίου 'remove from life, kill'. Ib. 636 ὡς ἡμᾶς πολὺ [πέλαγος ὁρίζῃ τῆς ... νεώς 'that a great expanse of sea may separate us from the ship'. *T.* 121* δόμων ἐρύκει 'keeps from ...'. *An.* 13 ἀδελφοῖν ἐστερήθημεν 'we were bereft of our brothers'. Ib. 548 μοι σοῦ λελειμμένῃ 'left behind', so 'deprived of you'. *A.* 543 λελειμμένος λόγων 'left behind by', hence 'not hearing your words'. (Probably also *P.* 126 τοῦ χρόνου κατασχολάζειν 'to linger beyond the due time': so Jebb; Radermacher, *Wien. Stud.* 46, 1928, 136 f., *Rhein. Mus.* 93, 1950, 158 ff.) *T.* 1113 ἀνδρὸς τοῦδέ γ' εἰ σφαλήσεται (ἡ Ἕλλας) 'if she loses this man'. *OT* 1148 δεῖται κολαστοῦ 'have need of a punisher'. *OC* 1170 μή μου δεηθῇς—πράγματος ποίου; 'do not ask me'—'for what?' (δέομαι with extended sense 'ask'; with double ablatival genitive, Kühner-Gerth 1, 399). For the personal genitive, compare *OT* 597 οἱ σέθεν χρῄζοντες 'those who are supplicating you' ('have a need (of something) from you'). *E.* 798 τήνδ' ἔπαυσας τῆς βοῆς 'stopped her from (making) her noise'. Possibly under this head φείδομαι (*A.* 844 μὴ φείδεσθε στρατοῦ 'do not spare the host'), if developed from a meaning 'refrain from'. Uncertain is *OC* 1212* τοῦ μετρίου παρεὶς (s.v.l.) 'giving up due measure' (i.e. of life, with ζώειν explanatory infinitive), with the genitive on the analogy of μεθ-, ὑφιέναι 'abate from': cf. Johansen 220.

With σῴζω 'deliver, save from': *An.* 1162 σώσας ἐχθρῶν τήνδε χθόνα. With ψεύδω, properly 'cheat', which involves the idea of 'depriving': *A.* 1382 μ' ἔψευσας ἐλπίδος 'you cheated me of my expectation' (i.e. acted otherwise, and better, than I expected). *T.* 713 εἴ τι μὴ

ψευσθήσομαι [γνώμης 'if I am not proved wrong in my expectation'. μαλάσσω is used of calming, and relieving, the body in illness: so *P.* 1334 πρὶν ἂν ... νόσου μαλαχθῇς τῆσδε 'until you get relief from this sickness'. Fr. 475, 2 καθαίρονθ' ἵππον αὐχμηρᾶς τριχός 'grooming the mare's untidy mane': καθαίρω means 'cleanse, make tidy', so 'free from', thus the phrase combines the notions of cleaning and removing. *P.* 1044 δοκοῖμ' ἂν τῆς νόσου πεφευγέναι 'I should think I had escaped from, got rid of, my disease': compare *Od.* 1, 18 πεφυγμένος ἦεν ἀέθλων (where the genitive in place of the usual accus. may stress that the subject is already involved in what he flees from). *OC* 1024 οὓς ... χώρας φυγόντες τῆσδε 'fleeing from whom, and from this land' (cf. E. *Supp.* 148 Τυδεὺς μὲν αἷμα συγγενὲς φεύγων χθονός). *An.* 489 οὐκ ἀλύξετον μόρου κακίστου 'you will not escape from the worst of fates'. (But *E.* 626 θράσους τοῦδ' οὐκ ἀλύξεις means 'you will not go scot-free because of your boldness', and is better explained as a genitive of cause: cf. § 34 below.)

Adjectival: *E.* 159* κρυπτᾷ ἀχέων ἥβᾳ 'youth hidden away from sorrow' (ἀχέων should not be taken as participial: the phrase neatly combines the notion of the secluded youth of Orestes, with that of deliverance from suffering, in a truly Sophoclean turn). *OT* 1509 πάντων ἐρήμους 'bereft of all'. *An.* 754 φρενῶν κενός 'devoid of wit'. *A.* 511 σοῦ μόνος 'alone', hence 'separated from you'; *OC* 1250 ἀνδρῶν μοῦνος 'without escort'. *E.* 1489 ἄποπτον ἡμῶν 'out of our sight'; *OT* 762 τοῦδ' ἄποπτος ἄστεως 'out of sight of the city' (Schwyzer 444, Jebb on *OT* (Appendix)). Alternatively, ἀπ- in this compound may be equivalent of negative ἀ(ν)- (cf. ἀπότιμος *OT* 215, ἀπόθεα fr. 267), so that the use would be analogous to that with negative compound adjectives (see next section).

§ 31. *With negative compound adjectives*

The *gen. separativus* is a principal source, but not the only one, for the genitive adjunct to negative verbal compound adjectives, a construction especially developed in Tragedy. In some cases the basic verb itself is such as to take a genitive: so *A.* 1187* ἄπαυστον ... μόχθων ἄταν 'a fate that does not cease from toil' (ablatival), *An.* 583* κακῶν ἄγευστος αἰών 'a life that does not partake of trouble' (partitive). But more generally the genitive is due to the separative notion inherent in the negative prefix: cf. Koster, *Mnemosyne*, 1952, 89 ff.; Lasso de la Vega, *Gen.* 137, *Sint.* 1, 442 f. Often with a passive sense of the adjective the noun in the genitive denotes the agent or instrument (see Chapter 9 § 10 on the passive use of adjectives in -τος). What is most notable is that, where positive adjectives in -τός exist alongside the negative forms (which is not always the case), the positives

are not capable of the same construction. Thus *An.* 847* φίλων ἄκλαυτος 'unwept by friends', but a positive form φίλων κλαυ(σ)τός would not be possible; *OT* 885 Δίκας ἀφόβητος 'without fear of Justice', but not Δίκας φοβητός; *OC* 1723* κακῶν δυσάλωτος 'hard to be touched by evil' (i.e. 'not touched ...': by extension, δυσ- is treated in the same way as ἀ(ν)-), but not κακῶν ἁλωτός. (On *E.* 344 κείνης διδακτά, see § 41 below.) This shows that it is above all the negative aspect which promotes the use of the genitive. Note in this connection *P.* 1066 οὐδὲ σοῦ φωνῆς ἔτι | γενήσομαι προσφθεγκτός ...; 'shall I not be addressed even by your voice?': though προσφθ. itself is a positive form, it is negatived by οὐδέ and so may be classed with the ἀ(ν)-compounds. So too *OT* 1437 μηδενὸς προσήγορος 'spoken to by no one'. (See again § 41 on these two examples.)

Further examples: *An.* 1034 μαντικῆς ἄπρακτος 'not assailed by prophesy'. *T.* 685 ἀκτῖνος θερμῆς ἄθικτον 'untouched by the hot ray'. *OT* 969 ἄψαυστος ἔγχους 'not touching the spear'. *P.* 867 ἐλπίδων ἄπιστον 'not believed in by my hopes'. Possibly also with ἄποπτος (*E.* 1489, *OT* 762): see § 30.

In addition, some examples of negative nominal compounds already considered (§ 7 above) under the head of adnominal genitive, may be listed here. Thus *E.* 36 ἄσκευον ἀσπίδων τε καὶ στρατοῦ, with ἄσκευον in the sense of 'deprived of, lacking' followed by a separative genitive. But this explanation cannot be made universal: examples like *T.* 23 ἀταρβὴς τῆς θέας 'without fear of the sight', *E.* 1214 ἄτιμος τοῦ τεθνηκότος 'without honour from the dead', *T.* 247 χρόνον ἡμερῶν ἀνήριθμον 'a time without number of days', resist such a course.

§ 32. *Genitive of comparison*

The basis of comparison is a source from which departure is made. The use is regular with comparative adjectives and adverbs. *A.* 119 τούτου τίς τἀνδρὸς προνούστερος 'more prudent than he'. *OT* 1365* εἰ δέ τι πρεσβύτερον ἔτι κακοῦ κακόν 'if there exists a misfortune surpassing misfortune'. *P.* 456 ὁ χείρων τἀγαθοῦ μεῖζον σθένει 'the worse man has greater strength than the good man'. *OT* 1374 ἔργα κρείσσον' ἀγχόνης 'deeds too great, i.e. too bad, for hanging (as a punishment)'. See further Chapter 9 § 12.

In abbreviated comparison (*comparatio compendiaria*): *OT* 467* ἀελλάδων ἵππων σθεναρώτερον φυγᾷ πόδα νωμᾶν 'to ply in flight a foot more strong than (those of) storm-swift horses' (or 'horses of the storm', cf. Lloyd-Jones, *C.Q.* n.s. 7, 1957, 24 f.).

The genitive may be compared with a form in the dative (instead of the more usual nom. or accus.). *An.* 74 πλείων χρόνος ὃν δεῖ μ' ἀρέσκειν τοῖς

κάτω τῶν ἐνθάδε 'the time is longer during which I must serve the dead than the living' (= ἢ τοῖς ἐνθ.). *OC* 568 τῆς εἰς αὔριον [οὐδὲν πλέον μοι σοῦ μέτεστιν ἡμέρας 'I have not a greater share than you in the morrow'.

The genitive is also found adjunct to the superlative. *An.* 100* τὸ κάλλιστον ... τῶν πρότερον (-ων L) φάος 'the fairest light contrasted with those before'. Ib. 1212 ἆρα δυστυχεστάτην [κέλευθον ἕρπω τῶν παρελθουσῶν ὁδῶν; 'am I making a journey that outstrips in sorrow those that have preceded?' *P.* 1171* ὦ λῷστε τῶν πρὶν ἐντόπων 'O best of visitors, compared with my earlier ones'. A special variety has comparison of the subject with itself: fr. 871, 7 ὅταν περ αὐτῆς εὐπρεπεστάτη φανῇ 'whenever it has been seen at its fairest (compared with itself)'. These uses are both ancient and classical (Schwyzer 100, Chantraine 151, Lasso de la Vega 1, 514 ff.), and an ablatival use is paralleled in Sanskrit. Illogicality need not arise; hence it is unlike artificial constructions such as Milton's *Adam, the goodliest man of men since born*. Closely similar is the use, basically partitive, found with superlative and also positive adjectives with paronomasia (§ 10 above): *P.* 984 ὦ κακῶν κάκιστε, ib. 65 ἔσχατ' ἐσχάτων κακά, *OC* 1238* κακὰ κακῶν 'evils among evils', i.e. 'worst evils'. Compare the use of paronomasia with the comparative: *An.* 1281 κάκιον κακῶν, and the analogous use in *OT* 1301* (πηδήματα) μείζονα τῶν μακίστων.

With verbs indicating superiority or preference, or the opposite. *P.* 138* τέχνα γὰρ τέχνας ἑτέρας προὔχει 'his skill surpasses other skill': cf. *OT* 380 with ὑπερφέρω. *A.* 1357 νικᾷ γὰρ ἀρετή με τῆς ἔχθρας πολύ 'his worth prevails with me strongly as against his enmity'. *P.* 1099 with αἱροῦμαι 'prefer'. *A.* 435 τὰ πρῶτα καλλιστεῖ' ἀριστεύσας στρατοῦ (with internal accus.) 'excelling the army in winning the finest share of booty'. Fr. 936 οἱ φύσαντες ἡσσῶνται τέκνων 'parents are inferior to, ruled by, their children': cf. *T.* 266 λέγων ... ὡς ... τῶν ὧν τέκνων λίποιτο πρὸς τόξου κρίσιν (v.l. λείποιτο) 'saying that he had been inferior to his sons in the test of the bow'.

D. *Further uses*

§ 33. *Introduction*

There is a number of further uses of the genitive which are better not treated under the heads already mentioned. Historically their source is not unitary, or is obscure.

§ 34. *Genitive of cause*

A range of uses, both adnominal and adverbal, shows a genitive of cause, particularly in association with words descriptive of emotions (e.g. admiration, envy, anger, grief, pity).

(i) With nouns and adjectives. *OT* 698 δίδαξον κἄμ ... ὅτου ποτε μῆνιν τοσήνδε πράγματος στήσας ἔχεις 'tell me, on account of what matter' (or, 'towards what') 'have you entertained such great anger?' (answered by Κρέοντος 'because of (towards) Creon'). Examples of this sort are in a majority, in which the genitive could be viewed as pertinentive-objective. *T.* 269 ὧν ἔχων χόλον 'whereat being angry'; *P.* 1308 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτου [ὀργὴν ἔχοις ἄν; *An.* 931 τούτων ... κλαύμαθ' ὑπάρξει. Similarly *P.* 327 with χόλον, ib. 751 with ἰυγὴν καὶ στόνον, *A.* 180 with μομφάν, *OC* 1413 with ἔπαινον (understood). But note *A.* 41 χόλῳ βαρυνθεὶς τῶν 'Αχιλλείων ὅπλων 'beset with rage because of the armour of Achilles': the anger is not directed at τὰ ὅπλα, and the genitive can only show its source (alternatively, the gen. adverbal with βαρυνθείς: cf. fr. 697 in (ii) below). Possibly *OT* 184* λυγρῶν πόνων ἱκτῆρες ἐπιστενάχουσιν 'they lament, suppliants because of grievous woe' (so Jebb; or else adverbal with ἐπιστεν.).

(ii) With verbs the use appears ablatival, giving the source: the verbs are primarily those indicating feeling and emotion. *E.* 1027 ζηλῶ σε τοῦ νοῦ, τῆς δὲ δειλίας στυγῶ 'I admire you for your prudence, but loathe you for your cowardice'. *An.* 1177 πατρὶ μηνίσας φόνου 'angered with his father because of the killing'. Fr. 697 ὀσμῆς μου ὅπως μὴ βαρυνθήσεσθέ μου 'be not distressed because of my smell' (the text needs correction, but there is no reason to suspect either the verb or the genitive): contrast *P.* 890 μὴ βαρυνθῶσιν κακῇ ὀσμῇ. *T.* 122* ὧν ἐπιμεμφομένα σ' 'reproaching you for which ...'.

Then by extension in a wider context. *OT* 48 σὲ ... σωτῆρα κλῄζει τῆς πάρος προθυμίας 'calls you saviour because of your former zeal'. Ib. 1478 σε τῆσδε τῆς ὁδοῦ [δαίμων ... φρουρήσας τύχοι 'may a god protect you because of this coming' (i.e. the arrival of his daughters). *T.* 288 θύματα ῥέξῃ ... τῆς ἁλώσεως 'makes offerings because of his victory' (or possibly adnominal with θυμ.). *An.* 1074 τούτων σε λωβητῆρες ... λοχῶσιν ... 'Ερινύες 'because of this the destroying Furies lie in wait for you' (not adnominal with λωβ.). *T.* 339 τοῦ με τήνδ' ἐφίστασαι βάσιν; 'for what reason do you make me stay?' Possibly *E.* 1096* τῶνδε φερομέναν ἄριστα 'winning renown because of these (laws)' (alternatively τῶνδε gen. of relation).

§ 35. *Genitive of exclamation*

Associated with the preceding is the exclamatory use: the genitive shows the source, i.e. the reason for sorrow, etc., and is linked with an adjective (nominative or vocative) used exclamatorily, or with an exclamatory interjection, or with both. *OT* 1347 δείλαιε τοῦ νοῦ τῆς τε συμφορᾶς ἴσον 'O unhappy alike for your understanding and your fortune'. More commonly

with interjection and adjective: *E.* 1209 ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγὼ σέθεν, | Ὀρέστα, τῆς σῆς εἰ στερήσομαι ταφῆς (the ablatival form with -θεν clearly showing the source) 'unhappy am I on your account, Orestes, if I am robbed of your urn'. *T.* 971* οἴμοι ἐγὼ σοῦ, πάτερ, οἴμοι ἐγὼ σοῦ μέλεος (μέλεος may be understood with each phrase, or may amplify the second only). *E.* 1143 οἴμοι τάλαινα (sc. ἐγώ) τῆς ἐμῆς πάλαι τροφῆς | ἀνωφελήτου. With the interjection alone: *A.* 367* οἴμοι γέλωτος, οἷον ὑβρίσθην ἄρα. Ib. 900* ὤμοι ἐμῶν νόστων. *An.* 82 οἴμοι ταλαίνης, ὡς ὑπερδέδοικά σου (ταλ. referring to the second person, as Jebb: it may agree with σου in the ὡς -clause (Müller), but *A.* 367* is a parallel for division of the genitive from the following subordinate clause, and so too *OC* 1399). There is a similar problem of division at *E.* 920 φεῦ τῆς ἀνοίας ὥς σ' ἐποικτίρω πάλαι. It is not unlikely that such genitives in Sophocles do double duty, and look both backward and forward.

§ 36. *Genitive of relation: introductory*

A genitive of relation (or of respect, or reference) is established by some, and the category is at any rate convenient: it is especially supported by Brugmann 446 f., also Schwyzer 130 ff. For criticism see Lasso de la Vega, *Gen.* 116-31 and *Sint.* 1, 517-30. Uses are mostly restricted to certain well-defined contexts. For the category in general the most obvious base is the adnominal pertinentive use, in particular such as *Od.* 1, 408 ἀγγελίην πατρὸς ἐρχομένοιο 'report of your father's coming', ib. 2, 308 ἀγαυοῦ πατρὸς ἀκουήν: compare *An.* 11 μῦθος φίλων 'tidings about friends', *A.* 221* ἀνέρος αἴθονος ἀγγελίαν. It must not be overlooked that the use of the genitive with the prepositions περί, κατά and διά covers much of the same ground (περί and κατά generally with the sense of 'concerning, in the matter of', and in particular with verbs of *saying* and *hearing about*; διά to describe an attitude or state, as in δι' ὀργῆς ἔχειν, εἶναι). Such prepositional use is more common than the simple genitive; but it would be unrealistic to divorce the two types of use entirely. Furthermore, the notion of reference is implicit in the general one of limitation or restriction, which has been seen as basic in the use of the genitive (§ 1 above): in τῆς μητρὸς φράσων (*T.* 1122) 'to tell about my mother', τῆς μητρός limits the meaning of φράσων by defining its area of reference.

§ 37. (i) *With verbs of saying and hearing*

The genitive with verbs of *saying* and *hearing* indicates about whom, or what, the reference is made. The use is Homeric (Chantraine 55), and appears specially developed in Sophocles (Kühner-Gerth 1, 363, c). *E.* 317

τοῦ κασιγνήτου τί φῄς ...; 'what do you say of your brother?' *T.* 1122 τῆς μητρὸς ... φράσων ἐν οἷς [νῦν ἐστιν 'to tell about my mother, what is her present state'. *OC* 662 δεῖν' ἐπερρώσθη λέγειν [τῆς σῆς ἀγωγῆς 'to say fearful things about your conduct back'. (On *A*. 771 δίας 'Αθάνας ... ἀντιφωνεῖ, see Chapter 7 § 4 (s.v. ἀντι-): though a genitive of reference is grammatically possible, 'spoke about Athena', this sense is lame and inferior to 'spoke in the presence of A.')

With verbs of *hearing*: *OC* 307 κλυών σου, *An*. 1182 κλυοῦσα παιδός. With supplementary participle: *P*. 426 οἶν ἥκιστ' ἂν ἠθέλησ' ὀλωλότοιν κλύειν 'of whom as having died I should least have wished to hear' (cf. *Il*. 24, 490 σέθεν ζώοντος ἀκούων). With verbs of *asking*: *P*. 439 ἀναξίου μὲν φωτὸς ἐξερήσομαι ... τί νῦν κυρεῖ; 'I shall ask about an unworthy man, how does he fare?': this answered by (441) ποίου δὲ τούτου πλήν γ' 'Οδυσσέως ἐρεῖς; 'of whom do you wish to speak, if not of Odysseus?' Of prophesy: *OC* 355 μαντεῖα ... ἃ τοῦδ' ἐχρήσθη σώματος 'prophesies which were made about me'.

Some uses are probably (or certainly) adnominal-pertinentive. *A*. 221* ἐδηλώσας ἀνδρὸς αἴθονος ἀγγελίαν 'a report about, connected with, a fiery man': ib. 998 ὀξεῖα σου βάξις: *E*. 1154 μήτηρ ... ἧς ἐμοὶ ... φήμας ... προὔπεμπες. 'my mother, about whom you sent me messages'. The same might be claimed for *E*. 317 above (τοῦ κασιγνήτου τί). Some scholars have laid stress on the adnominal connection. So T. D. Goodell, 'The Genitive Case in Sophocles', *T.A.P.A.*, 1884, 12 ff., arguing from *A*. 1236 ποίου κέκραγας ἀνδρὸς ὧδ' ὑπέρφρονα; 'what sort of a man is he with whose name you clamorously connect such haughty words?' Other examples are similarly accounted for, though Goodell found difficulty at *P*. 439 and *T*. 1122, 'where it is difficult to say with certainty that the genitive does not depend directly on the indirect question': but I would so say. Denniston (on E. *El*. 228 ἥκω φέρων σοι σοῦ κασιγνήτου λόγους) comments that 'the genitive [after verbs of *saying* and *thinking*] almost always depends, not on the verb, but on an accusative (nominative in the case of a passive or intrans. verb) or subordinate clause', citing *OC* 307 κλύων [-ών] σου as an exception and *P*. 441 as perhaps only apparently so (on which he refers to Jebb). But the position needs correction. Jebb (on *P*. 441, quoted above) is more cautious than Denniston, and seems indeed to have been misunderstood by him. Jebb speaks of a 'supposed rule' that 'where a verb of speaking or asking takes a simple genitive [by which I take him to mean, without the use of a preposition such as περί], the object of the verb is usually represented, either (*a*) by an acc., as in *El*. 317 τοῦ κασιγνήτου τί φῄς; or (*b*) by a relative clause', as in *T*. 1122. This means only that such

an object is usually present: it does *not* necessarily imply that an accompanying genitive is to be interpreted as dependent on the object, possible though that is for type (*a*); and for type (*b*) it is impossible. Denniston wrongly makes the genitive so dependent. Thus *T*. 1122 has two attached relative clauses: τῆς μητρὸς ἥκω τῆς ἐμῆς φράσων ἐν οἷς [νῦν ἐστιν οἷς θ' ἥμαρτεν οὐχ ἑκουσία. But there is no syntactic connection between the clauses and τῆς μητρός, and the genitive must be linked with φράσων. The same should be said of *P*. 439, with its attached indirect question. In short, there *are* clear adnominal examples of the genitive in question, but it is impossible to include with them not only *OC* 307 and *P*. 439-41, but also *OC* 355, ib. 662 (where δεινὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγωγῆς, if the words could be linked at all, would have to mean 'the fearful aspects of your conduct back', which is not possible), *P*. 426, *An*. 1182. I say nothing of other examples, in Homer and other authors.

§ 38. (ii) *With verbs of accusing or punishing, of the crime*

This use is also Homeric, and in Attic legal contexts. *T*. 808 ὧν σε Δίκη [τείσαιτο 'for which deeds may Justice punish you'. *An*. 490 κείνην ἴσον [ἐπαιτιῶμαι τοῦδε βουλεῦσαι τάφου 'I accuse her of this burial, that she shared in the planning'. With the adjective αἴτιος: *P*. 1426 Πάριν μέν, ὃς τῶνδ' αἴτιος κακῶν ἔφυ, *T*. 773 τὸν οὐδὲν αἴτιον τοῦ σοῦ κακοῦ. The nearest analogy is with the causal genitive.

§ 39. (iii) *With ἔχω, of state or condition*

The genitive accompanies intransitive ἔχω, in a clause introduced by ὡς: the use occurs first in the fifth century B.C. (Schwyzer 132, Kühner-Gerth 1, 382 ff.), and is developed especially in prose authors. One example in Sophocles: *OT* 345 παρήσω γ' οὐδέν, ὡς ὀργῆς ἔχω 'I shall omit nothing, being in the state of anger that I am'. It is sought to explain this on the analogy of the partitive genitive with local adverbs as in ποῦ γῆς, ὅποι γνώμης (so by Kühner-Gerth and Lasso de la Vega); but the partitive base is much less well suited for a modal adverb like ὡς, and it is not true to say that transfer from local to modal use is easy (as does the latter, 1, 523).

§ 40. (iv) *In more general use*

Other and wider uses are more doubtful. *OT* 496* Λαβδακίδαις ἐπίκουρος ἀδήλων θανάτων 'assistant to the L. in the matter of a mysterious death': this is not separative, as the sense 'defending from' is unsuitable; probably objective, if we equate ἐπίκουρος with τιμωρός 'avenger'. Cf. E. *E*. 137*

πατρί θ' αἱμάτων ... ἐπίκουρος (but at *OT* 126 Λαΐου δ' ὀλωλότος [οὐδεὶς ἀρωγὸς ... ἐγίγνετο the genitive is absolute, at any rate primarily). There is more difficulty in *OC* 436 οὐδεὶς ἔρωτος τοῦδ' ἐφαίνετ' ὠφελῶν, where the objective genitive is not appropriate with participial ὠφελῶν: for a possible explanation, see § 15 above. With ψεύδομαι the genitive is separative: *T.* 713 εἴ τι μὴ ψευσθήσομαι [γνώμης 'if I am not proved wrong in my expectation' (with the sense of 'cheated, deprived' of it: § 30 above). Similarly *A.* 807 φωτὸς ἠπατημένη 'mistaken about him' (for an alternative interpretation as genitive of the agent, see next section).

§ 41. *Genitive of the agent*

A genitive of the agent without the use of prepositions has been claimed, but is dubious. (Compare and contrast the uses of ἐκ, πρός and ὑπό with a genitive of the agent, where the source is an ablatival, local use: Chapter 7 §§ 9, 16 and 19 respectively.) The possible examples may be listed as follows. (i) With verbal adjectives (positive): *E.* 344 τἀμὰ νουθετήματα [κείνης διδακτά (δίδαγμα Page). Also positive, but accompanied by a negative in the same clause: *P.* 1066 οὐδὲ σοῦ φωνῆς ἔτι [γενήσομαι προσφθεγκτός. *OT* 1437 φανοῦμαι μηδενὸς προσήγορος. On the other hand, the very numerous examples with negatived verbal adjectives need not detain us (*An.* 847* φίλων ἄκλαυτος etc.): the genitive there is basically separative, cf. § 31 above. (ii) With passive participles: *P.* 3 ὦ κρατίστου πατρὸς Ἑλλήνων τραφεὶς [Ἀχιλλέως παῖ. *T.* 934 ἐκδιδαχθεὶς τῶν κατ' οἶκον. *A.* 807 φωτὸς ἠπατημένη. Ib. 1353 τῶν φίλων νικώμενος. *E.* 1333 τὰ δρώμεν' ὑμῶν.

Schwyzer 119 supports the use, and sees it as an Attic archaism (*Synt. Arch.* 8 ff.): he would derive it, not from an ablatival gen. of the source, but from a true genitive springing from the possessive-pertinentive (cf. for adnominal use *Il.* 1, 496 κῦμα θαλάσσης, and then, with a sense equivalent to that of agency, ib. 2, 396 κύματα παντοίων ἀνέμων 'waves influenced by every kind of wind'; and more closely, Διόσδοτος (Pindar, Aeschylus)). But there has been recent hostile criticism by W. J. W. Koster, *Mnemosyne*, 1952, 89 ff., and Lasso de la Vega, *Gen.* 111-14, also *Sint.* 1, 461-5. It is possible to provide satisfactory alternative explanations for all the Sophoclean examples, as follows. *E.* 344, genitive with διδακτά by analogy to that with μανθάνω, 'you have learnt from her' (not adnominal with νουθετ., as Lasso de la Vega, which is against the sense). *P.* 1066 and *OT* 1437, two explanations offer themselves: (i) genitive governed by the preverb προσ-; (ii) as explained above (§ 31), on the analogy of the genitive with negatived adjectives. These are not necessarily alternatives, but

possibly each has influence in producing the final result: one is not bound in syntax to choose *one* explanation to the exclusion of all others. *P.* 3, genitive of the source (and so too Schwyzer himself, *Gramm.* 94): cf. *A.* 557 πατρὸς ... ἐξ οἴου 'τράφης. *T.* 934, genitive as with μανθάνω (cf. *E.* 344 above), and note also the preverb ἐκ-. *A.* 807, genitive as regularly with ψεύδω (so ib. 1382), ψεύδομαι (so that the sense is 'mistaken about', not 'deceived by my husband'): basically separative (see § 40). Ib. 1353, genitive of comparison: cf. § 32, and *An.* 678 οὔτοι γυναικὸς οὐδαμῶς ἡσσητέα. *E.* 1333, an adnominal use, possessive-pertinentive: ἦν ἂν ὑμὶν ἐν δόμοις [τὰ δρώμεν' ὑμῶν πρόσθεν ἢ τὰ σώματα 'your plans would have been in the house before your persons'. Note here that (i) δρώμενα has the article, which makes it substantival; (ii) in that role it is in antithesis to τὰ σώματα; (iii) ὑμῶν can, and does, go with both τὰ δρώμενα and τὰ σώματα, whereas a prepositional ὑφ' ὑμῶν would not. Cf. E. *Alc.* 167 αὐτῶν ἡ τεκοῦσα, and similarly with προσήκοντες (e.g. Lys. 18, 1), Kühner-Gerth 1, 334: but there the substantival status is sanctioned by regular use.

There is therefore no need to accept a *gen. auctoris* for Sophocles, in the absence of entirely convincing examples. Stronger support for it would come from Euripides, if we could accept *E.* 123* ἀλόχου σφαγείς and *Or.* 497 πληγεὶς θυγατρός: but for the first σφαγαῖς is generally adopted (cf. Denniston ad loc.), and in the second passage there is other evidence of corruption in the line.

§ 42. *Genitive absolute*

The genitive absolute has its origin in the addition of a predicative participle to a noun or pronoun in the genitive of various types (adnominal or adverbal): it became absolute when the noun no longer in itself had justification for its case (Schwyzer 397 f., Lasso de la Vega 1, 537 ff.). So *A.* 1262 σοῦ γὰρ λέγοντος οὐκέτ' ἂν μάθοιμ' ἐγώ. The range of contexts of use is wide, referring to any kind of circumstance: temporal (*T.* 305, *E.* 349), concessive (*E.* 657, *An.* 47 (or temporal)), conditional (*A.* 261, *P.* 413), or, to use a more widely embracing term, circumstantial (*E.* 310-11). Causal uses may be clarified with the addition of ὡς: *OT* 11 ὡς θέλοντος ἂν [ἐμοῦ προσαρκεῖν πᾶν '(tell me ...) since I shall be willing to give every aid'; ib. 145, *A.* 281.

The participle can occur without a subject expressed, when it is easy to supply from the context. So in masculine or feminine: *An.* 909 πόσις μὲν ἄν μοι κατθανόντος ἄλλος ἦν 'I could have had another husband if mine had died' (cf. 906 πόσις κατθανών). *OT* 629 οὔτοι κακῶς γ' ἄρχοντος '(There must be rule.)—Not if the ruler is a bad one.' Ib. 838 πεφασμένου δὲ τίς ποθ'

ἡ προθυμία; 'what is your desire of him, when he has come?' (referring to τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν βοτῆρα, 837): the genitive may also be adnominal with προθυμία. This is wrongly taken by Schwyzer 401, with the τίς· clause as subject of the participle. Ib. 506*. *T.* 803 τοσαῦτ' ἐπισκήψαντος, ἐν μέσῳ σκάφει [θέντες σφε πρὸς γῆν τήνδ' ἐκέλσαμεν μόλις [βρυχώμενον 'after he had given this much direction, we, putting him in the middle of the ship ...'. Here the reference, after the genitive, is continued with the accus. σφε: such lack of concord is possible especially where greater independence is given to the genitival participle (notice the contrast in this respect with the following part. βρυχ.): Kühner-Gerth 2, 110, Page on E. *Med.* 910. In the neuter: *E.* 1344 τελουμένων εἴποιμ' ἄν 'I shall say when the deed is done': Kaibel refers to the delicate avoidance of describing what has to be done. *A.* 981, *An.* 1179 ὡς ὧδ' ἐχόντων 'since this is so': cf. the fuller phrase with τῶνδε added, *A.* 281.

The alternative construction, with the participle (of the verb 'to be') omitted, is on the contrary very rare. The four passages at issue are *OT* 966 ὄρνεις, ὧν ὑφηγητῶν ἐγὼ [κτενεῖν ἔμελλον πατέρα 'birds, by whose authority I was to kill my father'. Ib. 1260 ὡς ὑφηγητοῦ τινος (v.l. ὑφ' ἡγ.) 'as if someone guided him'. *OC* 1588 ὑφηγητῆρος οὐδένος φίλων (v.l. ὑφ' ἡγ.) 'no friend being his guide'. Finally, apart from these similar examples, ib. 83 ὡς ἐμοῦ μόνης πέλας '(you may speak quietly) since I alone am near'. Cf. Kühner-Gerth 2, 102; Goodwin § 875; E. Harrison, *C.R.*, 1924, 54 f. It is granted that omission of ὤν (whether in gen. abs., or in other participial constructions) is acceptable with an adjective as predicate, and also when introduced by ὡς. It is not possible to deny the construction in *OC* 83 (with ὡς, and with an adverb as predicate), and the extension to the other examples (one with ὡς, two without; all with noun predicate) is possibly small enough to be allowable. None the less, it must cause unease that these cases with a noun predicate should all involve parallel derivatives from the same verb-stem which do not recur in Classical Greek, and which are easily replaceable by the vv. ll. ὑφ' ἡγ.; and the construction in this particular form has not found parallels in other authors. The best justification for the nominal construction, if it is accepted, is that ὑφηγητής, -τήρ strongly suggest their verbal derivation (so Jebb, Kamerbeek).

§ 43. *Double genitives*

Double adnominal genitives can occur in the same phrase: cf. Schwyzer 135 f., Wilamowitz, ed. E. *HF*, 2, 46 ff.

(i) Two genitives of different kinds are coupled (that is, genitives with semantic variation between them, which are syntactically in parallel). *T.*

1191 τὸν Οἴτης Ζηνὸς ὕψιστον πάγον 'the peak of Oeta, sacred to Zeus' (or, 'the peak sacred to Zeus, on Oeta'): partitive-local, followed by pertinentive. It is not necessary to take τὸν Οἴτ. παγ. as one conception, as Page on E. *Med.* 49. So too *P.* 488 τὰ Χαλκώδοντος Εὐβοίας σταθμά 'the seat in Euboea of Ch.'. *T.* 1266 θεῶν ἀγνωμοσύνην ... ἔργων τῶν πρασσομένων 'cruelty of the gods' (subjective) 'in the deeds that are being done' (pertinentive). *A.* 54 λείας ἄδαστα βουκόλων φρουρήματα 'charges of herdsmen' (subjective), 'unshared, consisting of spoil' (defining): so too *E.* 681. One genitive depends on the other: *An.* 795* ἐναργὴς βλεφάρων ἵμερος εὐλέκτρου νύμφας 'desire clearly seen in the eyes' (pertinentive; or possibly ablatival of the source) 'of the fair bride' (possessive): cf. *OC* 729 ὀμμάτων φόβον τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπεισόδου 'fear seen in your eyes of my entrance' (the second gen. objective).

(ii) With genitives of the same kind. *A.* 308 ἐν ἐρειπίοις νεκρῶν ... ἀρνείου φόνου 'among the ruins of corpses, of slaughtered sheep': defining genitives, the second being more specific. *An.* 1204 πρὸς ... κόρης νυμφεῖον Ἅιδου κοῖλον 'to the maiden's nuptial chamber of Death': of the two possessive genitives, Ἅιδου has the prior linking (the permanent as opposed to the occasional association): it is not the same as to say 'the nuptial chamber of A. and B.' (i.e. of any two individuals). *OC* 668* εὐίππου τᾶσδε χώρας τὰ κράτιστα γᾶς ἔπαυλα 'dwellings, the best on earth, in this land of fine horses': partitive local genitives, with χώρας adjunct to ἔπαυλα, but γᾶς to κράτιστα.

CHAPTER SIX

DATIVE

§ 1. *Introduction*

The dative is a composite case like the genitive, but differs from that in being more easily separated into its constituent elements. These are: Dative proper, Locative, and Instrumental-Comitative. The two last of these have essentially semantic functions which can readily be defined, but the position is not so plain for the Dative proper. It might be regarded as providing a syntactic complement to the verb, as does the accusative: so πείθεταί σοι may be set alongside πείθει σε. (Adnominal use is not common, and can usually be seen to be derived from a parallel adverbal source.) This dative is the sole complement of many intransitive verbs: it also serves as a secondary complement of transitive verbs (δίδωσί σοι τὸ βιβλίον). But it appears that it is a complement with a relatively restricted semantic range. It is largely confined to persons, showing who is involved in, or concerned with, the verbal action or state. This relation of the dative is different from that of the accusative; and it is perhaps misleading to associate dative and accusative, and to think of the dative as providing another object of the verb (the 'indirect' as opposed to the 'direct'), as we may do under the influence of translation equivalents such as 'he obeys you' for πείθεταί σοι, 'he aids you' for βοηθεῖ σοι. The use of the dative shows that for the Greek speaker a different kind of relationship was involved, even if the distinction was sometimes slight (κελεύω governs both σε and σοι in Homer).

It is a matter for dispute whether the dative proper was originally used in IE. also for non-personal nouns, with the sense of direction or purpose (see § 2), or whether such uses (never very common) were secondary developments wherever they are found. It is possible to explain the final-directive use as developing out of the dative of personal interest or involvement, especially by the process of personification (so for example Lasso de la Vega 1, 550 ff.). On the other hand, the relative rarity of the final-directive use, instead of being a sign of its lateness, may on the contrary point to its antiquity and to the status of a usage in retreat. For Greek there has lately come valuable evidence from Mycenaean to prove the existence of the dative of purpose even at that early stage. The alternative course is therefore attractive, to accept a primitive division of the dative

functions into final-directive and interest, and to go even further and to derive the latter from the former. The dative might then be thought of as originally a local case, denoting proximity and close relation to an object. The personal relationship found in the dative of interest would be a specialisation of the local relationship. See Schwyzer 140: Kurylowicz 190 ff. would go further, and regard the dative as originally an offshoot of the locative itself.

I treat below first the dative proper, here beginning with the evidence in Sophocles for final-directive use; then follow the various uses made of the dative of the person affected or interested (Section A). Subsequently come the locative and instrumental-comitative.

A. *Dative Proper*

§ 2. *Final-directive use*

As has just been said, the status and historical background of the final-directive use are matters of dispute. The functions would be twofold: to express either the goal aimed at (local sense), or the purpose of an action or state. The antiquity of the construction has been recently supported by A. Hoekstra, *Mnemosyne*, 1962, 15-23. Mycenaean evidence for an adnominal dative of purpose is valuable from this point of view (e.g. PY Fr 1225 *we-a$_2$-no-i a-ro-pa* 'ointment for robes': Palmer, *Mycenaean Greek Texts*, 247); a dative of direction in the same dialect is not well supported. For Homer, compare *Il.* 5, 82 πεδίῳ πέσε; 7, 187 κυνέῃ βάλε (directive); ib. 218 προκαλέσσατο χάρμῃ (purpose): Chantraine 68, Monro 101. For Sophocles Hoekstra quotes two passages as directive: *An.* 1232 πτύσας προσώπῳ 'spitting at, in, his face', and (fig.) *P.* 67 λύπην πᾶσιν Ἀργείοις βαλεῖς 'bring grief to all the Argives'. To these we could add *An.* 1236 ἤρεισε πλευραῖς ἔγχος 'drove the sword in his side', ib. 1239 ἐκβάλλει ῥοὴν [λευκῇ παρειᾷ φοινίου σταλάγματος 'let pour a stream of blood on to her fair cheek'. These all show the object to, or against, which the action is directed (cf. Jebb on *An.* 1232): it should be noted that apart from the figurative use (*P.* 67), all occur in the same passage, a Messenger's speech in Antigone, where therefore Epic influence may be thought of. Schwyzer 139 quotes as an example *A.* 190* ὧδ' ἐφάλοις κλισίαις ὄμμ' ἔχων, translating as 'having his eye fixed on the tents, gazing at them': but the sense requires 'keeping his face hidden in his tent' (hence locative dative). There could be a dative of purpose at *OT* 468* ὥρα νιν ... φυγᾷ πόδα νωμᾶν, but φυγᾷ may equally well be modal (instrumental), 'it is time for him to be plying his foot in flight' (the argument for a final dative here would be stronger if the infinitive

were an inceptive aorist, 'time to start in motion for flight'). As for dative with verbs expressing emotion (as *A.* 1042 κακοῖς γελῶν), see § 6 below: these fail to meet the requirement of a final-directive use, that of showing a goal.

There seems, then, to be some support for final-directive use in Sophocles, though some might prefer to explain *An.* 1232 etc. as proleptic uses of the locative. It is relevant to take into account also prepositional use. Here we find comparable cases showing ἐν with the dative (presumably therefore locative), e.g. *An.* 782* Ἔρως ὃς ἐν κτήμασι πίπτεις (Chapter 7 § 8); but also ἐπί with a final-directive sense, both of place, as fr. 401 ἐπὶ γύαις ἀνῆκε 'let loose (a boar) against the land'; and of other goal, as *An.* 792* δικαίων ἀδίκους φρένας παρασπᾷς ἐπὶ λώβᾳ 'you lead astray the minds of just men into wrong for their harm' (Chapter 7 § 10). These uses with ἐπί are best explained on the basis of a final-directive use of the simple dative (so J. Gonda, *Mnemosyne*, 1957, 1 ff.).

§ 3. *With verbs of giving, taking away, etc.*

We now turn to the preponderant use of the dative proper, to show the person affected by, or involved or interested in, the verbal action or state. So with verbs of *giving*, *bringing*, *sending*; and *per contra* with the opposite meaning, of *taking from*. *T.* 201 ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ... χαράν. Ib. 1066 δός μοι ... ἐς χεῖρα τὴν τεκοῦσαν 'give into my hand your mother' (μοι for the person, but ἐς χεῖρα): cf. *E.* 1348. Ib. 405 τῷ φέρεις τάδ' ἔμπυρα; (ποῖ φέρεις v.l.); but φέρειν ... ἐς Διὸς θρόνους *An.* 1041, ἐς πόλιν ib. 1083, with non-personal nouns. *A.* 781 πέμπει με σοὶ φέροντα τάσδ' ἐπιστολάς. Ib. 826 πέμψον τιν' ἡμῖν ἄγγελον. With metaphorical use of δίδωμι by extension to non-personal nouns (in such use, prepositional alternatives with the accusative are not suitable): *A.* 362 κακὸν κακῷ διδοὺς ἄκος (κακῷ is neuter), *OC* 855 ὀργῇ χάριν δούς, *E.* 30 ἀκοὴν λόγοις διδούς. Of *taking from*: ib. 442 σκέψαι γὰρ εἴ σοι προσφιλῶς αὐτῇ δοκεῖ γέρα τάδ' ... δέξεσθαι 'consider whether you think he would receive these honours from her in kindly feeling' (αὐτῇ with both δέξεσθαι and προσφιλῶς). *An.* 1171 τἄλλ' ... οὐκ ἂν πριαίμην ἀνδρί 'the rest I would not buy from any man'. Associated adnominal use: *T.* 668 τι τῶν σῶν Ἡρακλεῖ δωρημάτων 'one of your gifts to Heracles'.

§ 4. *With verbs of meeting, approaching, retiring*

T. 748 ἐμπελάζεις τἀνδρί, ib. 902 ἀντῴη πατρί. *P.* 727* θεοῖς πλάθει. Similarly with verbs of *motion*, showing the person involved and interested, hence approached: *An.* 186 τὴν ἄτην ὁρῶν στείχουσαν ἀστοῖς. *OT* 165* ἄτας ὀρνυμένας πόλει. *An.* 234 δεῦρ' ἐνίκησεν μολεῖν [σοί 'the idea prevailed to

come here, to you'. *A*. 1255 σοὶ προσέρπον ... τὸ φάρμακον ὁρῶ. *OC* 228* οὐδενὶ μοιριδία τίσις ἔρχεται. Note that the idea of involvement which the dative gives, especially suits such figurative contexts (the coming of disaster, of a corrective medicine, of retribution). With a transitive verb: *A*. 240* κίονι δήσας 'fastening to a pillar' (cf. ib. 108 δεθεὶς πρὸς κίονα). With adjective πλησίος: *An*. 761 ὡς ... παρόντι θνήσκῃ πλησία τῷ νυμφίῳ.

Connected figuratively is the notion of *likeness*, *resemblance*. *An*. 393 ἔοικεν ἄλλῃ μῆκος οὐδὲν ἡδονῇ 'it is not at all like any other pleasure in amount'. So commonly with ἴσος, ὁμοῖος, ὁ αὐτός: *OT* 579 ἄρχεις δ' ἐκείνῃ ταὐτὰ γῆς ...; 'is your rule over the land the same as hers, shared with her?'

With the contrary verbs of *withdrawing*, *giving way*. *An*. 1029 εἶκε τῷ θανόντι 'make concession to the dead man'. Ib. 472 εἴκειν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται κακοῖς (neuter). *E*. 396 τοῖς κρατοῦσι δ' εἰκαθεῖν. *A*. 671 χειμῶνες ἐκχωροῦσιν εὐκάρπῳ θέρει 'winter retires before fruitful summer'. Ib. 673 ἐξίσταται νυκτὸς ... κύκλος τῇ ... ἡμέρᾳ 'the vault of night makes way for the day'.

§ 5. *With verbs of obeying, addressing*

The dative is regular with πείθομαι: so *An*. 992 τῷ μάντει πιθοῦ. There is one probable example with ἀκούω: *E*. 226* τίνι γάρ ποτ' ἄν ... πρόσφορον ἀκούσαιμ' ἔπος, τίνι φρονοῦντι καίρια; 'from whom could I hear a suitable word (of comfort), from whom that thinks aright?'. So taken by Schol., Kaibel (who compares dative with δέχομαι, as at *E*. 442): *Il*. 16, 515 is a valid parallel, δύνασαι δὲ σὺ πάντοσ' ἀκούειν [ἀνέρι κηδομένῳ 'you can in every place give ear to a man in trouble' (this follows the straight appeal κλῦθι). The alternative is *dat. iudicantis* (so Jebb), but Kaibel's remark is relevant, that an appeal to another's opinion does not suit Electra.

Regularly with verbs of *saying*, etc.: so with λέγω, φράζω, φημί. *A*. 312 ἐμοὶ τὰ δείν' ἐπηπείλησ' ἔπη 'spoke threats'. *E*. 712 ἵπποις ὁμοκλήσαντες 'calling to their horses'. *OT* 226 πάντα σημαίνειν ἐμοί. *T*. 434 τὸ νοσοῦντι ληρεῖν 'to talk idly to a sick man'. *An*. 278 ἐμοί ... ἡ ξύννοια βουλεύει πάλαι 'reflection has long been advising me': cf. *Il*. 9, 99, A. *Eu*. 697 (but Jebb as ethic dative (i.e. less closely with the verb), with the sense 'deliberates'). But note the use also of the accusative of the person addressed (*A*. 964 αὐτὸν ἐννέπει etc.: see Chapter 4 § 3). With verbs of *saying* etc. a locatival interpretation of the dative is also sometimes open ('to speak among' instead of 'for the interest of': see Lasso de la Vega 1, 589 f.).

With verbs of *praying*. *P*. 1077 θεοῖς εὐξώμεθα, *A*. 509 θεοῖς ἀρᾶται.

§ 6. *With verbs showing attitude or feeling towards*

A. 690 εὐνοεῖν ὑμῖν: similarly with adjectives, *An*. 209 εὔνους τῇ πόλει, ib. 212 τὸν τῇδε δύσνουν καὶ τὸν εὐμενῆ πόλει. *E*. 331 θυμῷ ματαίῳ μὴ χαρίζεσθαι

κενά 'not to give vain indulgence to pointless anger'. *T.* 544 θυμοῦσθαι ... νοσοῦντι κείνῳ. *An.* 1177 πατρὶ μηνίσας. *A.* 957* γελᾷ τοῖσδε ἄχεσιν πολὺν γέλωτα 'he makes great mock of this distress'. Ib. 1042 κακοῖς (neuter) γελῶν (also γελῶ with genitive *P.* 1125*, and with prepositions ἐπί and dative *E.* 880, εἰς and accus. *A.* 79). Ib. 153 ἄχεσιν καθυβρίζων. *T.* 470 οὐ μέμψει γυναικὶ τῇδε 'you will have no complaint against her' (but with accus. *E.* 384). *An.* 290 ἐρρόθουν ἐμοί 'made a noise, grumbled against me'.

§ 7. *With verbs of ordering, advising; and of leading*

A. 116 τοῦτο σοὶ δ' ἐφίεμαι, *E.* 1110 ἀλλά μοι γέρων ἐφεῖτ' ... ἀγγεῖλαι (but also with accus. and infinitive at *A.* 112 χαίρειν ... τἄλλ' ἐγώ σ' ἐφίεμαι 'I charge you to have your will in other respects'). *P.* 1434 σοὶ ταῦτ' ... παρῄνεσα. Ib. 99 ὁρῶ βροτοῖς τὴν γλῶσσαν, οὐχὶ τἄργα, πάνθ' ἡγουμένην 'I see that it is speech, not deeds, that lead, control, men in all things' (or else a dative of interest).

Further with verbs of *aiding*: *OT* 217 τῇ νόσῳ ὑπηρετεῖν, *E.* 529 ᾗ χρῆν σ' ἀρήγειν. Of *pleasing*: *An.* 499 ὡς ἐμοὶ τῶν σῶν λόγων | ἀρεστὸν οὐδέν. Ib. 501 σοὶ τἄμ' ἀφανδάνοντ' ἔφυ. With μέλω 'be of concern': *P.* 1036 θεοῖσιν εἰ δίκης μέλει. *OC* 1432 ἐμοὶ μὲν ἥδ' ὁδὸς | ἔσται μέλουσα.

§ 8. *Dative of possession*

A dative of possession is found especially with the verb 'to be', arising from the interest or involvement of the noun etc. in the dative. Whereas the genitive of possession is chiefly adnominal (Chapter 5 § 3), the dative is almost always adverbal. *A.* 1238 οὐκ ἄρ' Ἀχαιοῖς ἄνδρες εἰσὶ πλὴν ὅδε; 'have the Achaeans no men but him?' (i.e. have to act as their champions). *E.* 539 πότερον ἐκείνῳ παῖδες οὐκ ἦσαν διπλοῖ; 'did not Menelaus have two children?' (so that he should have sacrificed them instead of Iphigeneia). Notice the stress on the interest of the person—so in the last the children were there, available for him: contrast the genitive in *T.* 380 πατρὸς οὖσα Εὐρύτου (the concern is only to indicate the genealogy of Iole). *T.* 555 ἦν μοι παλαιὸν δῶρον (of the gift which caused the tragedy). *An.* 909 πόσις μὲν ἄν μοι ... ἄλλος ἦν 'I could have had another husband' (to replace a dead one). *E.* 46 μέγιστος αὐτοῖς τυγχάνει δορυξένων 'he is their greatest ally'. Ib. 860* πᾶσι θνατοῖς ἔφυ μόρος. Sophocles does not have examples of the purely adnominal possessive use of the personal pronoun as it is found in Euripides (*Tr.* 1081* ὦ φίλος ὦ πόσι μοι, *HF* 626 σύ τ', ὦ γύναι μοι: Wackernagel 2, 77, Schwyzer 148): at *E.* 174* θάρσει μοι, θάρσει, τέκνον the pronoun is ethic dative (adverbal). But some examples of the dative of interest can serve as equivalents of a possessive

use, without restriction as to type of verb. *A*. 515 σὺ γάρ μοι πατρίδ' ἤστωσας δορί (v.l. μου) 'you ravaged my country' (in the case of enclitic μοι, σοι, there is evidence for ancient use with genitive function: see Wackernagel and Schwyzer, locc. citt.). *E*. 272 ὅταν (ἴδω) τὸν αὐτοφόντην ἡμὶν ἐν κοίτῃ πατρὸς | ξὺν τῇ ταλαίνῃ μητρί 'when I see the murderer in our father's bed ...' This use must exceptionally be taken as adnominal: ἡμίν must be regarded as a modifying adjunct, not to the verbal nexus ὅταν ἴδω κ.τ.λ., but to the nominal phrase τὸν αὐτοφόντην ... μητρί. *A*. 50 πατὴρ ὡς νῷν ἀπεχθὴς ἀπώλετο (νῷν no doubt dative, though the form can also be genitive). Ib. 149 τοιούσδε λόγους ... εἰς ὦτα φέρει πᾶσιν 'Οδυσσεύς (v.l. πάντων) 'brings to every one's ears'. Cf. *OC* 714* ἵπποισιν τὸν ἀκεστῆρα χαλινὸν ... κτίσας 'fashioning the bit that calms horses' (ἵπποισιν taking the place of an objective genitive).

§ 9. *Dative of advantage or disadvantage, of interest*

The dative is also used more widely, without being linked with any particular class of verbs (as in the preceding sections), to express advantage or disadvantage, or more generally interest (chiefly personal). This is, of course, basically the same use of the dative; it is simply a matter of convenience to have taken separately certain (semantic) verb-classes with which the dative is a very frequent adjunct, and then to note similar but more occasional use elsewhere. *A*. 1045 Μενέλαος, ᾧ δὴ τόνδε πλοῦν ἐστείλαμεν 'Menelaus, for whom (for whose sake) we sailed here'. *P*. 1019 ὄλοιο · καί σοι πολλάκις τόδ' ηὐξάμην 'perdition seize you! and often have I made this prayer for you': contrast *OC* 1444 σφῷν ... θεοῖς ἀρῶμαι μή ποτ' ἀντῆσαι κακῶν 'for you two my prayer to the gods is, that you never meet with evil'. *A*. 1224 ἰδὼν ... 'Αγαμέμνον' ἡμῖν δεῦρο τόνδ' ὁρμώμενον 'seeing Agam. hastening here to our discomfort'. *OT* 616 καλῶς ἔλεξεν εὐλαβουμένῳ πεσεῖν 'for one who takes care not to fall' (also some sense of *dat. iudicantis* here, § 11).

OC 1505 ποθοῦντι προὐφάνης 'your coming is welcome' (sc. μοι): cf. *T*. 18 ἀσμένῃ μοι ... ἦλθε, *OT* 1356. With dative of a participle, to indicate time relation: *T*. 756 μέλλοντι δ' αὐτῷ ... τεύχειν σφαγὰς κῆρυξ ... ἵκετο 'as he was about to sacrifice, his herald came'. *P*. 354 ἦν δ' ἦμαρ ἤδη δεύτερον πλέοντί μοι 'it was the second day of my sailing'. *OT* 735 τίς χρόνος τοῖσδ' ἐστὶν οὑξεληλυθώς; 'how long is it since these events?' (τοῖσδε is neuter, non-personal by extension). *An*. 571 κακὰς γυναῖκας υἱέσι στυγῶ 'in the interests of my son I hate a bad wife'. *A*. 970 θεοῖς τέθνηκεν οὗτος, οὐ κείνοισιν 'his death concerns the gods, not them' (Kamerbeek paraphrases 'his death is a matter between him and the gods'): but ib. 1128 τῷδε δ' οἴχομαι 'I am

dead so far as his purpose goes' (i.e. if he had his way). *P.* 247 οὐ γὰρ δὴ σύ γ' ἦσθα ναυβάτης ἡμῖν 'you surely did not sail along with us'. *OC* 444 φυγάς σφιν ἔξω πτωχὸς ἠλώμην 'they let me wander abroad, a beggar in exile': ib. 430.

Examples of the thing (instead of the person) affected occur with repetition of the noun in polyptoton, to give effect of emphasis. *E.* 235* αὐδῶ ... μὴ τίκτειν σ' ἄταν ἄταις 'I tell you not to produce misery upon misery'. The use is neither instrumental (as Kaibel), nor locative (Schwyzer 156 c, Lasso de la Vega 1, 592), but true dative of what is affected, or added to. *A.* 866* πόνος πόνῳ πόνον φέρει. *OT* 174* ἄλλον δ' ἂν ἄλλῳ προσίδοις ... ὅρμενον 'you may see one after another speeding ...' (προσ- in the verb cannot be supposed to have any influence). There is a similar use with ἐπί, *OC* 544* δευτέραν ἔπαισας ἐπὶ νόσῳ νόσον (also Homeric with ἐπί). While Sophocles restricts the use to an adverbal dative, Euripides goes further, with adnominal connection: *Ph.* 1495* ἔρις—οὐκ ἔρις, ἀλλὰ φόνῳ φόνος—Οἰδιπόδα δόμον ὤλεσε.

§ 10. *Ethic dative*

The ethic dative of the personal pronouns (especially first and second persons) is a form of the dative of interest used in intimate address: it gives assurance of close concern or involvement. *E.* 144* τί μοι τῶν δυσφόρων ἐφίῃ; 'why, I ask you (why, pray), do you desire troubles?' Ib. 1090* ζώῃς μοι καθύπερθεν ... τῶν ἐχθρῶν 'may I see you get the upper hand over your enemies!' *P.* 575 ὅδ' ἔσθ' ὁ κλεινός σοι Φιλοκτήτης, ξένε 'this, you must know, is the famous P., O stranger': cf. ib. 261 ὅδ' εἴμ' ἐγώ σοι κεῖνος, ὃν κλύεις ....

§ 11. *Dativus iudicantis*

In this form the dative indicates the opinion or attitude of an onlooker. *A.* 1363 ἄνδρας μὲν οὖν Ἕλλησι πᾶσιν ἐνδίκους (sc. φανῶ) '(I shall make us appear) rather just in the eyes of all Greeks': cf. *OT* 8 ὁ πᾶσι κλεινὸς Οἰδίπους καλούμενος 'I the one named Oedipus, famous in all men's eyes', *A.* 440, *An.* 25. Also with ὡς added (giving a sense of limitation): *OC* 76 εἶ γενναῖος, ὡς ἰδόντι 'you are noble, so far as one seeing you may judge'. *An.* 1161 Κρέων γὰρ ἦν ζηλωτός, ὡς ἐμοί, ποτέ 'Creon was once enviable, so far as my judgment goes'.

§ 12. *Dative of the agent*

A final development of the dative of interest is that of the agent, especially found with perfect passive forms of the verb (including

pluperfect and future perfect), also with verbal adjectives in -τος, -τέος: Kühner-Gerth 1, 422, Lasso de la Vega 1, 578 ff. Originally it denoted the person interested or involved in the completed act rather than the author of it (Humbert 108): the interest remains after the deed is done, hence the stress on perfect forms of the verb. However, it would probably be pedantic to insist on this nuance always surviving. *A*. 1128-9 θεὸς γὰρ ἐκσῴζει με, τῷδε δ' οἴχομαι.—μὴ νῦν ἀτίμα θεούς, θεοῖς σεσωσμένος. 'A god has saved me: I am dead so far as his purpose goes' (see under § 9).—'Do not insult the gods, since they are concerned in your preservation'. Here θεοῖς does in fact denote the agents, but at the same time shows their abiding interest: θεοῖς σεσ. is contrasted with τῷδε δ' οἴχομαι. *OT* 1373 οἶν ἐμοὶ δυοῖν ἔργ' ἐστὶ ... εἰργασμένα 'against both of whom I have performed deeds ...' (again two datives of interest, with ἐμοί of the agent). *T*. 664 δέδοικα μὴ περαιτέρω πεπραγμέν' ᾖ μοι. *A*. 906 ἐν γάρ οἱ χθονὶ πηκτὸν τόδ' ἔγχος 'this sword fixed by him in the ground'. *P*. 417 σύμπολητὸς Σισύφου Λαερτίῳ (v.l. Λαερτίου) 'the son of Sisyphus bought by Laertes'. But a number of examples are with other verb-forms. *A*. 1342 ἀτιμάζοιτό σοι, ib. 457 θεοῖς ἐχθαίρομαι, ib. 539 προσπόλοις φυλάσσεται. *OT* 1359 οὐδὲ νυμφίος βροτοῖς ἐκλήθην (ἄν). *An*. 504 τούτοις ... λέγοιτ' ἄν, ib. 1218 θεοῖσι κλέπτομαι 'deluded by'. *OC* 661 κείνοις ... ἐπερρώσθη (impersonal) 'courage was taken by them'. Fr. 921 σκαιοῖσι πολλοῖς εἷς σοφὸς διόλλυται 'one wise man is brought to nought by many fools': Pearson's interpretation, that the dative expresses relation, 'where many fools are concerned', is less satisfactory, but there is possibly an underlying sense 'with the triumph of many fools' (*dat. commodi*).

B. *Locative*

§ 13. *Of place*

The locative dative states the place in, at, or on which; most often the addition of local prepositions gives fuller definition, but in Sophocles there is also a limited use of the noun without preposition.

In names of towns, etc. *T*. 172 τὴν φηγὸν αὐδῆσαί ποτε [Δωδῶνι 'that the oak once spoke at Dodona'. Ib. 1152 ἐπακτίᾳ Τίρυνθι '(she lives) at Tiryns by the sea'. *OT* 900* τὸν 'Αβαῖσι ναόν. *An*. 102* τὸ κάλλιστον ... φανὲν Θήβᾳ ... φάος (but Θ. may be a true dative, 'fairest light vouchsafed to Thebes'). *A*. 635* Ἅιδᾳ κεύθων 'hidden in Hades' (H. as a place: this has Homeric precedent, *Il*. 23, 244 Ἄϊδι κεύθωμαι. On the other hand with prepositions: ἐν Τροίᾳ *A*. 1021, *E*. 1; ἀνὰ τὰν ... Τροίαν *A*. 1190* (but subject to some correction); ἀμφὶ Τροίαν ib. 415*; τἀπὶ Τροίᾳ πέργαμα *P*. 353, 611. ἔσχ' ἐν Αὐλίδι *E*. 564 (v.l. ἔσχεν). ἐν Πλευρῶνι *T*. 7. ἐν Τραχῖνι ib. 39. ἐν (ταῖς) Θήβαις (-αισιν) *OT* 1203*, 1380, *OC* 791, 1355.

More general use. *T.* 698 κατέφηκται χθονί 'on the ground' (verb of rest). Ib. 789 χθονὶ ῥίπτων ἑαυτόν, *E.* 747 πίπτοντος πέδῳ (both with verbs of motion, proleptically). *E.* 174 μέγας οὐρανῷ Ζεύς. Ib. 950* ἔχομεν ... δόμοις. *OT* 1291 μενῶν δόμοις. *An.* 226 ὁδοῖς κυκλῶν ἐμαυτόν 'turning round on my path (in my journey)'. *P.* 144* τόπον ἐσχατίαις προσιδεῖν θέλεις 'in the extreme part (of the island)' (cf. *Il.* 11, 524 ἐσχατιῇ πολέμοιο). *OT* 20 ἀγοραῖσι θακεῖ. Ib. 1266 γῇ ἔκειτο. *A.* 190* ἐφάλοις κλισίαις ὄμμ' ἔχων 'keeping his face hidden in his tent by the sea' (not directive, as Schwyzer would take it: see § 2 above). *OC* 411 σοῖς ὅταν στῶσιν τάφοις. *T.* 101* διssαῖσιν ἀπείροις κλιθείς 'leaning against the two continents' (cf. Lloyd-Jones, *C.Q.* n.s. 4, 1954, 91 f.). Other examples: *An.* 1079, *T.* 578, 692, 915, *E.* 49, 55, 313, 1331, *OC* 700*, fr. 270, 3.

With parts of the body: *OC* 313 κρατὶ δ' ἡλιοστερὴς | κυνῆ πρόσωπα ... νιν ἀμπέχει 'a hat on her head covers her face, giving protection from the sun' (κρατί adnominal, with κυνῇ; or alternatively κρατί as true dative with ἡλ., 'giving protection ... for the head'). *T.* 1051 καθῆψεν ὤμοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς 'fastened on my shoulders'. *P.* 485 προσπίτνω σε γόνασι 'I beseech you on my knees': the verbal phrase προσπ. γόν. 'I fall on my knees' takes the accusative of the person supplicated, cf. E. *Ph.* 293* γονυπετεῖς ἕδρας προσπίτνω σε (ἕδρ. internal accus.). *T.* 767 ἱδρὼς ἀνῄει χρωτί 'sweat came up on his skin'.

§ 14. *Of respect*

The dative of respect, of the sphere affected, seems to be originally locative (or possibly in some cases comitative-instrumental). *OT* 25 (πόλις) φθίνουσα μὲν κάλυξιν ἐγκάρποις χθονός 'suffering blight in the fruitful flowers of the earth'. *T.* 1229 τὸ γάρ τοι μεγάλα πιστεύσαντ' ἐμοὶ | σμικροῖς ἀπιστεῖν 'to refuse obedience in small matters after obeying me in great ones' (note the parallelism with the accus. of respect). *E.* 21 ξυνάπτετον λόγοισιν 'unite in counsel'. With adjectives: *A.* 964 οἱ κακοὶ γνώμαισι, ib. 1374 γνώμῃ σοφόν. *E.* 156* γονᾷ ξύναιμος 'linked in kin'. *OT* 1469 ὦ γονῇ γενναῖε. So too probably *OC* 112 χρόνῳ παλαιοί 'men old in years', *An.* 608* ἀγήρως χρόνῳ 'ageless'.

§ 15. *Of time*

The locative-dative of time refers to *time at which*: that is, to a point of time. If the noun refers to what is clearly a period of time, the reference is not durative, but to a point within the period (cf. the spatial use in *E.* 313 νῦν ἀγροῖσι τυγχάνει): however, the notion is not even then (cf. *P.* 715* below) basically one of dividing up the period (as with the genitive of time:

see Chapter 5 § 11), but rather is holistic, without closer analysis of the part concerned.

The point, or period, is normally defined. *OT* 1157 ὀλέσθαι δ' ὤφελον τῇδ' ἡμέρᾳ. *A*. 497 ταύτῃ νόμιζε κἀμὲ τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρᾳ βίᾳ ξυναρπασθεῖσαν ... δουλίαν ἕξειν τροφήν 'consider that on that very day I shall be seized' (ἡμέρᾳ with the participle) 'and shall have as my lot the portion of a slave' (i.e. thereafter: ἕξειν durative). *An*. 14 μιᾷ θανόντων ἡμέρᾳ 'who died on one (the same) day'. *E*. 644 προσεῖδον νυκτὶ τῇδε φάσματα 'I saw last night'; *An*. 16 ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ νῦν 'id.'. *P*. 715* ὃς μηδ' οἰνοχύτου πώματος ἥσθη δεκέτει χρόνῳ (v.l. -έτη χρόνον) 'who did not even know the joy of drinking wine (at any time) in a period of ten years': as Jebb notes, the accus. would imply absence of ten years' continuous enjoyment (also with an imperfect verb). *OT* 156* τί μοι ... περιτελλομέναις ὥραις πάλιν ἐξανύσεις χρέος 'what you will repeat for me in the revolving seasons' (i.e. at a time or times within them). The genitive is used in the Epic περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν and similar phrases which served as model, but the Sophoclean phrase with the dative occurs also at Ar. *Av*. 696; this type of phrase was developed in Hellenistic Greek as a sort of dative absolute in temporal expressions (see Lasso de la Vega 1, 636).

Without determination of the noun (more rarely): *T*. 149 λάβῃ τ' ἐν νυκτί 'at night-time' (the reference is general).

With non-temporal nouns. *OT* 381 τέχνη τέχνης ὑπερφέρουσα τῷ πολυζήλῳ βίῳ 'during life's emulations' (or possibly true dative with the following line, see Kamerbeek). *E*. 193* οἰκτρὰ μὲν νόστοις αὐδά 'at the time of his return' (note ἐν κοίταις 194 (local): this ἐν could also be understood with νόστοις). *An*. 1353* γήρᾳ τὸ φρονεῖν ἐδίδαξαν (gnomic, 'in old age'). *OT* 198* τέλει γάρ, εἴ τι νὺξ ἀφῇ, τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἦμαρ ἔρχεται: the sense of τέλει (and the reading) is much discussed, but syntactically at least we cannot reject the sense 'at last, in the end'. Cf. Pind. *P*. 1, 35 τελευτᾷ; and as τέλει is exceptional against the regular accus. τέλος, so too καιρῷ (*OT* 1516 'at the proper season') compared with καιρόν, ἐς κ. (The unusual τέλει instead of τέλος may find its explanation in stress on the sense of 'at the time of accomplishment': so, 'when the time for fulfilment (of death and destruction) is present, then day accomplishes whatever night leaves undone'.)

C. *Instrumental-comitative*

§ 16. *Of the instrument or means*

The case is employed of the instrument or means used in the verbal action, generally with a transitive verb (or verbal derivative). *A*. 230*

παραπλήκτῳ χερὶ συγκατακτὰς κελαινοῖς ξίφεσιν βοτά 'killing the herds with frenzied hand and dark sword': the part of the body is equally an instrument with the weapon. Ib. 501 λόγοις ἰάπτων 'shooting (at me) with insults'. *OC* 146* οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὧδ' ἀλλοτρίοις ὄμμασιν εἷρπον 'I would not be walking thus by the aid of another's eyes' (with intransitive verb). *P.* 494 τοῖς ἱγμένοις ἔστελλον αὐτόν 'I used to send for him by means of those who came' (with personal reference: they are used as instruments). *OC* 1026 τὰ γὰρ δόλῳ τῷ μὴ δικαίῳ κτήματα 'gains won by unfair trickery' (the dative is adjunct of a noun, but κτήματα is verbally derived and equivalent to τὰ κτηθέντα). Ib. 1318 εὔχεται κατασκαφῇ ... ἄστυ δῃώσειν πυρί 'boasts he will destroy the city by razing it to the ground, with fire' (two instruments, πυρί being more specifically the tool employed). Two examples are coupled with ὑπό: *An.* 976* ὀμμάτων ἀραχθέντων ὑφ' αἱματηραῖς χείρεσσι, and *OT* 202* ὑπὸ σῷ φθίσον κεραυνῷ. These have Epic parallels (*Il.* 2, 374; 5, 653): the notion of 'being under' is present.

The instrumental is also used (instead of the partitive genitive: Chapter 5 § 20) with verbs of *filling, being full* or *abundant*: *T.* 54 παισὶ πληθύεις, *OT* 30 Ἅιδης στεναγμοῖς πλουτίζεται.

§ 17. *Of the cause or reason*

This dative makes a remoter kind of instrument, and its use is especially developed by Sophocles. *T.* 1127 οὐ δῆτα (sc. σιγᾶν πρέπει) τοῖς γε πρόσθεν ἡμαρτημένοις 'Yes, it is not fitting to keep silence, because of (in view of) her past faults'. Ib. 544 νοσοῦντι πολλὰ τῇδε τῇ νόσῳ (replacing a cognate accus. νόσον, which would be awkward with the internal (adverbial) accus. πολλά; or this could be comitative, see § 18). *OT* 486 πέτομαι δ' ἐλπίσιν 'I am in suspense with expectations' (or again possibly comitative, 'amid expectations', cf. *Il.* 12, 207 πέτετο πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο). *E.* 42 οὐ γάρ σε μὴ γήρᾳ τε καὶ χρόνῳ μακρῷ [γνῶσι. *T.* 235 οὐ νόσῳ βαρύν (if not comitative: cf. the expressions *A.* 1017 ἐν γήρᾳ βαρύς, *OT* 17 σὺν γήρᾳ βαρεῖς). *An.* 691 σὸν ὄμμα δεινὸν ἀνδρὶ δημότῃ [λόγοις τοιούτοις 'your frown brings fear to the citizens by reason of such words' (i.e. when, or if, they utter them): there is no need to suppose ellipse (with Pearson). Fr. 314, 154 ἃ νῦν ... λάμπρ' ἀπορρυπαίνεται [ψόφῳ ... ποιμένων 'splendid deeds which now are tarnished because of (as a result of) the sound of shepherds'. *E.* 549 οὐκ εἰμὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις [δύσθυμος. Cf. further *A.* 531, *An.* 956*, *OC* 32, *E.* 233.

§ 18. *Comitative, of accompaniment, association, likeness*

The comitative use denotes who, or what, accompanies the action. So with verbs, also with adjectives and adverbs, of *association*. *An.* 1196 σῷ

ἑσπόμην πόσει. Fr. 260 τῷ γήρᾳ φιλεῖ χὠ νοῦς ὁμαρτεῖν (cf. *OT* 366 with σύν). *P.* 997 ὁμοίους τοῖς ἀρίστοισιν. *OT* 1007 οὔποτ' εἶμι τοῖς φυτεύσασίν γ' ὁμοῦ. *T.* 1165 μαντεῖα καινά, τοῖς πάλαι ξυνήγορα 'new oracles, consonant with the old', as ib. 1164 τούτοισι συμβαίνοντ' ἴσα. *OT* 791 μητρὶ μιχθῆναι. Fr. 271, 4 μίσγει δ' ὕδασιν τοῖς 'Αχελῴου. Also of *hostile association* (of what is fought against): *P.* 1253 οὐ τἄρα Τρωσίν, ἀλλὰ σοὶ μαχούμεθα. *An.* 1106 ἀνάγκῃ δ' οὐχὶ δυσμαχητέον. *OC* 191* μὴ χρείᾳ πολεμῶμεν. Further, of *likeness*: *An.* 393 ἔοικεν ἄλλῃ μῆκος οὐδὲν ἡδονῇ 'it is in no way like any other pleasure in extent'. Ib. 644 τὸν φίλον τιμῶσιν ἐξ ἴσου πατρί. *A.* 1152 ἐμφερὴς ἐμοί.

In other and wider contexts prepositions are usual, but the plain dative occurs in description of accompanying military etc. forces (Schwyzer 161 f., Humbert 289: the use is ancient). *P.* 1027 ἐμὲ ... πλεύσανθ' ἑπτὰ ναυσί 'I went on the expedition leading seven ships'. Fr. 904 ὀλίγοισιν ἵπποις τοῖσιν ἐκλελεγμένοις | ἥδιον ἂν χωροῖμεν ἢ παντὶ σθένει 'we would rather march with few, picked horses than with all our might'. This occurs by extension in the account of a chariot race: *E.* 705 ἕκτος ἐξ Αἰτωλίας | · ξανθαῖσι πώλοις 'the sixth competitor was from Aetolia, with chestnut horses' (parallel to ib. 703 Θεσσαλὰς ἔχων | ἵππους ὁ πέμπτος).

The non-prepositional use occurs also in Attic in combination with the dative of αὐτός (Schwyzer 164 f., Lasso de la Vega 1, 602 ff.). *A.* 27 λείας ... κατηναρισμένας ... αὐτοῖς ποιμνίων ἐπιστάταις 'the spoil (i.e. cattle) slaughtered together with the guardians of the herds'. Fr. 958 ἐδέξατο ... Θηβαία κόνις αὐτοῖσιν ἵπποις καὶ τετραόρῳ δίφρῳ 'the dust of Thebes received him together with his horses ...'.

§ 19. *Modal, of accompanying circumstances*

The modal use describes the circumstances which accompany the action: most often the substantive is abstract. *A.* 1033 πρὸς τοῦδ' ὄλωλε θανασίμῳ πεσήματι: cf. for use of ξύν ib. 833 ξὺν ... ταχεῖ πηδήματι πλευρὰν διαρρήξαντα τῷδε φασγάνῳ. In both of these passages the instrument is also expressed (πρὸς τοῦδε, of a sword; φασγάνῳ): the two comitative datives (πεσήματι, πηδήματι) express the manner of dying. *An.* 107* τὸν ... φῶτα βάντα πανσαγίᾳ 'who came in full armour' (so regularly πανοπλίᾳ). Ib. 620* σοφίᾳ ... κλεινὸν ἔπος πέφανται (σοφίᾳ = σοφῶς). Ib. 1085 θυμῷ 'in anger'. *E.* 233* εὐνοίᾳ 'with good feeling'. *OT* 52 ὄρνιθι αἰσίῳ 'with good omen'. Ib. 51 ἀσφαλείᾳ ... ἀνόρθωσον πόλιν 'restore the city in security': ἀσφ. applies to its future state (proleptically), not to the act of restoring. Also *P.* 1465 καί μ' εὐπλοίᾳ πέμψον 'send me on my way with fair course' (cf. with these *Il.* 1, 418 σε κακῇ αἴσῃ τέκον 'I bore you to suffer misfortune'). Certain nouns are so used freely also in prose authors, and without

prepositions: δίκῃ, *E.* 70; βίᾳ, *A.* 1176; σχολῇ, *An.* 390; σιγῇ, *OT* 341; λόγῳ, *E.* 63 λόγῳ μάτην θνήσκοντας 'dying according to vain report'; *OC* 369 λόγῳ σκοποῦσι 'considering reflectively, according to reason'; ἔργῳ, *P.* 532. *OT* 883* χερσὶν ἢ λόγῳ 'in deed or word' (χ. = ἔργῳ).

Other uses are parallel to the internal (cognate) accusative. *T.* 168 ζῆν ἀλυπήτῳ βίῳ. *E.* 650 ζῶσαν ἀβλαβεῖ βίῳ. *T.* 544 νοσοῦντι πολλὰ τῇδε τῇ νόσῳ (if not causal, § 17 above). Some other possible examples have nouns undetermined by adjectives, coupled with verbs of similar sense. So two with φόβῳ with a verb of *fearing*. *OC* 1625 ὥστε πάντας ὀρθίας [στῆσαι φόβῳ δείσαντας ... τρίχας: φόβῳ can alternatively be causal, linked with στῆσαι. *T.* 176 ὥσθ' ... ἐκπηδᾶν ἐμὲ [φόβῳ, φίλαι, ταρβοῦσαν εἴ με χρὴ μένειν ... (or similarly, φόβῳ may go with ἐκπηδᾶν—the nature of the fear (in the εἰ-clause) is then made definite and introduced by ταρβοῦσαν). If φόβῳ in these two uses is modal, it can avoid a charge of tautology because of the presence of different nuances of fright, alarm, etc.; thus, for example, φόβος is found not rarely coupled with δέος (Hdt. 4, 115, 2 etc.). But we may come nearer to tautology in two other examples. *An.* 427 γόοισιν ἐξῴμωξεν (cf. *A.* 317 ἐξῴμωξεν οἰμωγὰς λυγράς, ib. 579). *OT* 65 ὥστ' οὐχ ὕπνῳ γ' εὕδοντά μ' ἐξεγείρετε 'in me you are not waking up one who is slumbering in sleep'. On this Jebb suggests that a modal dative is more forcible than a cognate accus., which seems incapable of proof. Rather, ὕπν. εὕδ. as a fuller phrase has more force (and γε stresses the whole phrase: Denniston 582): it is not, of course, 'one who is inactive, not through sleep' (but for some other reason).

Also with concrete nouns. *An.* 716 ὑπτίοις ... σέλμασιν ναυτίλλεται 'sails with benches upturned'. Ib. 1144* μολεῖν καθαρσίῳ ποδί 'come with' (or 'on') 'healing foot' (of Dionysus): 'foot' might be used here with the instrumental sense of what brings him. *P.* 1377 πρὸς τὰ Τροίας πεδία καὶ τὸν Ἀτρέως ... υἱὸν τῷδε δυστήνῳ ποδί '(do you wish me to go) ... with this afflicted foot?': ποδί is strictly comitative—the idea uppermost for Philoctetes is that of appearing before Agamemnon in his state with his diseased foot, and not of the difficulty of the journey to be made. *An.* 1231 τὸν δ' ἀγρίοις ὄσσοισι παπτήνας 'glaring at him with angry eyes' (or this might be of the instrument used). Fr. 932, 1 ὅρκοισι γάρ τοι καὶ γυνὴ φεύγει πικρὰν [ὠδῖνα παίδων 'a woman seeks to be free from the bitter pain of child-birth to the accompaniment of oaths' (i.e. taking oaths to that effect). *An.* 335* χειμερίῳ νότῳ χωρεῖ 'goes accompanied by the stormy south wind' (better so than instrumental 'driven by the wind').

A temporal form of accompanying circumstances is seen in the 'prosecutive' use of χρόνος (Schwyzer 163, Lasso de la Vega 1, 604). *OC*

437 χρόνῳ δ', ὅτε ..., πόλις ἤλαυνέ με 'after a time, later' (not here implying a long time, as if too long). *T.* 201 ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ σὺν χρόνῳ χαράν 'you have given me joy, though late' (= but only after a long wait): σὺν χρόνῳ *A.* 306. ἀλλὰ τῷ χρόνῳ *E.* 1013, *P.* 1041. With adjectives: *E.* 1273* χρ. μακρῷ, *OC* 1648 χρ. βραχεῖ. Similarly *P.* 721* πλήθει πολλῶν μηνῶν 'after a length of many months'. The optional use of ξύν shows the comitative source.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PREPOSITIONS AND PREVERBS

§ 1. *Introduction*

Prepositions are divided into two classes, proper and improper. The former, which are mostly ancient, are capable of serving also as preverbs; the latter, partly inherited but also with more recent formations, serve only as prepositions. (Wackernagel 2, 155 ff.; Humbert 299, 323). The earliest use of most of the words which became prepositions was in a freer, adverbial role in the sentence, though already in Homer and in Mycenaean (Vilborg 119 ff.) we see the classical use of association with particular cases of the noun, for closer specification.

The following heads (a) to (f) show features of the use of prepositions and preverbs which are survivals of the earlier, and freer, state.

(a) *Adverbial use.* This is not always easy, or perhaps even possible, to separate from tmesis ((b) infra), where there is a secondary division of a preverb and verb after they have coalesced into a compound (Schwyzer 421 f., 424 f.; Pearson on frr. 679, 796, 799). Thus in *OT* 27 ἐν δ' ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς [σκήψας ἐλαύνει, λοιμὸς ἔχθιστος, πόλιν: ἐν can be taken as adverbial 'and further, in addition' (so Jebb, Kamerbeek: the sentence occurs in a list of the afflictions of the city); but tmesis (division of ἐν-σκήψας 'falling on (the city)') is not impossible (so Kühner-Gerth 1, 534). More certain use of ἐν (δέ) adverbially: *OT* 182* ἐν δ' ἄλοχοι πολιαί τ' ἐπὶ ματέρες ... ἐπιστενάχουσιν (here ἐπί also as adverb) 'and meanwhile wives, and grey-haired mothers too, lament'. *A*. 675, *T*. 207*, *OC* 55. With σύν: *A*. 1288 ὅδ' ἦν ὁ πράσσων ταῦτα, σὺν δ' ἐγὼ παρών: *An*. 85, *E*. 299, *A*. 959* (ξύν τε), fr. 314, 70. ἀμφί: *T*. 787 ἀμφὶ δ' ἐκτύπουν πέτραι (or perhaps tmesis). ὑπέρ: *An*. 518 πορθῶν δὲ τήνδε γῆν (sc. ὤλετο) ὁ δ' ἀντιστὰς ὑπέρ 'he died seeking to lay waste this land; but his brother died opposing him on its behalf' (but Jebb, ὕπερ with anastrophe, and so prepositional with γῆς understood). (Schwyzer 422 quotes *T*. 960* χωρεῖν πρὸ δόμων for πρό adverbial, but this is ruled out by the sense, which is not 'come forward, out of the house', but 'come to the house' (so as to be before it).) ἄνα without a verb, with imperative sense: *A*. 192* ἀλλ' ἄνα ἐξ ἑδράνων 'come, up from your seat!' (Homeric: the absence of elision with this use is regular).

(b) *Tmesis*. (Wackernagel 2, 171 ff.) Here the preverb, as in the adverbial use, is usually at the start of its clause, and followed by δέ or other particle or enclitic: examples occur of ἀνά, ἀπό, διά, ἐκ, ἐν, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, σύν, ὑπέρ, ὑπό (the list is longer than Kühner-Gerth 1, 534, 6 would allow). *T.* 1053 ἐκ μὲν ... βέβρωκε ... ἐκ δὲ ... πέπωκεν. *An.* 977* κατὰ δὲ ταχόμενοι. Ib. 1107 μηδ' ἐπ' ἄλλοισιν τρέπε (= ἐπίτρεπε 'do not entrust the tasks to others'): here not followed by particle or enclitic. *P.* 817 ἀπό μ' ὀλεῖς, ib. 1158*, 1177*. *OC* 1709* ἀνὰ γὰρ ὄμμα σε ... ἐμὸν στένει δακρῦον 'my weeping face laments for you'. *An.* 1274* ἐν δ' ἔσεισεν ἀγρίαις ὁδοῖς (sc. με) 'hurled me into cruel paths' (preceded by ἐν δ' ἐμῷ κάρᾳ, with ἐν as preposition). *E.* 746 σὺν δ' ἑλίσσεται ... ἱμᾶσι 'he was entangled in the reins'. Fr. 799, 6 ἐδαίσατο τὸν 'Αστάκειον παῖδα διὰ κάρα τεμών (not initial, and with 'full' word following): similarly fr. 271, 5 ἔνθεν ἐς Ἄργος διὰ κῦμα τεμὼν ἥκει ..., *P.* 343 ἦλθόν με νηὶ ... μέτα (anastrophic). Fr. 796 ὡς μήτε κρούσῃς μήθ' ὑπὲρ χεῖλος βάλῃς 'neither knock it, nor exceed (overtop) the rim'. Fr. 314, 172* τί μάτην ὑπέκλαγες ὑπέκριγες ὑπό μ' ἴδες;

(c) *Position of prepositions*. These may come after the noun which they govern (with anastrophe as appropriate): the following so occur in Soph. (i) Prepositions proper: ἄπο, ἔπι, κάτα, μέτα, πάρα, πέρι, ὕπερ, ὕπο. εἰς is uncertain, conj. by Müller at *An.* 113* αἰετὸς ὡς γᾶν εἰς ὑπερέπτα (εἰς γᾶν ὡς codd.): we must distinguish *OC* 126* ἀστιβὲς ἄλσος ἐς τᾶνδ' ... κορᾶν, where the following dependent genitive forms part of the prepositional phrase (cf. ib. 85, *OT* 178*). There is no example with πρός, if τοῦ πρός is not accepted at *OT* 525 (so read in cod. L, also Pap. Ox. 2180; but the sense is against it, as well as the word order. Read τοὔπος). Others which are not used by Soph. after the word governed are: ἀμφί, ἀνά, ἀντί, διά, ἐκ, ἐν, πρό, σύν. (ii) Improper, after word governed: ἅμα, ἀντίον, ἄτερ, δικήν, δίχα, ἕκατι, ἐκτός, ἔνδον, ἔνερθε, ἔσω, ἔξω, ὁμοῦ, ὄπισθεν, οὕνεκα, πάροιθεν, παρός, πέλας, πέρα, πρόσθε, ὕπαι (*E.* 1419* *per conj.*, *Inach.* 9 (Page, *Lit. Pap.* 24), χάριν, χωρίς.

The favourite position for a following preposition is line final (conveniently metrically for many dissyllabic prepp.). So περί, twenty times final, and after its genitive; only once elsewhere (preceding, with genitive), *A.* 150 περὶ γὰρ σοῦ ... (anap.). But περί non-final and preceding, when used with the dative (3 times) and accus. (once). μετά with the genitive is final, and following, 9 times; non-final, and preceding, 15 times: with dative and accus. (once each) it is non-final and preceding. But prepp. following their case also occur non-finally (for some, final place is metrically ruled out): so ὕπο *A.* 225*, ὕπερ *OT* 187*, *An.* 528*, ἄτερ *T.* 48, ἐκτός *E.* 382, χωρίς *E.* 945, οὕνεκα *E.* 387, 579, *OT* 858.

Though following prepositions generally come immediately after their

case, separation can occur. *E.* 553 σοῦ τάδ' ἐξήκουσ' ὕπο. *A.* 793 Αἴαντος δ' ὅτι, [θυραῖος εἴπερ ἐστίν, οὐ θαρσῶ πέρι. *E.* 579, *OT* 858.

(d) *Adverbs in nominal sentences.* Adverbial use of preverbs as a predicate occurs in nominal sentences, where the alternative would be a compound with ἐστί (πάρ-, μέτεστι, etc.: Schwyzer 423). *An.* 48 οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμῶν μ' εἴργειν μέτα 'he has no claim to keep me from what is mine'. *E.* 285 οὐδὲ γὰρ κλαῦσαι πάρα. *OT* 1239 ὅσον γε κἀν ἐμοὶ μνήμης ἔνι. Compare with such use that of other adverbs which have no equivalent compound with -εστι: so, *T.* 332 ἅλις γὰρ ἡ παροῦσα (sc. λύπη), *OC* 83 ὡς ἐμοῦ μόνης πέλας.

(e) *Omission of preverbs.* Preverbs may be omitted when a compound verb is repeated: Wackernagel 2, 177; Schwyzer 422; E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie* (1964), 40 f. *P.* 329 ἐξερῶ, μόλις δ' ἐρῶ 'I shall speak out, but shall do so with difficulty': the force of ἐξ- is continued as if it were a separable member. Ib. 1383 αἰσχύνοιτο takes up καταισχύνῃ of the previous line (said by another speaker). Cf. (also with change of speaker) *OT* 1076 ῥηγνύτω following on ἀναρρήξει. *OC* 841* πρόβαθ' ὧδε, βᾶτε, βᾶτε (with πρόβαθ' again in 843). Fr. 314, 195 εἴσιθ' ἴθι. There is a possible extension of this use in a compound adverb form with the prefix ἐπι-: *OT* 133 ἐπαξίως γὰρ Φοῖβος, ἀξίως δὲ σύ, [πρὸς (v.l. πρὸ) τοῦ θανόντος τήνδ' ἔθεσθ' ἐπιστροφήν. Jebb and Kamerbeek would take ἐπαξίως as stronger than ἀξίως, but there seems no supporting evidence.

The omission of a second preverb should be seen as an example of conjunctional reduction (Kiparsky, *Foundations of Language* 4, 1968, 46).

A similar usage occurs where the second verb is not a repetition of the first, but none the less shares its preverb. *An.* 537 ξυμμετίσχω καὶ φέρω τῆς αἰτίας. *OT* 347 ξυμφυτεῦσαι τοὔργον εἰργάσθαι θ'. Also possibly *T.* 89 οὐχ εἴα πατρὸς ἡμᾶς προταρβεῖν οὐδὲ δειμαίνειν ἄγαν.

But the preverb is also found repeated. *P.* 932 ἀπόδος ... ἀπόδος. Fr. 357 ἄπελθ', ἄπελθε. Fr. 314, 172* (see (b) above).

(f) In another use the preverb appears with the *second* only of two verbs. So especially well seen with change of speaker, where the preverb brings a modification of sense. *P.* 249 οὐ γὰρ οἶσθά μ' ὅντιν' εἰσορᾷς;—πῶς γὰρ κάτοιδ' ὅν γ' εἶδον οὐδεπώποτε;: simple οἶσθα 'don't you know me that you see before you?', then κάτοιδα, 'how can I have got to know one whom I have never seen till now?' (cf. Brunel 235 on the determinative aspect of the compound). *E.* 922 is closely parallel: οὐκ οἶσθα ...—πῶς δ' οὐκ ἐγὼ κάτοιδ' ἅ γ' εἶδον ἐμφανῶς; *An.* 1063 has ἴσθι—κάτισθι: the compound specially stresses the idea of acquiring knowledge, in a solemn passage of high emphasis (ἀλλ' εὖ γέ τοι κάτισθι ...). *OT* 566 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔρευναν ... ἔσχετε;—παρέσχομεν πως δ' οὐχί; (implied by παρέσχ. that the search was

due from them). Ib. 575 ἐγὼ δέ σου [μαθεῖν δικαιῶ ...—ἐκμάνθανε 'learn it in full'. *P.* 1241 ἔστιν ὅς σε κωλύσει τὸ δρᾶν—τίς ἔσται μ' οὐπικωλύσων τάδε;: the difference of sense is not great, but the compound stresses the idea of completion (i.e. of prevention: Brunel 26).

But in other cases the preverb is to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with the first verb also (Wackernagel 2, 176 on Eur. *H.F.* 163 ὃς μένων βλέπει τε κἀντιδέρκεται: for such use of prepositions cf. *E.* 780 οὔτε νυκτὸς ... οὔτ' ἐξ ἡμέρας, *OT* 734, fr. 314, 270). Fr. 432, 7 ἔδειξε κἀνέφηνεν (Pearson suspects the passage; Platt, *C.Q.* 5, 66 sees the second verb as emphasised). *OT* 1351* ἀπό τε φόνου ἔρυτο κἀνέσωσεν.

In the brief comments on the use of preverbs in verbal compounds that follow, I do not aim at a full description of the different associated meanings (in those cases where change of meaning is caused by the preverb), and still less at accounting for stylistic effects. My purpose is to bring to light the relation of meaning between preposition and preverb, and to draw some attention to the governance of nouns adjunct to compound verbs (a subject which could repay fuller examination). It may be prefaced here that Sophocles shows individuality in his use of preverbs. Some of the less usual combinations of preverb and verb are noted by Schmid-Stählin I, 2, 151 fn. 2. So προπίτνω (for προσ-), *E.* 1380; εἰσχειρίζω (for ἐγ-), *OT* 384; προύστη (for ἀντέστη), *A.* 1133; ξυνηρετῶ (for ὑπ-), *A.* 1329; ἀντειρηκώς (for ἀπ-), *An.* 47; ἀντέχω (for ἀπ- ? dubious), *P.* 830; κατασκήπτω (for ἐπι-), *OC* 1011. Further, the use of ἐκ-, on which see below.

§ 2. *ἀμφί*

The basic sense was local, originally 'on both sides', but then generally 'near, about, on, by'. Thus with the dative (locative): fr. 453 δῶρον ἀμφὶ φαιδίμοις ἔχων ὤμοις (carrying *on* the shoulders, not *around*). *A.* 1276 ἀμφὶ νεῶν ἄκροισιν ναυτικοῖς ἑδωλίοις πυρὸς φλέγοντος 'while the fire burnt about (around) the raised decks of the ships at the stern'. *An.* 1223 ἀ. μέσσῃ περιπετῆ προσκείμενον 'embracing around her waist'. Metaphorically, fr. 565.1 ἀ. θυμῷ τὴν ... οὐράνην ἔρριψεν 'he threw the pot in anger': cf. E. *Or.* 825 θανάτου ἀ. φόβῳ ... ἰάχησε 'in fear of death'. The use, derived from the local, describes the mental situation in which the subject is placed.

'Concerning, with regard to'. *P.* 1354 τὰ πάντ' ἰδόντες ἀ. ἐμοί (ἐμοῦ v.l.) 'everything that concerns, affects me'. *OC* 365 ἃ δ' ἀ. τοῖν σοῖν παίδοιν κακὰ ... ἐστι ills 'affecting' them. *E.* 1180 ἀ. ἐμοὶ στένεις. *A.* 562 φύλακα Τεῦκρον ἀ. σοι λείψω 'I shall leave T. as guardian for you' (combining the local sense). *E.* 1144 τροφῆς ... τὴν ... ἀ. σοὶ παρέσχον 'nurture which I afforded you', cf. *OC* 1614. *A.* 303 (λόγους) ἀ. 'Οδυσσεῖ.

The accus. (of extent) is more frequent with the local sense than the dative. *A.* 415* πολύν με ... κατείχετ' ἀ. Τροίαν χρόνον 'you kept me long at, in the vicinity of, Troy'. *OC* 888 βουθυτοῦντα μ' ἀ. βωμόν 'sacrificing at the altar'. *A.* 1064 ἀ. χλωρὰν ψάμαθον ἐκβεβλημένος 'thrown on the yellow sand', Jebb 'somewhere on' (the vagueness implied by ἀμφί adding to the scorn of the threatened disposal of Ajax's corpse). Also as 'with regard to'. *An.* 168 ἀ. τοὺς κείνων παῖδας μένοντας ἐμπέδοις φρονήμασιν 'remaining loyally disposed with regard to ...'. *T.* 937 ἀ. νιν γοώμενος. *E.* 846* ἐφάνη μελέτωρ ἀ. τὸν ἐν πένθει.

Genitive uses are rare: the genitive is that of relation, and so ultimately partitive. *P.* 554 ἃ τοῖσιν Ἀργείοισιν ἀ. σοῦ 'νεκα βουλεύματ' ἐστί (σ' οὕνεκα v.l.). The alteration made by Auratus, ἀμφὶ σοῦ νέα, has been generally accepted by editors eager to remove a rarity, but is needless. The v.l. σ' οὕνεκα shows the more common accus. σ' with ἀμφί, but leaves οὕνεκα without a construction. The two prepp. are not identical in sense: '(you do not know about your own situation), what plans the A. have about you and for your concern'. ἀμφί is the more objective, 'with regard to you'. Note that the speaker is inventing a story to trick Philoctetes, and that his language is perhaps for this reason wordy (as elsewhere in the speech). For two prepp. combined with the same *regimen*, cf. Kühner-Gerth 1, 528 f.; Schwyzer 428 ff. Most familiar is the combination of ἀμφί and περί: Hom. *Il.* 2, 305 ἀ. π. κρήνην; 23, 191; ib. 21, 10 (adverbial); also with separation Theoc. *Id.* 7, 142 π. πίδακας ἀ. Note especially examples with ἕνεκα: Thuc. 8, 92, 9 ἀπὸ βοῆς ἕν., Plat. *Leg.* 701d τίνος δὴ χάριν ἕνεκα. A further example in Soph. of two prepp. is at *T.* 1160 (πρός ... ὕπο): see § 19 below. Cf. further *An.* 392 ἡ ἐκτὸς καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας χαρά 'joy outside and beyond the range of hope' (the prepp. here linked by καί, as made necessary by the different case (genitive) understood with ἐκτός).

At fr. 448 ὦ ... ἀ. ἐμοῦ στεῖλαι the meaning and construction are quite uncertain. *P.* 1354 ἀ. ἐμοῦ is v.l. for ἐμοί (noted above).

As a preverb, ἀμφι- has regularly local sense. So with -ἵστημι *A.* 724 'stand about' (with accus., αὐτόν); -δύομαι *T.* 605 'put on (clothing)' (with dative, χροΐ); -κεῖμαι *OC* 1620 'embrace' (ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν); -βάλλομαι *An.* 1093 'put on, wear'; -πολῶ *OC* 680* 'associate with' (with dative τιθήναις). In figurative use, -νοῶ *An.* 376* 'be in two minds': this keeps the original sense of 'on two sides'.

§ 3. *ἀνά*

ἀνά is found only with the accusative in Soph. (accus. of extent), but also with the dative in Aesch. and Eur., and genitive and dative in Homer. Its

local sense is 'through, throughout', or 'in (an extensive area)'. *OT* 477* φοιτᾷ ... ἀνά τ' ἄντρα. *OC* 1058* (they will meet) τούσδ' ἀ. χώρους 'in this land' (area not closely specified). *A.* 1190* ἀν' ... Τροίαν 'throughout the land of Troy'. *OC* 1247* ἀ. μέσσαν ἀκτῖνα '(waves) in the region of the mid-day ray' (i.e. the South).

As preverb, with verbs of movement *up*. ἀν-άγω *P.* 866; -αιρῶ *A.* 237; -ίστημι ib. 788 etc.; -ίημι *OT* 270 (ἄροτον γῆς, of making crops grow); -τέλλω *OC* 1246*. Of 'opening', with ingressive sense: -οίγω *A.* 344. This leads to coupling with action which is unrestricted or openly evident: -ίημι *An.* 1101 (κόρην ἐκ στέγης ἄνες 'let go': cf. ἀνειμένος 'unrestricted' ib. 579); -αλίσκω *A.* 1049 (τοσόνδε λόγον 'waste words': originally 'tear open, break up', cf. Frisk, *Et. Wb.*); -δείκνυμι *E.* 1458 (πύλας 'openly display the gates', i.e. open the gates and make evident). With verbs of 'asking' (so of bringing to light): -ιστορῶ *T.* 317; -ηρόμην *A.* 314 (but perhaps of repeated asking, *OC* 210* (Brunel 38)). With verbs of 'raising' a (loud) sound (ingressive): -κλαίω *P.* 939; -ολολύζω *E.* 750; -κηρύσσω *OT* 450; -στένω *P.* 737 (cf. Thesleff 158).

Of repeated action: -πνέω *P.* 883 'take breath again, recover'; -παιδεύω fr. 487; -πολῶ *P.* 1238 (ἔπη 'repeat'); -μιμνήσκω *OT* 1133 'remind'. Hence of motion backwards: -έρχομαι *P.* 621; -οχωχεύω *E.* 732 'hold back' a chariot; -νοστῶ fr. 314, 160.

§ 4. *ἀντί*

ἀντί occurs with the genitive only. Schwyzer 443 is uncertain whether the genitive is pertinentive or ablatival, but the latter should be rejected. If the derivation as locative of a noun is correct (Frisk, *Et. Wb.*), the former is the right solution (cf. the genitive with χάριν, and perhaps ἕκατι). The presumed original meaning 'in the face of, facing' is lacking in Soph. in the preposition, and generally rare: for the preverb see below. Regularly as 'in place of': *OT* 1418 λελείπται μοῦνος ἀ. σοῦ φύλαξ. With contrasted adjectives or nouns: *A.* 1020 δοῦλος ἀ. ἐλευθέρου φανείς. *T.* 148 ἀ. παρθένου γυνή. *OT* 455 πτωχὸς ἀ. πλουσίου. So too after ἄλλος: *A.* 444 οὐκ ... τις ... ἄλλος ἀ. ἐμοῦ (cf. A. *P. V.* 467, also after negative). After comparatives: *An.* 182 μείζον' ὅστις ἀ. τῆς αὑτοῦ πάτρας φίλον νομίζει 'who regards a friend as more important than his own country'; *T.* 577. A rare use at *OC* 1326 σ' ἀ. παίδων τῶνδε καὶ ψυχῆς ... ἱκετεύομεν: here ἀντί must have the same meaning as πρός 'in the name of, by', of what is invoked to support an appeal (presumably from the use 'in return for', cf. A. *Supp.* 966* ἀ. ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθοῖσι βρύοις).

Of that which is obtained in exchange, or for which return is made. *P.* 802 ἀ. τῶνδε τῶν ὅπλων 'as a price paid to obtain these arms'. *OC* 967 ἀνθ' ὅτου τάδ' ... ἡμάρτανον 'to pay for which I committed these sins'. *T.* 707. Then extended to mean 'because of', where the idea of obtaining, or seeking return for, something is absent. *An.* 237 τί δ' ἐστὶν ἀ. οὗ τήνδ' ἔχεις ἀθυμίαν; So ἀνθ' ὧν 'wherefore', *E.* 575, *OT* 264, ἀνθ' ὅτου *E.* 585. Also *An.* 1068 ἀνθ' ὧν 'because' (equivalent to a causal conjunction: see Ch. 19 § 1).

As a preverb ἀντι- shows the local sense which is absent from Soph. in the preposition (cf. also the derived ἀντάω 'meet' *T.* 902, ἀντιάζω 'approach', hence 'meet with, obtain' *E.* 869*, 'supplicate' *OT* 192* etc.) So -χυρῶ 'meet' *OC* 99 (with dat. ὑμῖν, as with the *simplex* κυρῶ). Ib. 1651 χεῖρ' ἀντέχοντα κρατός 'holding his hand in front of his face' here with gen.; but with dat. *P.* 830* ὄμμασι δ' ἀντίσχοις τάνδ' αἴγλαν 'keep this light before his eyes'. With added sense of opposition: -βαίνω 'oppose, be reluctant' *E.* 575; -ανίσταμαι 'rise to oppose' *T.* 441 (Ἔρωτι). Then without local force: -λέγω 'say in reply' *OT* 409; -λογῶ 'deny' *An.* 377; -εἶπον ib. 1232. At *A.* 771 the received text is δίας Ἀθάνας, ἡνίκ' ὀτρύνουσα νιν ηὔδατ' ..., τότ' ἀντιφωνεῖ δεινὸν ... ἔπος: it is in dispute whether gen. Ἀθάνας is possible in dependence on ἀντιφωνεῖ. Contrast the accus. at *P.* 1065 μή μ' ἀντιφώνει μηδέν 'say no more to me'; also dat. with ἀντεῖπον *OC* 999, -αυδῶ *E.* 1478 (ζῶν τοῖς θανοῦσιν ... ἀνταυδᾷς ἴσα (so codd.) 'you, a living man, reply to the dead on equal terms': Campbell, and cf. Longman, *C.R.* 1954, 192 ff.). But the analogy of ἀντίον, -α λέξαι (φάσθαι) with the gen. (A. *Pers.* 695 ἀντία λέξαι σέθεν 'to speak before you'), coupled with the gen. in *OC* 1651 *supra*, after ἀντέχω, is perhaps enough: the meaning would not be 'addresses Athena', but 'speaks in the presence of A.', stressing Ajax's presumption in the face of the goddess. ἀντι- 'reciprocating' in -χαίρω (*An.* 149* ἀντιχαρεῖσα Θήβᾳ 'with joy answering that of Thebe'); -δίδωμι 'give in return' *An.* 1067; -δρῶ *OC* 271; -τίνω *A.* 1086.

§ 5. *ἀπό*

ἀπό is linked with the ablatival genitive, and is used primarily of separation, departure, or absence from. *OT* 734 σχιστὴ δ' ὁδὸς ἐς ταὐτὸ Δελφῶν κἀπὸ Δαυλίας ἄγει 'the branching road leads to the same place from Delphi and from Daulia' (ἀπό with both nouns ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, probably). *T.* 757 κῆρυξ ἀπ' οἴκων ἵκετο. *E.* 391 ὅπως ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἐκφύγω. *T.* 990 σκεδάσαι τῷδ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς βλεφάρων θ' ὕπνον 'to drive away sleep from his head and eyes'. *A.* 706* ἔλυσεν ἄχος ἀπ' ὀμμάτων. Also where the verb does not imply motion: *P.* 183* κεῖται μοῦνος ἀπ' ἄλλων (so again with μοῦνος, *h. Herm.* 193

ἐβόσκετο μοῦνος ἀπ' ἄλλων, and cf. simple gen. *A*. 511 σοῦ μόνος 'away from you'). *T*. 1275 λείπου μηδὲ σύ, παρθέν', ἀπ' οἴκων (ἐπ' Schol.): Mazon 'ne reste pas là, loin de ta maison': the use of ἀπό is rare but paralleled by Hom. *Il*. 9, 444 ἀπὸ σεῖο ... λείπεσθαι 'to be left, parted from you' (cf. ib. 437 where, however, οἶος is added), and Hdt. 9, 66, 1 λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέος. Cf. too fr. 583, 8 ὠθούμεθ' ἔξω καὶ διεμπολώμεθα [θεῶν πατρῴων τῶν τε φυσάντων ἄπο 'we (women) are thrust out and sold (in marriage) away from our ancestral gods and parents'.

Figuratively, *T*. 389 οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης λέγεις 'not removed from good sense, sensibly' (cf. Chantraine 94, *Od*. 11, 344 οὐδ' ἀ. δόξης 'nor contrary to our expectation': *T*. 389 might similarly mean 'my thought'). ?*E*. 1127 ὥς σ' ἀπ' ἐλπίδων [οὐχ ὥνπερ ἐξέπεμπον εἰσεδεξάμην 'I have received you back (in a way) contrary to the hopes with which I sent you forth': on this construction (Jebb) οὐχ is redundant, repeating the negative idea in ἀπ. ἐλπ. Alternatively, read ὅνπερ or ὥσπερ. ἀπ. ἐλπ. as '*with* hopes' (Kaibel, Mazon) would have ἀπό to show means or resources used, as *E*. 1378 (infra): but 'contrary to the hopes' indicates here rather an accompaniment than an instrument or source of action. *T*. 667 κακὸν μέγ' ἐκπράξασ' ἀπ' ἐλπίδος καλῆς: here too ἀπό could mean 'contrary to my fair hope', but also 'after starting from' is possible (so that ἀπ' ἐλπ. in this passage *can* refer to the source of action).

ἀπό indicates the source, as of parentage. *An*. 193 παίδων τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου 'the sons of Oedipus'; *OC* 571. Equated with ἐκ: fr. 107, 1 τοὺς δυσσεβεῖς κακῶν ἄπο βλαστόντας ... τοὺς δ' ὄντας ἐσθλοὺς ἔκ τε γενναίων γεγῶτας. Of other sources: *An*. 2 τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου κακῶν 'stemming from O.'. ?*OT* 417 ἀ. σοῦ πατρός ... ἀρά (so Pap. Ox. 2180) 'curse coming from your father'. *E*. 100 οὐδεὶς ... οἶκτος ἀπ' ἄλλης ἢ 'μοῦ φέρεται 'no pity comes from any other but me' (not strictly of the agent here, as Schwyzer, *S.B.Berlin* 1942, Phil.-hist. Kl. 10: the verb suggests motion). *OC* 1628 τἀπὸ σοῦ βραδύνεται 'your actions are delayed' (what comes, is due, from you). *E*. 1464 τελεῖται τἀπ' ἐμοῦ. *P*. 1088* λύπας τᾶς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ 'grief arising from me'. Of cause: *E*. 65 ἔμ' ἐπαυχῶ τῆσδε τῆς φήμης ἄπο ... ἐχθροῖς ἄστρον ὣς λάμψειν 'because of this report'. *An*. 1078 πεσεῖν ἀ. σμικροῦ κακοῦ, ib. 695 ἀπ' ἔργων εὐκλεεστάτων φθίνει. Of a base or ground of action: *E*. 83 ἀ. τῶνδ' ἀρχηγετεῖν 'begin with these' (i.e. the instructions of Apollo). Of means, instrument: *A*. 471 πεῖρα ... ἀφ' ἧς δηλώσω πατρί 'a course of action through which I may show my father ...'. *P*. 1109* οὐ πτανῶν ἀ. ἐμῶν ὅπλων (φορβὰν προσφέρων) 'not bearing food won by my winged weapons' (or, of the source, 'resulting from my weapons'). *E*. 1378 ἀφ' ὧν ἔχοιμι '(I have often been your suppliant) with whatever means, i.e. gifts, I had'. Of

time: *OT* 351 ἀφ' ἡμέρας τῆς νῦν 'from this day henceforth'. ἀφ' οὗ 'since the time when' ib. 758, *An.* 562.

ἀπό as preverb most often with verbs of separation, departure: so frequent with -ειμί 'be absent' *T.* 192 etc.; -ειμι 'go away' *E.* 1050 etc.; -έρχομαι *P.* 808 etc.; -ερύκω 'keep away' *A.* 185*; -οικῶ 'dwell at a distance from' *OT* 998 ἡ Κόρινθος ἐξ ἐμοῦ ... μακρὰν ἀπῳκεῖτο (passive form of τῆς Κορίνθου ἀπῴκουν) 'C. was lived away from by me at a great distance, I lived a long way from C.' (cf. Kühner-Gerth 1, 124); -βλάπτω (passive) 'be bereft of' ib. 941; -κρίνω 'separate' *OT* 640; -νοσφίζω 'deprive' *P.* 979; -ρρίπτω 'cast away, reject' *E.* 1018; -στρέφω 'turn away' *OC* 1403 (perhaps with additional sense of 'back', linked here with πάλιν: cf. *OT* 431 οὐ πάλιν [ἄψορρος οἴκων τῶνδ' ἀποστραφεὶς ἄπει;); -ωθῶ 'drive out' *OT* 641; -οσιῶ fr. 253 ἀφωσιωμέναι · ἀνόσιαι, ἄποθεν τοῦ ὁσίου γεγενημέναι Hs.: the function of ἀπο- here is therefore separative, and distinct from the more general, completive sense of ἀφοσιῶ 'make ὅσιος, purify' (cf. Pearson ad loc.).

With sense of opposition and negation: -ανδάνω 'displease' *An.* 501 (σοί); -αυδῶ 'forbid' *OT* 236; -φάσκω 'deny' *OT* 485* οὔτε δοκοῦντ' οὔτ' ἀποφάσκοντα 'neither accepting nor rejecting'; -φημί 'deny, say "no" ' *OC* 317; -όμνυμι 'swear "no" ' *P.* 1289. So too ἀπο- is commonly linked with -αρνοῦμαι 'deny' (e.g. *A.* 96), but there of course the preverb does no more than reinforce the simple verb.

The meaning of 'return' occurs in -δίδωμι 'give back' *P.* 924. Also -τίνω 'repay' *An.* 1352 (determinate aspect: Brunel 121); -στρέφω 'turn back' *OT* 1154 χέρας, of tying hands behind one.

The concrete value of separation may be largely, or wholly, lost sight of in compounds where the aspect is determinate, stressing the action as fulfilled, completed, or capable of that (Thesleff 157 f.). So with verbs of 'destroying' etc. (Brunel 125-34): -όλλυμι *E.* 808; -τρύω 'make weary' *T.* 124*; -φθίνω 'kill' ib. 709, 'perish' *P.* 457; -λωβῶμαι (passive) 'be ruined' *A.* 217. Of 'bringing to an end' (Brunel 125): -παύω 'stop from' (trans.) *A.* 1205* ἐρώτων ἀπέπαυσεν (sc. με), 'cease from' *E.* 231* οὐδέ ποτ' ἐκ καμάτων -παύσομαι; -κάμνω 'cease from labour' *OC* 1776* οὐ δεῖ μ' ἀποκάμνειν (possibly with direct object πάντα, Jebb ad loc.); -λείπω 'leave behind' *P.* 1177* ἀπό νύν με λείπετ' ἤδη (with tmesis). With factitive verbs, stressing the completion of a transformation (Brunel 177 ff.): -αγριῶ *P.* 226 με ... ἀπηγριωμένον 'turned into a wild man, dehumanized'. The completive aspect is also seen in -ικνοῦμαι 'arrive' *OC* 2 etc., especially in the perfect (Brunel 166): the simple verb occurs freely also (*OT* 318 etc.), but less in the perfect (only twice, at *T.* 229, *P.* 494). -δείκνυμι 'bring to light' *OT*

1405 κἀπεδείξατε πατέρας, ἀδελφούς, κτλ. (or it may be ἐπι- here, with same sense).

§ 6. *διά*

διά with the genitive in a local sense usually is 'through', of motion through and beyond: the case use is that of the partitive gen. *A*. 301 ἀπᾴξας δ. θυρῶν. *OC* 1250 δι' ὄμματος ... λείβων δάκρυον 'letting a tear drop' ('through', and so) 'from his eye'. Of the act of hearing: the ears are regarded as a channel or instrument through which the message comes (cf. Plat. *Theaet.* 184c ἀπόκρισις ποτέρα ὀρθοτέρα ᾧ ὁρῶμεν τοῦτο εἶναι ὀφθαλμούς, ἢ δι' οὗ ὁρῶμεν, καὶ ᾧ ἀκούομεν, ὦτα, ἢ δι' οὗ ἀκούομεν;). *An* 1188 με φθόγγος ... βάλλει δι' ὤτων. So, of addressing another: *E*. 1437 δι' ὠτὸς ... παῦρά γ' ὡς ἠπίως ἐννέπειν πρὸς ἄνδρα τόνδε. Ib. 737 (to a horse). But διά need not imply more than motion, or presence, within an area. *T*. 864* οἴκτου δι' οἴκων ὁρμωμένου 'a cry arising in the house'. *OC* 1261 κόμη δι' αὔρας ἀκτένιστος ᾄσσεται 'his hair waves unkempt in the breeze'. Fr. 578 βροντὴ δ' ἐρράγη δι' ἀστραπῆς 'thunder crashed amid the lightning'. *An*. 639 δ. στέρνων ἔχειν 'to hold in the breast' (of belief); ib. 1060 τἀκίνητα δ. φρενῶν 'secrets in the heart'. Ib. 1258* δ. χειρὸς ἔχων 'carrying in, with his hand': similarly with θιγών *OC* 470, λαβών *An*. 916 (local; or else of the means employed, as Schwyzer 451). *P*. 760 δύστηνε δ. πόνων πάντων φανείς 'found unhappy amid, in, all kinds of woe'. Ib. 1013 (of Odysseus) ἡ κακὴ σὴ δ. μύχων βλέπουσ' ἀεὶ [ψυχὴ 'your base soul, ever on the watch in hidden places' (i.e. spying, hidden in ambush).

In relation to time, of extension through a period: both this, and the causal and modal senses with the genitive, are post-Homeric (Chantraine 96). *E*. 1024 δι' αἰῶνος 'throughout your life'. *A*. 705* ξυνείη δ. παντὸς εὔφρων — δ.π. 'always'. To mark an interval: *P*. 758 ἥκει ... δ. χρόνου 'it comes after an interval' (implying a long one). Ib. 285 ὁ χρόνος δ. χρόνου προὔβαινε 'one period of time advanced after another'.

Causally, of the means used: the local sense is still strongly evident. *A*. 575 ἴσχε δ. πολυρράφου στρέφων πόρπακος ... σάκος 'hold the shield, wielding it by means of the well-stitched grip' (the sense of πόρπαξ is not certain here); or else, with διά purely local and στρέφων intrans. (cf. *An*. 717, fr. 314, 224 for other intrans. uses), 'hold it, bending (i.e. your arm) through the grip'. Fr. 475, 1 δ. ψήκτρας καθαίρονθ' ἵππον αὐχμηρᾶς τριχός 'ridding the mare of its shaggy mane with a comb'.

Modally: *OT* 807 παίω δι' ὀργῆς 'I struck him in a mood of anger'. *A*. 822 δ. τάχους θανεῖν. *OC* 584 τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ ... δι' οὐδενὸς ποιῇ 'but for what comes before you ... have no regard' ('regard worthlessly': unique phrase,

modelled on περὶ οὐδενὸς ποι.). With verbs of motion (local sense again apparent): *An.* 742 δ. δίκης ἰὼν πατρί 'challenging your father on grounds of δίκη'. *OT* 773 δ. τύχης τοιᾶσδ' ἰὼν 'having such experience'. *OC* 905 εἰ δι' ὀργῆς ἧκον ἧς ὅδ' ἄξιος 'if I were as angry as he deserves'. *E.* 1509* πολλὰ παθὸν δι' ἐλευθερίας μόλις ἐξῆλθες τῇ νῦν ὁρμῇ τελεωθέν 'after much suffering, with a spirit of freedom you have at last reached the end crowned by this present enterprise': it is hardly possible to take δι' ἐλ. ἐξῆλθες as 'you have reached freedom' (Mazon 'es-tu ... parvenue à la liberté', and (less plainly) Jebb 'come forth in freedom'), since the phrase with διά indicates the route followed (and so the activity engaged in, or condition enjoyed: see Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 542-4) and not the end reached (so too Kaibel). Hence the Chorus must be referring by δι' ἐλ. to the attitude of independence and resolution which has led Orestes and Electra to their present consummation.

διά is rarely used in Soph. with the accus. The local use (in origin the accus. of extent: Ch. 4 § 15) occurs once, in lyric: *OT* 867* νόμοι ... οὐρανίαν δι' αἰθέρα τεκνωθέντες 'laws created in, and pervading, the highest heaven' (Campbell, and similarly Jebb, giving a fuller force to διά than 'in'). The use is Epic, whence lyric in Tragedy: cf. A. *Supp.* 14* φεύγειν δ. κῦμ' ἅλιον, E. *Hipp.* 753* δ. κῦμα ... ἐπόρευσας. Causal twice only: the use is a development of the local sense, just as διά with the gen. developed causal out of local use. *OC* 1129 ἔχω γὰρ ἄχω δ. σέ 'I have what I have thanks to you'; *OT* 768 δι' ἅ.

As preverb. δια- has the local sense of both motion through and separation. So with the gen. of the place etc. through which: -αΐσσω *T.* 1083 διῇξε πλευρῶν; -έρχομαι fr. 935, 3 χρυφαῖον οὐδὲν οὗ διέρχεται (οὗ *per emend.*: οὐ codd.); -ίημι *OC* 963 φόνους μοι ... τοῦ σοῦ διῆκας στόματος 'you have discharged through your mouth against me talk of murder ...'; also with the accus. -ρρήγνυμι *A.* 834 πλευρὰν διαρρήξαντα; -έρχομαι *P.* 1419 διεξελθὼν πόνους. Of separation etc.: -έχω 'keep apart' (of time) *OT* 717; -σπείρω 'scatter about, waste' *E.* 1291; -ρραίνω 'sprinkle about' *T.* 14; -πτύσσω 'unfold, lay open' *An.* 709; -οίγω *OT* 1287; -πάλλω 'move separately' (of wings, in flying) fr. 581, 4; -χαλοῦμαι 'urge in different quarters' fr. 314, 167. From such use as -γιγνώσκω 'know apart, distinguish' (*Il.* 7, 424 διαγνῶναι χαλεπῶς ἦν ἄνδρα ἕκαστον) develops δια- in sense of 'knowing, speaking clearly, distinctly': -γιγνώσκω *E.* 1186; -οιδα *OC* 295; -ορίζω 'plainly establish' *OT* 723; -όμνυμι *T.* 255; -εἶπον *OT* 854; ib. 394 'solve' (αἴνιγμα).

An intensive and a completive sense, to perform to the end, may well derive from the local meaning 'through' (cf. Brunel 219; Thesleff 155).

-ζῶ *P.* 535 ἀφ' ὧν διέζων 'the means by which I kept on living' (in difficulties); -φέρω 'bear to the end' *OT* 321 τὸ σόν τε σὺ [κἀγὼ διοίσω τοὐμόν; -φοιβάζω 'to drive quite mad' *A.* 332. So regularly with verbs of 'destroying' etc.: -όλλυμι *OT* 1159 etc.; -φθείρω ib. 438 etc.; -πορθῶ *A.* 896; -σκεδάννυμι *An.* 287; -οἴχομαι 'be ended' *OC* 574.

§ 7. *εἰς*

εἰς, ἐς was a new formation in Greek, an enlargement of ἐν (i.e. ἐνς) to accommodate the special meaning of motion *into*, *to*, as distinct from rest *in*, *on* (Schwyzer 454 ff.). So with the accus. of motion to a place: ἐς Τροίαν μολεῖν *P.* 112, ἐς τὴν Σκῦρον ib. 381, ἐς οἴκους *OT* 320, ἐς δόμους ib. 861. Ib. 719 νιν ... ἔρριψεν ... εἰς ἄβατον ὄρος 'threw him on a trackless mountain'. *E.* 1120 ἐς χεῖρας λαβεῖν 'take into my hands'. *T.* 567 ἐς πλεύμονας στέρνων διερροίζησεν 'it whistled through his breast to the lung'. *A.* 1109 ἐς ταφὰς θήσω 'put in the grave'. *T.* 703 ποτοῦ χυθέντος ἐς γῆν 'spilt on the earth'. *An.* 999 ἐς παλαιὸν θᾶκον ἵζων 'sitting at my ancient seat' (but at *A.* 80 ἐς δόμους μένειν, probably f.l. for ἐν δόμοις): for the proleptic use, cf. *P.* 609 δέσμιον ἄγων ἔδειξ' Ἀχαιοῖς ἐς μέσον, and Schwyzer 461, 2 for the tendency of εἰς with accus. to replace ἐν with dative. Also (with the genitive, elliptically) ib. 1211* ποῖ γᾶς; — ἐς Ἅιδου (ματεύων). *P.* 748 πάταξον εἰς ἄκρον πόδα 'strike at my heel'. Exceptionally, of motion to an individual: *P.* 500 ἐς σὲ ... ἥκω (more usually, with plural noun or collective, '(go) into the midst of': Schwyzer 459). *E.* 954 ἐς σὲ βλέπω 'I look to you' (i.e. for aid): but *OT* 1254 εἰς ἐκεῖνον ... ἐλεύσσομεν 'we looked at him'. Both imply 'look in the direction of'.

Of a condition, state: *An.* 240 ἐς κακὸν πέσοιμι. *OT* 991 ἐς φόβον φέρον. *OC* 1297 εἰς ἔλεγχον χειρὸς ... μολών. *An.* 386 ἐς δέον περᾷ 'he comes to meet the time of need, as needed' (ἐς μέσον v.l.): cf. *OT* 1416, and *A.* 1168 ἐς αὐτὸν καιρὸν ... πάρεισιν.

To indicate result, or end aimed at: *A.* 1018 εἰς ἔριν θυμούμενος 'being filled with anger that leads to discord'. *OT* 1352* οὐδὲν ἐς χάριν πράσσων 'not doing an act of kindness'. *P.* 111 ὅταν τι δρᾷς ἐς κέρδος 'do something for profit'. *T.* 403 ἐς τί δή με τοῦτ' ἐρωτήσας ἔχεις; 'why have you asked me this?'.

Of persons spoken to: *OT* 93 ἐς πάντας αὔδα. *E.* 606 κήρυσσέ μ' εἰς ἅπαντας εἴτε κακὴν ... 'denounce me to everyone as wicked ...'. But *T.* 487 λόγους οὓς εἶπας ἐς τήνδε 'what you have said with regard to her'. Of attitude to persons: *E.* 24 ἐσθλὸς εἰς ἡμᾶς. *A.* 79 εἰς ἐχθροὺς γελᾶν. Generally as 'with regard to, in relation to': *An.* 1349* τά γ' ἐς θεοὺς μηδὲν ἀσεπτεῖν. *OT* 980 εἰς τὰ μητρὸς μὴ φοβοῦ νυμφεύματα (cf. *T.* 1211 with πρός). *An.* 376*

ἐς δαιμόνιον τέρας ἀμφινοῶ τόδε (s.v.l.). *OC* 1368 αἵδ' ἄνδρες ... ἐς τὸ συμπονεῖν 'these women are men with regard to assisting'. Fr. 378, 4 εἰς ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα δίς 'in number'.

εἰς used adverbially of manner generally shows its local origin, implying the end of the activity. *OT* 50 στάντες ἐς ὀρθόν 'taking an upright stance' (cf. E. *Or.* 231 μ' ἐς ὀρθὸν στῆσον). *T.* 347 οὐδὲν ... φωνεῖ δίκης ἐς ὀρθόν 'says nothing in the straight line of *dike*'. Fr. 612 εἰς ὀρθὸν φρονεῖν. *OT* 78 εἰς καλὸν εἶπας (or else of the purpose, 'to good purpose').

Of time, εἰς indicates the limit to which: *OT* 1137 ἐξ ἦρος εἰς ἀρκτοῦρον 'from spring to Arcturus (the rising of)'. *OC* 1138 ἐς τόδ' ἡμέρας. *P.* 1076 εἰς ὅσον (χρόνον) 'until' (in the future). Also of extent of time: *T.* 911 εἰς τὸ λοιπόν 'henceforth, for the future'. Ib. 80 εἰς τό γ' ὕστερον (τόν codd.). Of time at or in which, with reference to the future: *P.* 409 εἰς τέλος. With adverb αὔριον: *OC* 567 τῆς ἐς αὔριον ... ἡμέρας 'to-morrow'. Fr. 593, 5* τὸ ἐς αὔριον αἰεὶ τυφλὸν ἕρπει 'the event of to-morrow' (contrasted with τὸ κατ' ἆμαρ 'the daily happening, that of each day': cf. the use of εἰς in εἰσαεί 'always' *OT* 275 etc.). *A.* 1185* εἰς πότε λήξει ...; 'when will it stop?'. (But εἰσάπαξ 'once' *P.* 443 has reference to the past.) On *An.* 340* ἔτος εἰς ἔτος 'for year after year', see Ch. 4 § 15 (accus.).

As preverb εἰσ- shows *motion to*, and the verb regularly takes the accus. of the place etc. entered (i.e. the verb, if intrans. in the *simplex*, becomes transitive): -άγω *E.* 39; -βαίνω *OC* 997 εἰσέβην κακά; -ειμι 'enter' *P.* 953 etc.; -πεμπω *OT* 705; -πλέω ib. 423 τὸν ὑμέναιον ὃν ... εἰσέπλευσας. But the dative is found of the person affected, with verbs indicating the onset of feelings, emotions: *T.* 298 ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἶκτος δεινὸς εἰσέβη (contrast E. *Med.* 931 ἐσῆλθέ μ' οἶκτος); *OC* 372 εἰσῆλθε τοῖν τρὶς ἀθλίοιν ἔρις; fr. 941, 9 (Κύπρις) εἰσέρχεται μὲν ἰχθύων ... γένει (hardly of 'physical entrance' here, as Pearson would have it). Cf. with this use the dative in e.g. *An.* 186 ἄτην ... στείχουσαν ἀστοῖς (Ch. 6 § 2).

With verbs of perception, εἰσ- indicates the direction of attention, and has a strengthening force. So frequently with -ορῶ *A.* 463 etc.; -λεύσσω ib. 260. Of hearing: -ακούω ib. 789 τοῦδ' εἰσάκουε τἀνδρος.

§ 8. *ἐν*

ἐν with the locatival dative refers to place *in* or *at* which: *OT* 112 (did he die?) ἐν οἴκοις ἢ 'ν ἀγροῖς. Ib. 1026 εὑρὼν ἐν Κιθαιρῶνος πτυχαῖς. *An.* 945* ἐν χαλκοδέτοις αὐλαῖς. *T.* 6 ἐν δόμοισιν Οἰνέως ναίουσα; also elliptically with the genitive, fr. 583, 3 ἐν πατρός 'in our father's house'. More freely: *OC* 1569* ἐν πύλαισι πολυξένοις εὐνᾶσθαι 'at, by the gates'. *P.* 296 ἐν πέτροισι πέτρον ἐκτρίβων 'rubbing a stone on stones'. Fr. 37 ἐν παντὶ λίθῳ 'under

every stone'. With persons: *An.* 661 ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοισιν ... χρηστός ... κἀν πόλει δίκαιος 'in his family ... in public life'. Also with persons, 'in the presence of judges': ib. 459 ἐν θεοῖσι τὴν δίκην δώσειν 'before a tribunal of the gods': hence by extension *OT* 677 ἐν τοῖσδ' ἴσος 'just in their view', *OC* 1214* ἐν ἐμοί 'in my view'. Then further, 'in the power of': *OT* 314 ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ἐσμέν. *A.* 519 ἐν σοὶ ... σῴζομαι 'my safety depends on you'. *OC* 153* ἔν γ' ἐμοί 'so far as I can help'. *P.* 950 ἐν σαυτῷ γενοῦ (σαυτοῦ v.l.) 'become master of yourself'.

Sometimes motion *to* is involved, and the locatival sense is proleptic (referring to the final state): *A.* 185* ἐν ποίμναις πίτνων 'falling on (attacking) the flocks'. *An.* 782* Ἔρως ὃς ἐν κτήμασι πίπτεις 'falls upon cattle' (or, 'on possessions'): cf. *Il.* 5, 161 λέων ἐν βουσὶ θορών. *A.* 633* χερόπλακτοι δ' ἐν στέρνοισι πεσοῦνται δοῦποι 'hands will beat a sound, falling upon breasts'. So figuratively *OT* 656* ἐν αἰτίᾳ βαλεῖν 'to bring one into accusation'.

Denoting situation or circumstance generally, in which the action takes place. Of clothing: *T.* 613 φανεῖν ... θυτῆρα καινῷ καινὸν ἐν πεπλώματι 'wearing a new dress'. Of appearance: ib. 10 ἐν τρισὶν μορφαῖσιν 'in the guise of, assuming, three shapes'. Of circumstance: *E.* 26 ἐν τοῖσι δεινοῖς, ib. 1329 ἐν κακοῖς τοῖσιν μεγίστοις ὄντες. *P.* 1004 οἷα πάσχετ' ἐν χρείᾳ φίλης νευρᾶς 'in a situation of lack of your bow'. *OT* 80 εἰ γὰρ ἐν τύχῃ γέ τῳ σωτῆρι βαίη 'may he come invested with saving fortune'. Ib. 562 ὁ μάντις οὗτος ἦν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ; 'was he occupied in the craft?' (of prophesy, as a profession). Of emotions: *E.* 1124 ἐν δυσμενείᾳ οὖσα = δυσμενής. With the meaning 'with respect to': *OT* 1112 ἐν γήρᾳ '(he looks like what is expected) with respect to his advanced years'. *A.* 1315 ἐν ἐμοὶ θρασύς 'bold towards me'. *An.* 551 εἰ γέλωτ' ἐν σοὶ γελῶ. *OT* 1016 ἦν σοι ... οὐδὲν ἐν γένει 'he was of no connection with you with respect to birth'. In a modal sense: *E.* 487* ἅ νιν κατέπεφνεν αἰσχίσταις ἐν αἰκίαις 'which slew him with most shameful savagery'. *P.* 356 μ' ... ἐν κύκλῳ στρατὸς ... ἠσπάζετο 'encircling greeted me'. *T.* 1069 ἐν δίκῃ. So with neuter sing. adjective forms in adverbial sense: *OT* 765 etc. ἐν τάχει = ταχέως, *E.* 673 ἐν βραχεῖ = βραχέως 'briefly'. This also appears the best way to take one, if not two examples, with substantivized adjectives: *OT* 287 οὐκ ἐν ἀργοῖς οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἐπραξάμην 'I did not perform even this task sluggishly'. Also perhaps *A.* 971 ἐν κενοῖς ὑβριζέτω 'let him vainly taunt' (or else, sc. ὤν 'being in an unsound situation': κενοῖς also taken as personal 'at the expense of (us) left unprotected' (Lobel, quoted in *C.R.* 21, 1971, 344 f.), with which one would compare *An.* 551 above).

There is also a use to show the means employed. This too is in origin locative, and not an instrumental case (as regularly appears in analysis of

early and Classical use (Schwyzer 458)). Sophocles, who specially favours the use, does not have ἐν with a noun strictly denoting a tool. But the connection of sense can be close between the locative of place and the instrumental of attendant circumstance; and the latter may be seen as showing the means employed. Cf. Lasso de la Vega 1, 633, 641 f. With parts of the body: *E.* 1138 οὔτ' ἐν φίλαισι χεροῖν ... λουτροῖς σ' ἐκόσμησα 'neither did I deck you with my hands with washings' (the local sense of ἐν χεροῖν still clear). *OT* 821 λέχη ... ἐν χεροῖν ἐμαῖν χραίνω. *An.* 1003 (of birds) σπῶντας ἐν χηλαῖσιν ἀλλήλους. Of seeing: ib. 764 ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρῶν; *T.* 241 ὁρᾷς ἐν ὄμμασιν (the image is in the eye: cf. *Il.* 1, 587 ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδωμαι and Lasso de la Vega 1, 632): contrast the instrumental expression of *A.* 84 ὀφθαλμοῖς γε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὁρᾷ. Other, and wider, use (especially of speech) is closer to the circumstantial (comitative-instrumental): *P.* 60 σ' ἐν λιταῖς στείλαντες 'despatching you with their prayers' ('praying you to go'); ib. 102 ἐν δόλῳ ἄγειν (following 101 δόλῳ λαβεῖν), ib. 1393 ἐν λόγοις πείθειν; *An.* 962* φαύων τὸν θεὸν ἐν κερτομίοις γλώσσαις; *A.* 732 λήγει δ' ἔρις ... ἐν ξυναλλαγῇ λόγου 'because of (= amid) conciliation'. More isolated use: *T.* 886* ἐν τομᾷ σιδάρου (answering 'how did she contrive her death'?) 'with the cutting stroke of a sword' (perhaps a local nuance, suggesting the entry of the blade?).

With reference to time *in the course of which*, *within* or *at which*. *An.* 16 ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ νῦν 'in the course of last night'. *OC* 619 ἡμέρας ... ἐν αἷς 'days, in the course of which': cf. *An.* 1066. *E.* 674 'on this very day'. *OC* 614 ἐν ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ 'at a later time'. Ib. 809 ἐν καιρῷ. But *OT* 613 ἐν χρόνῳ γνώσει τάδε 'within a period of time', hence equivalent of 'after a time'. *OC* 88 παῦλαν ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ 'rest after a long time'. Fr. 646, 4 ἐν βραχεῖ κὠλίγῳ χρόνῳ (s.v.l.) 'after a short time' (or else, 'quickly').

As a preverb ἐν- is coupled with verbs of *rest*, and linked with the dative: -ειμι 'be (present) in' *E.* 370 τοῖς λόγοις ἔνεστιν ἀμφοῖν κέρδος, *An.* 213 σοι 'it is in your power'; -θακῶ *OC* 1293 θρόνοις 'sit on the throne'; -κεῖμαι *P.* 1318 βλάβαις 'be involved in troubles'. With other verbs: -θνῄσκω *OC* 790; -τήκω *T.* 463 εἰ [κάρτ' ἐντακείη τῷ φιλεῖν 'if he should be quite absorbed in love'; -γελῶ 'laugh at, in a situation' *E.* 277 ἐγγελῶσα τοῖς ποιουμένοις 'exulting in what she is doing'; -νυχεύω *An.* 784* ἐν παρειαῖς νεάνιδος ἐννυχεύεις 'you spend the night in, resting on, a maiden's cheeks'; -ακούω *E.* 81 with gen. γόων (ἐν- of involvement, hence strengthening); -τυγχάνω, with gen. *P.* 1333 τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐντυχὼν 'Ασκληπιδῶν 'meeting the sons of A. in our company', but (as more regularly) with dat. *A.* 433 κακοῖς. With some verbs of, or implying, *motion*: according to Chantraine, *Rev. Phil.* 1942, 115 ff., the use of ἐν- here reflects the ancient double value of ἐν- as

both 'in' and 'into', and so it is coupled with prepp. εἰς and ἐπί. So -αΐσσω *A*. 305 ἐνᾴξας ἐς δόμους (ἐν- pap., ἐπ-, ἀπ- codd.) 'rushing into the house'; -ἅλλομαι *OT* 263 ἐς τὸ κείνου κρᾶτ' ἐνήλαθ' ἡ τυχή 'fate leapt upon his head' (but with dat. πύλαις, *OT* 1261 'sprang upon, at the doors'); -πορεύομαι ib. 456 ξένην ἔπι ... γαῖαν ἐμπορεύσεται; -πίπτω with dat. ib. 1262 στέγῃ 'burst into the room'; also of onset of emotion *P*. 965 ἐμοὶ οἶκτος, of a message *OC* 1150 λόγος ἐμοί; but with εἰς *E*. 216* εἰς ἄτας ἐμπίπτεις, and with accus. *OC* 942 οὐδείς ποτ' αὐτοὺς ... ἂν ἐμπέσοι ζῆλος; -χέω fr. 563, 1 ἐγχείτω βαθὺν κρατῆρα 'pour into, fill the mixing bowl' (analogy of πίμπλημι). -βαίνω *OC* 400 with gen. γῆς ὅρων 'step on the borders of the land': ἐμβαίνω usually with the dative in this sense, but here possibly after the example of ἐπί with genitive, as *OT* 803 ἐπὶ πωλικῆς ἀπήνης ἐμβεβώς 'mounted on a chariot'. So too -βατεύω ib. 825 ἐμβατεῦσαι πατρίδος 'to put foot upon, in my country'. Alternatively, the two genitives are modelled on those found with verbs of *touching* or *approaching* (Ch. 5, §§ 16, 18).

Direction *towards* also in -βλέπω *E*. 995 ποῖ γάρ ποτ' ἐμβλέψασα (v.l. ποτε βλ.) 'looking in which direction ...?': elsewhere ἐμβλέπω coupled with εἰς + accus., and with plain accus.

§ 9. *ἐκ, ἐξ*

ἐκ is used with the ablatival genitive, primarily to denote *motion out of*, or *away from*, or *separation from*. *P*. 245 (sail from) ἐξ Ἰλίου; *OT* 1436 (expel from) γῆς ἐκ τῆσδε; *E*. 311 (go from) ἐκ δόμων. *OC* 113 μ' ἐξ ὁδοῦ πόδα κρύψον 'conceal me away from the road' (motion implied). *T*. 1078 δείξω τάδ' ἐκ καλυμμάτων 'I shall reveal this apart from, freed from, its covering'. *E*. 11 πατρὸς ἐκ φόνων '(I took you) away from the scene of your father's murder' (or else temporal, 'after'). Perhaps too *An*. 411 καθήμεθ' ἄκρων ἐκ πάγων ὑπηνέμοι 'we sat at a distance from the topmost rocks, to windward': cf. A. O. Hulton, *C.R.* 1963, 252 f. (See Jebb on the usual interpretation 'on the hill-top': it is explained by him as describing the scene as it might be viewed from a distance. Alternatively, ἐκ might refer to the act of watching from the hill, but the absence of reference to watching makes difficulty.) Also, of what one is fastened to, and so hangs from (cf. Ch. 5, § 16 for simple genitive use): *A*. 1030 ζωστῆρι πρισθεὶς ἱππικῶν ἐξ ἀντύγων 'fastened by the belt to the chariot rail'. The pregnant use is seen in an articular phrase at *E*. 137* οὔτοι τόν γ' ἐξ Ἀΐδα ... λίμνας πατέρ' ἀνστάσεις 'you will not raise your father, who is under the lake of Hades, (sc. from that place)'. There are two other articular phrases: ib. 1070* τὰ ἐκ δόμων ... τὰ πρὸς τέκνων 'the fortunes of his house ... of his children' (as viewed by an outsider). *P*. 1076 τά τ' ἐκ νεώς 'the things on

the ship' (spoken of on land). In these two latter cases, if not in the first, what is in mind is the relationship with a distant object: attention goes away to what is distant, and notice of it comes back. Cf. the adverbial use in *E.* 1058* τοὺς ἄνωθεν ... οἰωνοὺς ἐσορώμενοι 'looking at the birds above us', and the formulaic expression in *P.* 20 ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς '(you may see) on the left hand'; also the use of Latin *ab* to denote *place where*, in *a tergo*, *a fronte*, *ab oriente* etc. (Szantyr 255 f.; E. C. Woodcock, *A New Latin Syntax* 28).

Of a state or condition which is left, changed for another: *An.* 437 ἐκ κακῶν πεφευγέναι; *E.* 1356 ἔμ' ἔσωσας ἐκ πόνων. With the succeeding state specified: *T.* 28 ἐκ φόβου φόβον τρέφω 'I conjure up one fear in place of another'. *An.* 1093 λευκὴν ... ἐκ μελαίνης ... τρίχα 'hair white instead of black'; *OT* 454 τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος καὶ πτωχὸς ἀντὶ πλουσίου 'blind after being sighted ...'; *T.* 284.

With a partitive sense, as of one taken from a number: *An.* 1137* τὰν ἐκ πασᾶν τιμᾷς ὑπερτάταν πόλεων 'the city which you honour highest out of all cities'; *OC* 70, ib. 742.

Secondly, ἐκ denotes the source. Physically, of parent or other ancestor: *P.* 260 ὦ παῖ πατρὸς ἐξ Ἀχιλλέως; *An.* 466 τὸν ἐξ ἐμῆς μητρός 'my mother's son'; ib. 1056, *P.* 384. Of source received from: *P.* 1370 ἐξ ἐμοῦ κτήσῃ χάριν; *OT* 1162 πόθεν λαβών; οἰκεῖον, ἢ 'ξ ἄλλου τινός; Of a person as source, hence agent, of an action: with intransitives, *P.* 406 ταῦτ' ἐξ Ἀτρειδῶν ἔργα 'these deeds proceed from, are the work of, the A.' (nominal clause); *OT* 854 παιδὸς ἐξ ἐμοῦ θανεῖν. *T.* 1235 ὅστις μὴ 'ξ ἀλαστόρων νοσοῖ 'who is not out of his mind through the action of avenging spirits'; *An.* 989 δύ' ἐξ ἑνὸς βλέποντε 'two seeing by means of one'; *P.* 25, *OT* 225, *An.* 1058. With passive verb forms: *E.* 264 ἐκ τῶνδ' ἄρχομαι 'I am ruled by them': *OC* 67; *An.* 63; *OC* 737 (ἀπεστάλην) οὐκ ἐξ ἑνὸς στείλαντος 'I was sent ... not by one man's sending' (continuing with ἀλλ' ἀστῶν ὑπὸ πάντων κελευσθείς). *P.* 335 ἐκ Φοίβου δαμείς; ib. 1316 τὰς ἐκ θεῶν τύχας δοθείσας. The use of ἐκ with the instrument is dubious: *OC* 848 οὔκουν ποτ' ἐκ τούτοιν γε μὴ σκήπτροιν ἔτι [ὁδοιπορήσῃς 'never again will you walk with the aid of these two crutches' (σκήπτρ. in fact refers to persons, the daughters of Oedipus: probably not strictly instrumental, but rather of the circumstance, cf. *T.* 875 βέβηκε ... ἐξ ἀκινήτου ποδός (see below)). Schwyzer 463 quotes *P.* 710*, but the text, as emended (Jebb, Pearson, Dawe) runs ἐξ ὠκυβόλων εἴ ποτε τόξων πτανοῖς ἰοῖς ἀνύσειε γαστρὶ φορβάν, where ἐξ ... τόξων is better local 'with flying arrows from his swift-shooting bow'. *E.* 409 f. ἐκ τοῦ φίλων πεισθεῖσα; ... ἐκ δείματός του νυκτέρου 'persuaded by which of her friends?—By a terror visiting in the night': here ἐκ δειμ. follows the form

of the preceding ἐκ τοῦ φίλων, and δειμ. is personified, the vision of one in a dream.

ἐκ introduces the cause, the ground of action: *E.* 48 τέθνηκ' Ὀρέστης ἐξ ἀναγκαίας τύχης 'as the result of an accident fate-ordained'. *P.* 1268 ἐκ λόγων καλῶν κακῶς ἔπραξα 'I fared ill because of fair words'; *An.* 180 ἐκ φόβου του γλῶσσαν ἐγκλῄσας ἔχει. Also with persons, as the authority behind an action: *E.* 344 οὐδεν ἐκ σαυτῆς λέγεις 'you say nothing on your own authority' (but are instructed by another); ib. 885; *An.* 957* ἐκ Διονύσου κατάφαρκτος ἐν δεσμῷ 'imprisoned by order of D.'; fr. 326 ἐκ θεοῦ κεκρυμμένην 'hidden by order of the god' (or else, 'by the god' as direct agent: cf. Pearson ad loc.).

Less directly, of the base of an action, its underlying condition or manner of performance (often equivalent to an adverb of manner). *E.* 279 πατέρα τὸν ἀμὸν ἐκ δόλου κατέκτανεν 'she slew my father in a spirit of treachery'; *P.* 563 ἐκ βίας μ' ἄξοντες 'forcibly'; *A.* 537 ἐκ τῶνδε 'in these circumstances'; *T.* 1109. *E.* 725 ἐκ δ' ὑποστροφῆς ... μέτωπα συμπαίουσι 'they crash head-on in wheeling round'; *T.* 875 βέβηκε ... ἐξ ἀκινήτου ποδός 'she has gone ... without stirring a foot', and similarly *OC* 848 quoted above; *P.* 91 οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἑνὸς ποδὸς ἡμᾶς ... χειρώσεται 'he, as he is with one foot (i.e. only able to use one foot), will not get the better of us'; *E.* 742 ὀρθὸς ἐξ ὀρθῶν δίφρων 'standing upright, with his chariot upright'; ib. 455 ἐξ ὑπερτέρας χερός 'with superior strength (his strength being superior)'. *T.* 281, *OT* 528, *OC* 486. With unaccompanied neuter adjective: *E.* 1429 ἐκ προδήλου 'plainly'; *T.* 485 ἐξ ἴσου; with plural, *A.* 716* ἐξ ἀέλπτων. With feminine adj.: *T.* 727 ἐξ ἑκουσίας, ib. 395 ἐκ ταχείας (cf. Ch. 1 § 9 for the use of the feminine).

With reference to time, ἐκ has the meaning *from when, after. OT* 1137 ἐξ ἦρος εἰς ἀρκτοῦρον; ib. 1141 ἐκ μακροῦ χρόνου. Of situation: *P.* 271 ἐκ πολλοῦ σάλου 'after being storm-tossed'. *An.* 150*. *OT* 235 ἐκ τῶνδε 'after this'. *T.* 38 etc. ἐξ οὗ 'since' (conj.). Also of time, *at a point* in which: *E.* 780 (I did not sleep) οὔτε νυκτὸς ... οὔτ' ἐξ ἡμέρας (ἐκ may be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ also with νυκτός). Parallels in ἐκ νυκτῶν 'in the night hours' Hom. *Od.* 12, 286; A. *Cho.* 288; E. *Rh.* 13, 17; ἐκ μέσω ἄματος Theocr. *Id.* 10, 5. The explanation is as follows. The use starts with a plural noun (νύκτες), and ἐκ coupled with this has the same partitive force as in τις ἐξ ὑμῶν (see above). ἐκ νύκτων is thus equivalent to τῶν νύκτων (partitive gen. without prep.: Ar. *Ec.* 668), or to sing. (τῆς) νυκτός. The pattern is then completed by linking ἐκ with the sing. noun, ἐκ νυκτός, ἐξ ἡμέρας.

ἐκ- as a preverb with the concrete sense 'out, away' is regularly linked with the genitive of the place *from which*, with both transitive and intran-

sitive verbs. -βαίνω *A.* 892* (νάπους); -βάλλω 'expel' *OC* 1307 (γῆς); -θρῴσκω ib. 234; -πέμπω *E.* 1130; -πίπτω ib. 749; -αίρω *OC* 264; -ανίστημι *An.* 297; -ωθῶ *OC* 1296. Of origin: -δύω fr. 341, 3 μητρὸς ἐξέδυ; -φύω *A.* 487 ἐξέφυν πατρός. Of other source: -κρίνω *P.* 1425 ἐκκριθεὶς στρατεύματος; -λαμβάνω ib. 1429 (*per emend.*) ἀριστεῖ' ἐκλαβὼν στρατεύματος; -μανθάνω *OT* 117 ὅτου ἐκμαθών; -διδάσκω *T.* 934 ἐκδιδαχθεὶς τῶν κατ' οἶκον (on analogy of μανθάνω). Note *A.* 82 φρονοῦντα γάρ νιν οὐκ ἂν ἐξέστην 'I would not have avoided him if he were in his right mind': accus. as with a transitive (e.g. ἔφυγον), rather than the usual dative which has the sense 'give way to, in favour of', *P.* 1053 σοί γ' ἑκὼν ἐκστήσομαι. *T.* 159 πολλοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐξιών 'setting forth on many labours' (internal accus.: cf. Thuc. 1, 15 ἐκδήμους στρατείας ἐξιέναι).

With a negative sense: -όμνυμι *An.* 535 'swear denial, deny on oath'.

Further, with a completive sense (Thesleff 157). -πίνω *E.* 785; -πείθω *T.* 1141 ἐξέπεισε νιν ... τὸν σὸν ἐκμῆναι πόθον (-μαίνω intensive): -απόλλυμι *E.* 588; -αποφθείρω *T.* 713; -εργάζομαι *An.* 384; -άγω *OC* 98 'lead to the goal'; -φυλάσσω ib. 285 'guard to the end'; -θεῶμαι *OT* 1253 'see out, to the end'; -σῴζω 'assure the safety of' *A.* 1128 (Brunel 136). Another possible example is -μαθεῖν: *T.* 196 τὸ γὰρ ποθοῦν ἕκαστος ἐκμαθεῖν θέλων [οὐκ ἂν μεθεῖτο, where ἐκμαθεῖν τὸ ποθοῦν is explained by Mazon (*Rev. Phil.* 1951, 8 f.) as 'to satisfy his desire by learning'; comparison is made with ἐξαιτοῦμαι 'beg off, deliver by prayer' A. *Ag.* 662, ἐκσῴζω *Pers.* 451. Linked with these is the intensive use, which sometimes may differ only slightly (if at all?) from that of the *simplex*: -μανθάνω 'learn fully'; -οιδα *T.* 987; -ατιμάζω *OC* 1378; -ερῶ *P.* 329 'speak out, freely'; -ονειδίζω ib. 382; -λωβῶμαι *P.* 330; -ομματῶ fr. 710 'give sight to'; -δακρύω *P.* 278; -βουτυποῦται (leg. -σθαι) Inach. fr. 1, 37 (P. Oxy. 2369; Carden 65). So coupled with other preverbs: -ανευρίσκειν *P.* 991; -επεύχομαι ib. 668; -επομβρῶ 'rain on' fr. 524, 4; -εφίεμαι *A.* 795; -προτιμῶ *An.* 913. Sophocles' special fondness for ἐκ- compounds with non-concrete sense has been often noted, and sometimes seen as a mannerism, adding nothing more than dignity (see Pearson on fr. 524, 4; Wilamowitz on E. *H.F.* 155; Schmid-Stählin 1, 2, 487 n. 3); but for opposite view see E. Tsitsoni, *Untersuchungen der ἐκ- Verbal-Komposita bei Sophokles* (Kallmünz, 1963): ἐκ- marking a climax, especially in rhesis; or having metrical value, or making for closer unity.

§ 10. *ἐπί*

ἐπί is used with all three oblique cases. The genitive use is partitive, primarily of *place on* or *in which*, with verbs both of rest and of motion. *P.* 613 νήσου τῆσδ' ἐφ' ἧς ναίει; ib. 516* ἐπ' εὐστόλου νεὼς πορεύσαιμ' ἂν 'travel

on, in, a ship' (the prep. is indifferent to closer specification of the relation); *OT* 802 ἐπὶ πωλικῆς ἀπήνης ἐμβεβώς; ib. 1049 ἐπ' ἀγρῶν ... εἰσιδών 'having seen him in the country'; *OC* 1705* γᾶς ἐπὶ ξένας ἔθανε; *OC* 1595 ἐφ' οὗ στάς (s.v.l.) 'standing by which (κρατήρ)'. Figuratively: *An.* 996 βεβὼς ἐπὶ ξυροῦ τύχης 'being on the razor edge of fate'. Of what gives support: *A.* 1230 ἐπ' ἄκρων ὡδοιπόρεις 'walked on tip-toe' (i.e. proudly, sc. δακτύλων).

Of condition or relationship in which one is placed: *An.* 1141* βιαίας ἔχεται ... πόλις ἐπὶ νόσου 'the city is kept in a state of, suffering from, severe plague'. *OC* 746 ἐπὶ προσπόλου μιᾶς ... χωροῦντα 'travelling with a single handmaid' (possibly notion of support here). *A.* 1268 σοῦ ... οὐδ' ἐπὶ σμικρῶν λόγων ... ἴσχει μνῆστιν 'he does not remember you even in terms of a few words' (so as to pay a small tribute to you). *E.* 1062* τάδ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἴσας τελοῦμεν; 'do we not pay this equally, in equal measure?'. (*An.* 789* ἁμερίων ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων codd.: ἐπ- does not seem justifiable, σέ γ' is conjectured).

ἐπί with the genitive is not used of time in Sophocles.

The dative with ἐπί is chiefly, but probably not wholly, of locative origin, and often close in sense to the genitive: it has the meanings *on*, *in*, *by*, *near*. *P.* 353 τἀπὶ Τροίᾳ πέργαμα 'the citadel of Troy'. *T.* 811 (ἀνδρῶν) τῶν ἐπὶ χθονί; ib. 1100 τὸν ... μήλων φύλακ' ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις τόποις 'in the most distant region'. Ib. 356 οὐ τἀπὶ Λυδοῖς οὐδ' (v.l. οὔτ') ἐπ' 'Ομφάλῃ πόνων λατρεύματα (v.l. ὑπ' 'Ομφ.) 'neither the toilsome service among the Lydians nor with O.': ἐπ' 'Ομφ. cannot be taken in a local sense with a singular personal name (as it can with the plural Λυδοῖς); hence, if the reading is right, it would mean 'in the power of O.', and it might then be neater to give the same meaning to ἐπὶ Λυδοῖς (cf. Kamerbeek).

Figuratively: *An.* 317 ἐν τοῖσιν ὠσὶν ἢ 'πὶ τῇ ψυχῇ δάκνῃ; 'are you hurt in your ears or your mind?' (notice equivalence of ἐν and ἐπί). *A.* 51 δυσφόρους ἐπ' ὄμμασι γνώμας βαλοῦσα 'casting on his eyes illusions hard to bear'. *OC* 1052* κλῂς ἐπὶ γλώσσᾳ βέβακε 'a key is placed on their tongue'. Ib. 1268 ἐπ' ἔργοις πᾶσι 'in every deed'. Of a burden *resting upon*: *P.* 806 τἀπὶ σοὶ κακά, *T.* 981* ἐπί μοι μελέῳ βάρος ἄπλετον. With the notion of *addition to*, *succession* (again possibly true dative): *T.* 1252 ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὴν χάριν ... πρόσθες 'in addition to that (your fine words) add me this service'. With repetition of noun: *An.* 595* πήματα ... ἐπὶ πήμασι πίπτοντα 'sorrows falling on, added to, sorrows'. *OC* 544*.

In the power, *at the discretion*, of a person (cf. ἐν): *OC* 66 ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει λόγος; 'have the people freedom of speech?'. *P.* 1003 μὴ 'πὶ τῷδ' ἔστω τάδε 'let it not be in his power'. *E.* 85 φέρει νίκην ἐφ' ἡμῖν 'brings victory in our power' (proleptic).

Of circumstances in which one is placed, or which accompany an action. Here an instrumental dative suggests itself, instead of the locative (see Brugmann 505, who argues for the instrum.; Schwyzer 469, for the loc.). *OC* 1554 ἐπ' εὐπραξίᾳ μέμνησθέ μου θανόντος 'in prosperity' (i.e. 'be prosperous and') 'remember me when I am dead'. *An.* 157* νεαραῖσι θεῶν ἐπὶ συντυχίαις '(our new ruler) in the new circumstances due to the gods'. *E.* 108* ἐπὶ κωκυτῷ (v.l. -ῶν) ... ἠχὼ προφωνεῖν 'to the accompaniment of wailing': cf. *An.* 759 ἐπὶ ψόγοισι δεννάσεις ἐμέ. Ib. 556 οὐκ ἐπ' ἀρρήτοις γε τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις '(you did not do so) with words from me unspoken, without a protest from me' (ἀρρ. predicative). *OT* 1029 ἐπὶ θητείᾳ πλάνης 'a wanderer in hired service'.

Further contexts show the value *in relation to, with respect to*: *A.* 345 τάχ' ἄν τιν' αἰδῶ κἀπ' ἐμοὶ βλέψας λάβοι 'perhaps he will feel restraint with respect to me, when he sees me': ἐπ' with αἰδῶ λάβοι, not βλέψας. *OT* 829 (one would form a right judgement) ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδε 'with regard to myself'. *E.* 237* ἐπὶ τοῖς φθιμένοις ἀμελεῖν 'be neglectful to the dead'. This is specialized in further contexts. Of cause: *E.* 360 δῶρ' ἐφ' οἷσι νῦν χλιδᾷς 'gifts in which, because of which, you glory'. *A.* 377* (ἀλγεῖν) ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις. Of end in view, result: *A.* 143 (rumours beset us) ἐπὶ δυσκλείᾳ 'tending to bring discredit'. *T.* 532 ὡς ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ '(he is talking to the prisoners) with his departure in view, as intending to depart'. *An.* 792* (you corrupt men's minds) ἐπὶ λώβᾳ 'for their harm'. Ib. 322 ἐπ' ἀργύρῳ '(betraying yourself) for silver'. These uses should probably be linked with the final-directive use of the dative proper (Ch. 6 § 2), as is argued by J. Gonda, *Mnemosyne* 1957, 1 ff.: it would be a blending of that unaccompanied dative use, and of ἐπί with the accus. of the goal. A further local sense develops the (hostile) meaning *against*: *OT* 507* ἐπ' αὐτῷ πτερόεσσ' ἦλθε κόρα 'the winged maiden came against him'. *OC* 1472 ἥκει τῷδ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ ... βίου τελευτή. Fr. 401 συὸς μέγιστον χρῆμ' ἐπ' Οἰνέως γύαις ἀνῆκε 'let loose a monstrous boar against the land of O.'. *P.* 1139* ἐφ' ἡμῖν κάκ' ἐμήσατο.

With reference to time, there is a rare use: *OC* 688* αἰὲν ἐπ' ἤματι ... πεδίων ἐπινίσεται 'ever day after day (the water) flows over the plain'. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 14, 105 αἰεὶ ... ἐπ' ἤματι. Probably contracted for ἤματι ἐπ' ἤματι, with ἐπί used of succession.

ἐπί with the accusative is based on two separate uses, that of the goal (attained, or aimed at) and that of extent. Of place: *A.* 48 ἐπὶ τέρμ' ἀφίκετο; 'did he reach his goal?'. *OT* 761 ἀγρούς σφε πέμψαι κἀπὶ ποιμνίων νομάς (ἐπί with both nouns). *P.* 626 εἶμ' ἐπὶ ναῦν 'go aboard ship'. Of other objects: *An.* 366* τότε μὲν κακόν, ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἐσθλὸν ἕρπει 'he comes, now to an evil, now to a good result'. *OT* 265 ἐπὶ πάντ' ἀφίξομαι 'I shall try all means'. *E.*

1000 ἐπὶ μηδὲν ἔρχεται 'comes to nothing, fails completely'. Of persons as goal, *to win, fetch, etc.*: *T.* 503* ἐπὶ τάνδ' ἄρ' ἄκοιτιν τίνες ... κατέβαν πρὸ γάμων; 'to win her as bride who entered the lists for marriage?'. *OT* 555 ἐπὶ τὸν σεμνόμαντιν ἄνδρα πέμψασθαί τινα 'to send someone for the holy soothsayer'. *P.* 570 ἐπ' ἄλλον ἄνδρ' ... ἔστελλον 'they were setting out after another man'. With hostile sense *against*: *OT* 469* ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπενθρῴσκει ... ὁ Διὸς γενέτας 'is leaping upon him'. Ib. 495* ἐπὶ τὰν ἐπίδαμον φάτιν εἶμ' Οἰδιπόδα 'assail the public repute of O.'. *With regard to*: *An.* 899 ἁγνοὶ τοὐπὶ τήνδε τὴν κόρην 'undefiled with regard to this girl'. *OT* 691* ἄπορον ἐπὶ φρόνιμα 'helpless with regard to wise counsel' (i.e. devoid of it). Of extent: *E.* 414 ἐπὶ σμικρὸν φράσαι 'to speak to a small extent'.

Of time: fr. 255, 3 ἐπ' ἦμαρ ἕρπει 'grows for a day (only)': extent of time (see Pearson ad loc.). There is difficulty at *T.* 1128 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὲν δὴ τοῖς γ' ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἐρεῖς 'but neither will you say so in view of the deeds of to-day'. τὰ ἐφ' ἡμέραν (πεπραγμένα) would, as purely temporal, normally be 'the deeds done during the day', but such extension is not suitable here, with reference to an act of suicide. The alternative is 'for the day', i.e. to meet the needs of the day (not properly a temporal sense of the accus. or prep.): cf. E. *El.* 429 τῆς ἐφ' ἡμέραν βορᾶς 'nourishment to meet the day's need'.

As a preverb ἐπι- is used in a concrete sense with verbs linked with all three cases. Of *motion to* or *against* (with accus. of the place, etc.): *to*, -ἔρχομαι *E.* 1297 δόμους; -βαίνω *A.* 144 λειμῶνα; -άγω ib. 1189*: *against*, -αΐσσω ib. 305; -στρατεύω *T.* 75 χώραν; -βαίνω *A.* 138 σε. With tmesis (dative): *An.* 986* ἐπ' ἐκείνᾳ Μοῖραι ... ἔσχον 'the fates attacked her'. Of motion or rest *on*, *in* an area (genitive): -νίσομαι *OC* 689* πεδίων ἐπινίσεται 'moves over the level ground'; -βαίνω ib. 189* (fig.) εὐσεβίας 'go in (the area of) piety', cf. *P.* 1463 δόξης 'expectation'; -ημαι ib. 1124 'sit on' πόντου θινός. Of placing, resting *on* (dative): -βάλλω *T.* 128* ἀνάλγητα θνατοῖς; -ἵστημι ib. 1170 μόχθων τῶν ἐφεστώτων ἐμοί.

Of succession. -ἔρχομαι *A.* 438 'come after' (in time; or possibly local); -ιέναι *T.* 115* 'follow on' (of succeeding wave). Of repeated action: -κτείνω *An.* 1030 'kill again'.

Of authority *over*. -σκήπτω *OT* 252 (dative) ὑμῖν ταῦτα τελεῖν; -ἵεμαι *A.* 116 τοῦτο σοί. But with two accus. *T.* 1221 τοσοῦτον δή σ' ἐπισκήπτω (as with κελεύω); and with accus. and inf. *A.* 112 χαίρειν τἄλλ' ἐγώ σ' ἐφίεμαι (ἔγωγ' Jackson, *Marg. Scaen.* 156) 'I bid you have your way in other matters', cf. *OT* 1055 ὅντιν' ἀρτίως μολεῖν ἐφιέμεσθα 'whom we lately ordered to come' (ἐφ. not 'wish'), *P.* 770 (cf. Kühner-Gerth 2, 26 n. 2). -στατῶ *OT* 1028 'be in charge of' ποιμνίοις. But apparently with accus. (and unparalleled sense) fr. 150, 1 τίς γάρ με μόχθος οὐκ ἐπεστάτει 'what toil

did not beset me?'. Pearson compares ἐπιστῆναι in *T.* 1170 (with dative: μόχθων τῶν ἐφεστώτων ἐμοί), and for the accus. *OC* 942 αὐτοὺς ... ἐμπέσοι; but πίπτω is a verb of motion. The accus. is still unexplained in fr. 150, 1 occurring with a 'static' verb such as -στατῶ.

Of feeling and emotion (especially with reference to an object), often with dative. -αυχῶ *An.* 483 τούτοις; -αισχύνομαι *A.* 1307; -χαίρω *A.* 961 κακοῖς, ib. 136 σὲ εὖ πράσσοντα (see Ch. 4 § 3 on accus.); -υβρίζω ib. 1385 θανόντι τῷδε; -εγγελῶ ib. 989 τοῖς θανοῦσι (cf. ἐγγελῶ for same construction). Also with accus. (and the *simplex* in each case also takes the accus.): -κωκύω *E.* 805 τὸν υἱόν; -στένω *T.* 947 πότερα; -οικτίρω *OT* 671 στόμα.

With verbs of determinate aspect, with stress on the result of action (Brunel 56 ff.): -εγείρω *OC* 510*; -ευρίσκω *OT* 1213; -ωφελῶ *P.* 1371; -κραίνω ib. 1468; -αισθάνομαι ib. 1296.

§ 11. *κατά*

If the basic sense of κατά was originally 'with' (cf. Schwyzer 474), Greek has developed special uses in which (at least with the genitive) the notion of 'down, under' is the most distinctive.

With the genitive there is ablatival use *down from*, in the formulaic κατ' ἄκρας 'from the summit downwards', then figuratively 'utterly' (cf. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* 56). *An.* 201 (of destruction of a city), *OC* 1242* (of troubles attacking like waves). Remaining uses have the partitive genitive. Of place *under* which: *An.* 24 κ. χθονὸς ἔκρυψε, *OC* 1701* τὸν ἀεὶ κ. γᾶς σκότον. Two other local uses are not certain. *T.* 678 φῇ κ. ἄκρας σπιλάδος, perhaps best (with Kamerbeek) as 'vanishes on the surface of the stony ground' (κ. = 'down upon'), rather than 'down from the top of a stone'. *E.* 1433* βᾶτε κ. ἀντιθύρων, apparently 'go within the porch', but the force of κ. is obscure (not possible in sense of 'hidden by', as Kaibel). With the meaning 'against', of hostility (developed from 'down upon'): *An.* 144* κ. αὐτοῖν λόγχας στήσαντε 'levelling spears at each other'. *P.* 65 λέγων ... κ. ἡμῶν ... κακά. *A.* 449 οὐκ ἄν δίκην κ. ἄλλου φωτὸς ὧδ' ἐψήφισαν 'they would not have got this verdict against another man'. Ib. 304 κατ' αὐτῶν ὕβριν ἐκτείσαιτο 'work avenging violence at their expense'. With verbs compounded with ἐν-: *P.* 328 χόλον κ. αὐτῶν ἐγκαλῶν 'charging them with one's anger'. *OC* 1339 κ. ἡμῶν ἐγγελῶν. Cf. *E.* 835* κ. ἐμοῦ ... ἐπεμβάσῃ 'you will trample on me' (fig.).

With the accus. κατά is used in a variety of locative senses. The accus. was originally that of extent, but the uses go far beyond that: it is notable

that there is no dative-locative use. *E.* 95* κ. βάρβαρον αἶαν (die in). Ib. 282 κ. στέγας 'in the house' (rest in), but *OT* 637 id. '(go) to the house'. *P.* 678* κ. ἄμπυκα ... δέσμιον ἔβαλεν 'fastened to a wheel'. *T.* 769 ἅπαν κ. ἄρθρον 'at every joint' (of tight-fitting dress). *An.* 760 κ. ὄμματα 'before the eyes of'. *OT* 1087* κ. γνώμαν 'in my mind'. *OC* 377 κ. ἡμᾶς '(the rumour) among us'. *A.* 775 id. 'in our sector of the battle'. Ib. 32 κ. ἴχνος ᾄσσω 'I hurry in his track' (along its course). *T.* 468 ῥείτω κ. οὖρον 'let it drift with the wind'. Of pursuit: fr. 898 κ. αὐτὸν ἐξέρχομαι 'after him'. *T.* 55 ἀνδρὸς κ. ζήτησιν 'after, in pursuit of' (cf. Pearson on fr. 898).

Of time, *during the course of*: *A.* 801 κ. ἡμέραν τὴν νῦν. *OC* 1079* κ. ἆμαρ 'to-day'. *An.* 55 μίαν κ. ἡμέραν. Also in a distributive use: *OC* 682*, *E.* 259 κ. ἦμαρ 'daily, every day'. *OC* 1364 τὸν κ. ἡμέραν βίον. Of time *at which*: *P.* 247 κ. ἀρχὴν τοῦ πρὸς Ἴλιον στόλου 'at the start of ...'.

In a number of circumstantial and modal senses. 'In circumstances, in a state, of': *P.* 30 ὅρα κ. ὕπνον μὴ καταυλισθεὶς κυρῇ 'see whether he is lodged there asleep'. Ib. 578 κ. σκότον (fig.) '(tell) obscurely'. Especially with abstracts: ib. 206* κ. ἀνάγκαν 'under duress'. *OT* 1197 κ. ὑπερβολάν 'with surpassing skill'. *T.* 933 κ. ὀργήν. *E.* 1503 κ. ἡδονήν. *OT* 88 κ. ὀρθόν '(events turning out) aright'. 'According to, by the standards of': *A.* 1399 ἀνὴρ κ. ἡμᾶς ἐσθλός. Ib. 777 οὐ κ. ἄνθρωπον φρονῶν. *OC* 598, *T.* 1019. 'As a result of': *OC* 550 κ. ὀμφὴν σήν '(he is here) as a result of your message'. *An.* 174 γένους κ. ἀγχιστεῖα 'by reason of close kinship'. 'On the ground of': *P.* 438 κ. αὐτὸ τοῦτο. 'In relation to': *E.* 568 κ. σφαγάς. Derived from a distributive use (e.g. καθ' ἕνα 'one by one, individually'): *OT* 63, *OC* 966 κ. αὑτόν 'by oneself'.

Preverb use. With the concrete sense 'down' with verbs of motion: -βαίνω *An.* 822*; -ειμι ib. 896; -ρρέπω ib. 1158. -στάζω fr. 373, 3 νώτου καταστάζοντα ... φάρος 'letting the robe fall down from his back' (rather than 'over' his back, as Pearson). -ρρέω fr. 155 γλώσσης μελίσσῃ (-ης codd.) τῷ κατερρυηκότι 'to the one dripping honey from his tongue'. -ημαι 'sit' *OC* 1158 (the dative βωμῷ should be taken with προσπεσόντα, in the absence of the locative dative with prepositional κατά); *An.* 411 (on ἐκ πάγων, see § 9 above). -σκήπτω *OC* 1011 'fall upon', hence (fig.) 'importune'. With the sense 'back, behind': -λείπω 'leave behind' *P.* 809. -έρχομαι 'return' *An.* 200. Here too -σχολάζω *P.* 127 ἐάν μοι τοῦ χρόνου δοκῆτε τι -ειν 'if you seem to me to linger beyond the due time': the gen. χρόνου is probably at base separative, as with λείπομαι (cf. Ch. 5 § 30).

With hostile sense 'against'. -απειλῶ *OC* 659; -ηγορῶ *OT* 514 δείν' ἔπη κ. μου; -υβρίζω *A.* 153 ἄχεσιν 'mocking at your woes' (for dative, cf. Hdt. 1, 212, 3 and Ch. 6 § 6), *P.* 1364 σου.

In compounds with determinate sense, stressing completion (Brunel 82 ff., Thesleff 158). -ανύω *E.* 1451 φίλης προξένου 'they have met with a kindly hostess' (for the genitive, as with the *simplex* ἀνύω, see Ch. 5 § 17). -εργάζομαι *E.* 1022; -δέρχομαι *T* 999*; -ορῶ *An.* 1221; -κοιμῶ *OT* 870* 'lay to sleep'; -ευνάζω *P.* 699* 'id.'. -βοῶ *E.* 1067* (with tmesis) κ. μοι βόασον οἰκτρὰν ὄπα τοῖς ἔνερθ' Ἀτρείδαις 'make to sound a pitiful voice to the A. below' (hardly local, 'carry down my voice', as LSJ). -κτείνω *An.* 497; -θνῄσκω ib. 555. Also with emphatic meaning (not always well distinguished from the *simplex*): -αισχύνω *E.* 609; -ἔχω *OC* 1699* 'hold firmly' (and in a variety of senses); -οιδα *P.* 250 (following οἶδα, as in *An.* 1063, *E.* 922). With factitive verbs: -ανθρακῶ *E.* 58; -χυρῶ *An.* 936; -αργυρῶ ib. 1077; -ρρακῶ *T.* 1103.

§ 12. *μετά*

μετά with the genitive sometimes shows its early sense of 'in the middle of, in the company of', with plurals: the genitive is in origin pertinentive, 'belonging to'. *P.* 1312 μ. ζώντων ὅτ' ἦν. *E.* 700 εἰσῆλθε πολλῶν ἁρματηλατῶν μέτα. *P.* 184* μ. θηρῶν. More widely as 'together with', of shared activity, etc.: *P.* 1275 πλεῖν. μ. ἡμῶν. *A.* 950 μὴ θεῶν μέτα 'if without (aid of) the gods'. With extension to singulars: *OC* 639 ἐμοῦ στείχειν μέτα, *OT* 990 ἧς ᾤκει μέτα, *A.* 255* μ. τοῦδε τυπείς. More rarely with non-personal nouns: *An.* 115* πολλῶν μεθ' ὅπλων ξύν θ' ... κορύθεσσι '(he came) with a throng armed and helmeted' (ὅπλ. and κορ. refer indirectly to the men so equipped, hence the use may be equivalent to the personal). *P.* 298 οἰκουμένη ... στέγη πυρὸς μέτα [πάντ' ἐκπορίζει (adnominal use) 'a lodging that has fire serves all my needs' (perhaps Philoctetes regards fire as sharer of his solitude?). Of a feeling that accompanies an action: *OC* 1636 οὐκ οἴκτου μέτα 'without show of emotion'.

With the accusative only in two passages. *P.* 343 ἦλθόν με νηὶ ... μέτα 'came after, in pursuit of': Epic use (cf. *Il.* 10, 73) with accus. of the goal aimed at. Of time: fr. 479, 3 φλοίσβου μ. κόπον καθημένοις 'after the toil of the sea'.

Once with the dative: *P.* 1110* μ. χερσὶν ἴσχων 'holding in my hands' (locative: Epic use, *Il.* 11, 4).

As preverb μετα- is used of 'participation with', hence 'sharing'. -ἔχω *OC* 1484* μηδ' ... ἀκερδῆ χάριν μετάσχοιμι 'may I not share a favour unprofitable (with him)'; more usually with the partitive gen. of the thing received, *E.* 1168 ξὺν σοὶ μετεῖχον τῶν ἴσων (ξύν and μετ- in the same function). -εστι (impers.) *OT* 630 κἀμοὶ πόλεως μέτεστιν.

Of 'change' (cf. Wackernagel 2, 245 for the development): the genitive often found with such verbs is ablatival. -ἀλλάσσω fr. 374. -τίθημι *P*. 515* τὸ κείνων κακὸν τῷδε κέρδος μετατιθέμενος 'changing their wrong into gain for him' (two accus.). -ἵστημι (intrans.) *A*. 750 ἐκ συνέδρου κύκλου ... μεταστάς 'removing from the ring of councillors', (trans.) *P*. 643 σε ... νόσου μεταστήσειαν 'may they free you from sickness'. -βάλλω *E*. 1261* μεταβάλοιτ' ἂν σιγὰν λόγων 'change speech for silence'. -γιγνώσκω *P*. 1270 'repent'. -αναγιγνώσκω *A*. 717* μετανεγνώσθη θυμῶν (*vel* -οῦ, *per conj.*) 'was converted from his wrath'.

Of 'pursuit after': -ειμι *E*. 477* Δίκα ... μέτεισιν (object unexpressed).

With -ἵημι 'let go, set loose' (μετα- with the local sense 'in the middle': Wackernagel 2, 244) *P*. 1301 μέθες με χεῖρα. *A*. 250* ναῒ μεθεῖναι 'to give a ship free course, let it go': this may well be intrans., cf. *E*. 628 μεθεῖσά μοι λέγειν 'giving me freedom to speak', though also explained as with ellipse of an object.

§ 13. *παρά*

παρά with the accusative indicates 'motion to' (of the goal), or 'along the side of' (accus. of extent: this use also with verbs not of motion). *OC* 1552 ἕρπω τὸν τελευταῖον βίον κρύψων π. Ἅιδην 'I go to Hades to close in obscurity the end of my life' (Hades probably personal: the motion of ἕρπω is carried on to π. Ἅιδ.). Fr. 474, 5 π. στάθμην ἰόντος 'passing along the line'. *An*. 1123* ναιετῶν π. ὑγρὸν Ἰσμηνοῦ ῥέεθρον 'dwelling alongside the stream of I.'. *E*. 184* ὁ π. τὸν Ἀχέροντα θεὸς ἀνάσσων. *P*. 838* π. πόδα κράτος ἄρνυται 'wins victory on the spot' (cf. Lat. *e vestigio* 'at once' for the sense).

An extension of 'at the side of' appears in the sense 'compared with': *OT* 983 ταῦθ' ὅτῳ π. οὐδέν ἐστι 'are as nothing', *An*. 35 ἄγειν ... π. οὐδέν. From a local sense 'past, beyond' (not in Soph. except as preverb: cf. *Il*. 11, 167) derives fig. παρά 'contrary to': *P*. 882 π. ἐλπίδα (cf. *An*. 392), ib. 1195* π. νοῦν θροεῖν 'speak foolishly'.

There are two temporal uses to note. *A*. 475 τί γὰρ π. ἦμαρ ἡμέρα τέρπειν ἔχει; ... 'what pleasure have the succeeding days to offer?': 'day (coming) alongside day' equivalent to 'added to'. *OC* 1455* τὰ δὲ π. ἦμαρ αὖθις αὔξων ἄνω 'and exalting others in turn another day': παρά here 'in the course of' (cf. Hdt. 7, 46, 2 π. τὴν ζόην), and balanced μέν- and δέ- clauses oppose what happens one day with the events of another. The μέν- clause (which is corrupt) omits the time-reference: cf. Pind. *P*. 11, 63 τὸ μὲν π. ἆμαρ ἕδραισι Θεράπνας, τὸ δ' οἰκέοντας ἔνδον Ὀλύμπου 'living one day in the homes of Therapne, and for another on Olympus' (where the temporal phrase is omitted from the δέ- clause).

παρά with the genitive (ablatival) of 'motion from (a place)' is not found in Soph. (At *An.* 966* the reading is uncertain: π. δὲ κυανέων πελαγέων πετρῶν διδύμας ἁλὸς ἀκταὶ Βοσπόριαι κ.τ.λ. There are rare uses of π. with gen. in the sense 'near to', which may have a true (pertinentive) gen. (Schwyzer 498): but the nearest to Soph., Pind. *P.* 3, 60 γνόντα τὸ πὰρ ποδός, need not belong to them, as it can be ablatival, 'knowing what extends from (before) one's feet' = 'in front of one'. It is safer at *An.* 966* to read a dative, e.g. πελάγει (*conj.* Jebb), or ἀκτᾷ (Lloyd-Jones, *C.Q.* 1957, 23 f.). Of a person: *OT* 935 π. τίνος δ' ἀφιγμένος; (πρός v.l.).

The most frequent use is with verbs of *receiving*, *learning*, etc., *from* a person. *P.* 1232 π. οὗπερ ἔλαβον τάδε τὰ τόξα. *A.* 662 τοῦτ' ἐδεξάμην π. Ἕκτορος δώρημα. *OT* 6 π. ἀγγέλων ἄλλων ἀκούειν. *An.* 1012, *T.* 370. This genitive is also used of the source, and so agent, of an action with passive verbs and εἰμι (cf. the same feature with ἐκ). *A.* 1029 ᾧ τοῦδ' ἐδωρήθη πάρα 'with which he was presented by him' (coming from him). *E.* 469 σιγῇ π. ὑμῶν ... ἔστω. *OC* 1500 τίς π. ὑμῶν ἠχεῖται κτύπος; 'what cry is sounded by you?'. *T.* 596 π. ὑμῶν εὖ στεγοίμεθα 'may my action be well concealed by you' (= 'on your side'). *OC* 1122.

With the dative παρά has locative sense. Of places: *P.* 1263 π. ἄντροις 'by the cave'. *T.* 524* π. ὄχθῳ 'on the side of a hill' (or possibly 'on a river bank'). *An.* 712 π. ῥείθροισι χειμάρροις 'by a winter-flowing stream'. *OT* 780 ἐν δείπνοις π. οἴνῳ 'at dinner over wine'. *E.* 1329 οὐ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοῖσιν κακοῖς 'not on the brink of evils, but in their very midst' (ἐν of the closer relationship than παρά). Of persons: *OT* 612 τὸν π. αὑτῷ βίοτον 'the life in oneself'. *P.* 1058 πάρεστι Τεῦκρος π. ἡμῖν 'T. is here with us'. *OT* 972 κεῖται π. Ἅιδῃ 'he lies with Hades, in Hades' realm' (better so than taking Hades as of place (as LSJ), with which παρά would be strange).

From 'in the presence of (judges)' comes the use 'in the judgement of': *T.* 589 δοκεῖς π. ἡμῖν οὐ βεβουλεῦσθαι κακῶς 'in our view'. *A.* 620* π. ἀφίλοις ... Ἀτρείδαις.

παρα- as preverb. Local uses: of motion *to the side of*, *to* (case accus.). -έρχομαι *OT* 1241 'enter' (a house); -στείχω *An.* 1255 δόμους. Of motion *by the side of*, *past*: -έρχομαι *T.* 226 (fig.) 'pass by, escape notice of' οὐδέ μ' ὄμματος φρουρὰν (-α codd.) παρῆλθε. -βαίνω *T.* 499* τὰ θεῶν 'pass by, say nothing of, the deeds of the gods'; -αμείβω *OT* 503* 'pass by, outstrip'. Combined with ἐξ- in form παρεξ-: -ειμι *An.* 60 τυράννων κράτη 'disregard the king's powers'; -έρχομαι ib. 921 δίκην 'transgress'. With verbs of rest (with dative): -ειμι 'be near, present' *OC* 289 *et saep.*: the accompanying personal dative (e.g. *P.* 564 ἄγγελος πάρειμί σοι) is normally ethic rather than local. Exceptionally with παρά repeated (stressing local sense) *P.* 1056

πάρεστι π. ἡμῖν. -ἵστημι *OC* 491 σοι 'stand by, assist'; -στατῶ *OT* 400 θρόνοις ... πέλας 'stand near to the throne (be closely associated with it)'. -πράσσω *A*. 261 'act in assistance'. -βάλλω *OC* 231* ἀπάτα δ' ἀπάταις ... παραβαλλομένα 'treachery set against treachery (in requital)'. -ναιετῶ *T*. 635* θερμὰ λουτρὰ καὶ πάγους Οἴτας παραναιετάοντες 'dwelling alongside the warm springs and the heights of O.' (continuing with prepositional πάρ). For the accus. cf. *An*. 1123* ναιετῶν π. ... ῥέεθρον, and Isocr. 4.162 ἀπὸ Κνίδου μέχρι Σινώπης Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἀσίαν παροικοῦσιν 'live on the border of the country the length of Asia from C. to S.'. The use occurs especially with nouns denoting extensive areas, and the accus. is that of extent.

Further uses. -ῥέω *P*. 653 'drop aside, be lost' (of an arrow); -ἄγω *E*. 855* 'lead aside, astray'; -φρονῶ *P*. 815 'think awry, be mad'; -αλλάσσω *An*. 298 'alter sideways, pervert'; -ἵημι *OC* 1229* τὸ νέον 'let pass, give up, youth'; ib. 1212* ὅστις τοῦ πλέονος μέρους χρῄζει τοῦ μετρίου παρεὶς ζώειν: dependence of gen. τ. μετρίου on παρείς (so Schneidewin, Radermacher), 'letting go of, scorning, the moderate portion of life', is not properly paralleled with this verb, but the analogy of intrans. use with the gen. of μεθ-, ὑφ-ίημι goes some way to justify it. (Among other explanations note J. H. Kells, *C.R.* 1961, 188 ff.: μετρίου as gen. of comparison with πλέονος 'who desires the larger share of life than what is reasonable', with παρείς as in 1229 'after passing (the reasonable stage)' (sc. τὸ μέτριον): the analogy of παρῇ at 1229 is definite support for this).

§ 14. *περί*

περί has the basic meaning 'around, about'. So with the locative dative: *An*. 1240 κεῖται νεκρὸς π. νεκρῷ, of one corpse lying on, and embracing, another. (Cf. the Epic use of περί to denote protection of the dead, or of others who are helpless: *Il*. 17. 4 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῷ βαῖν', ὥς τις περὶ πόρταχι μήτηρ ... ὡς περὶ Πατρόκλῳ βαῖνε ξανθὸς Μενέλαος. Chantraine 127.) ἀμφί, having the same Epic use (as seen in the passage quoted), occurs in *An*. 1223 τὸν δ' ἀμφὶ μέσσῃ περιπετῆ προσκείμενον (Haemon here not yet dead). *A*. 828 πεπτῶτα π. ... ξίφει, of falling on the sword (which is enclosed in the body): Epic parallels, especially *Il*. 8. 86 κυλινδόμενος π. χαλκῷ (of a horse writhing about the point of an arrow). Fr. 565. 2 π. κάρᾳ κατάγνυται τὸ τεῦχος (the vessel broken on, and about, the head).

With the accus. (of extent) there is only one use: Soph. gives preference to ἀμφί. *OC* 135* λεύσσων π. πᾶν ... τέμενος 'gazing around all the enclosure'.

Mostly with the genitive, always with transferred sense. Of the object of strife, the prize to be won, etc.: the genitive is originally partitive, of the

place or sphere in which the action occurs, whence the notion 'about which, concerning'. *A.* 936* ὅπλων ... ἄγων πέρι 'contest about, for, arms'. *E.* 1492 ἀγὼν ... σῆς ψυχῆς πέρι (the life is at stake). But it is a different use (pertinentive gen.) which appears elsewhere, as with verbs of *saying, speaking about*: cf. Ch. 5, §§ 36-7. *OT* 707 ὧν λέγεις πέρι 'the matters about which you talk'. *An.* 193 κηρύξας ἔχω ... παίδων τῶν ἀπ' Οἰδίπου πέρι. Of the object of thought, feeling, etc.: *A.* 747 τί δ' εἰδὼς τοῦδε πράγματος πέρι; 'having what knowledge about this?'. *E.* 412 ἔχεις τι θάρσος τοῦδε τοῦ τάρβους πέρι; More widely, 'as regards, with respect to': *OT* 738 τί μου δρᾶσαι βεβούλευσαι πέρι; 'what have you decided to do with me, in my case?'. Fr. 107, 5 θνητῶν πέρι πράσσειν. *OC* 423.

As a preverb with the sense 'around': -βαίνω *An.* 1209 τῷ δ' ἀθλίας ἄσημα περιβαίνει βοῆς ἕρποντι μᾶλλον ἆσσον 'sad, indistinguishable sounds encircled him as he came nearer' (the local, and personal, dative in τῷ preferred to the accus.). -πολῶ *OT* 1254 'roam about'; -πτύσσω *An.* 886 'enclose'; -ορῶ *OT* 1505 (*per conj.*) 'overlook'; -σκοπῶ *E.* 897 'look about'. To indicate excess (cf. adverbial use 'above others'): -ρέω *E.* 362 'flow in abundance'. Of action 'concerning, about (a person)': -μένω *An.* 1296* 'await' με (accus. also found with *simplex*); -στέλλω ib. 903 'attend to (in burial)' - or more purely local, of 'wrapping about'.

§ 15. *πρό*

πρό 'before, in front of' is linked with the genitive. The case is regularly ablatival: it does not indicate that the action proceeds from a place, but the position is located *with reference to* that place (hence, seen or measured from it). *An.* 526 καὶ μὴν πρὸ πυλῶν ἥδ' Ἰσμήνη 'here comes I. before the gates' (she comes out of the house). *E.* 109 π. θυρῶν (speak before). *T.* 960 χωρεῖν π. δόμων 'to be coming (so as to be) in front of the house' (of one approaching it). Otherwise *An.* 1279* π. χειρῶν τάδε φέρων 'carrying (visibly) in the hands': the use is to be separated from π. ποδός 'by, near, the foot', and is partitive, 'forward, in the hands'. (Cf. πρὸ ὁδοῦ 'forward on the way'. See Jebb ad loc., and E. *I.A.* 36 (δέλτον) ἣν π. χερῶν βαστάζεις.) Of time: *P.* 891 π. τοῦ δέοντος 'earlier than is necessary'. *An.* 883 π. τοῦ θανεῖν; fr. 686, 2 π. μοίρας.

In developed senses. Of preference 'before': *OC* 1524 π. πολλῶν ἀσπίδων '(give you defence) better than many shields'. Ib. 1141 π. τοὐμοῦ προύλαβες τὰ τῶνδ' ἔπη 'preferred their words to mine'. Of speaking 'for, on behalf of': *OT* 10 π. τῶνδε φωνεῖν, *OC* 811. Of the reason for action (cf. Eng. 'in view of'): *E.* 495 π. τῶνδε (neuter) 'therefore'. *T.* 504* ἐπὶ τάνδ' ἄρ' ἄκοιτιν τίνες ... κατέβαν π. γάμων; π. γαμ. goes closely with κατέβαν 'who entered

the marriage lists, to win her as bride?'. The alternative 'before marriage' (Kamerbeek, Mazon) seems to have little point.

As preverb προ- denotes position 'in front of', or motion 'forward'. -δείκνυμι *OT* 456 'point out in front'. -ἵστημι *A*. 1133 σοὶ προὔστη 'stood before, confronted' (with dative of person affected): ib. 803 πρόστηθ' ... τύχης 'stand in front of (my) doom', i.e. 'protect me against it'. -βαίνω *An*. 853*, -πίτνω *E*. 1380, -βάλλω *P*. 1017. Of speech etc. which is open, unrestrained: -κηρύσσω *An*. 34, -βοῶ *P*. 218*, -κλαίω *T*. 963*. 'Before' in time: -δείδω *OT* 90, -πάσχω *OC* 230*, -διδάσκω *A*. 163, -μανθάνω *P*. 538 (in the last two broadly redundant: the lesson is learnt, then applied later). Of toil etc. 'for the sake of': -κάμνω *A*. 1270 οὗ 'in defence of whom'; -κήδομαι *An*. 741 σοῦ. Of preference: -λαμβάνω *OC* 1141 πρὸ τοὐμοῦ. Probably also -ἔχω *An*. 208 οὔποτ' ... τιμὴν προέξουσ' οἱ κακοὶ τῶν ἐνδίκων (τιμῇ edd.); 'never will the base have honour in preference to the upright'. So Schol., with transitive verb, but unparalleled; generally this is taken as intrans. προέχω 'be superior to' (as *P*. 138*), with which τιμὴν would be accus. of respect, though a dative is usual (so τιμῇ).

§ 16. *πρός*

πρός has the basic sense of 'facing, in front of', and with the accus. is used of motion 'towards, to' a place, person, etc. *OT* 1491 π. οἶκον ἵξεσθε. *P* 247 τοῦ π. Ἴλιον στόλου. *T*. 285 χωροῦσι π. σέ, of friendly visitation; but ib. 304 hostile 'against'. Of the limit or goal of action: *OC* 1621 π. τέλος γόων ἀφίκοντο 'came to the end of lamentation'. *OT* 1492 ἡνίκ' ἂν π. γάμων ἥκητ' ἀκμάς 'come to the proper time for marriage'. Ib. 1174 ὡς π. τί χρείας; 'aiming at what service (did she give you the child)?' (answered by 'that I might kill it'). Also without motion, to indicate against what something rests, is placed (pregnant use): *A*. 108 δεθεὶς π. κίονα (of a person) 'tied to a pillar'; *E*. 931 τὰ ... π. τάφον κτερίσματα 'offerings at the tomb'. (But *lect. dub*. *P*. 23 ἔχει χῶρον π. αὐτὸν τόνδε hardly possible as 'lives at this place', and other interpretations not satisfactory: read χῶρον προσάντη.) Fr. 24. 6 τῆς δὲ γῆς τὸ πρὸς νότον ... εἴληχε Πάλλας 'P. has been assigned the part of the land (extending) southwards'. Of looking 'at, towards': fr. 199 π. ἴτρια βλέπω 'I am looking at the cakes'. *OT* 746 π. σ' ἀποσκοποῦσα. Also fig.: *E*. 79 π. τὰ χρηστὰ ὁρᾶν. Of speech etc. directed 'to (a person)': *OC* 813 π. τοὺς φίλους οἷ' ἀνταμείβῃ ῥήματα 'the answer that you make to your dear ones'. *E*. 283 ἐπικωκύω ... αὐτὴ π. αὐτήν 'make lament to myself'. Of other relations with persons: *P*. 71 ὁμιλία π. τόνδε 'association with him'. *OC* 613 πνεῦμα ... π. πόλιν πόλει '(the attitude is not constant) for one city towards another'. *P*. 1441 εὐσεβεῖν τὰ π. θεούς 'to be pious towards the gods'.

Of various other relationships and associations (uses developed after Homer). 'With regard to, respecting': *P.* 1307 κακοὺς π. αἰχμήν 'cowards in battle'. *T.* 266 λείποιτο π. τόξου κρίσιν 'be inferior in the trial of archery'. With καιρόν, 'having regard to the proper occasion': *OT* 325 '(speak) in season', *A.* 38 '(labour) to good purpose'. *T.* 308 π. φύσιν ... ἄπειρος τῶνδε 'you have no experience of this having regard to (i.e. to judge by) your appearance'. So especially with verbs of emotion: *T.* 1211 φοβῇ π. τοῦτο 'be afraid of'. Fr. 171. 3 π. τὸ φαλακρὸν διαγελῶν 'laughing at my baldness'. *OC* 1119 μὴ θαύμαζε π. τὸ λιπαρές 'do not wonder at my insistence'. Of 'comparison with': *An.* 1171 π. τὴν ἡδονήν '(I would pay nothing for the rest', i.e. 'for power') 'compared with joy'. Fr. 354. 4 π. τὰ χρήματα θνητοῖσι τἄλλα δεύτερα 'for men the rest comes second compared with wealth'. In reference to a purpose: *P.* 568 π. τάδε, *OT* 766 π. τί 'why?'. Distinguish π. ταῦτα 'in view of this, so then', used in command in two contexts, (a) concessive, with defiance, and (b) with warning. (a) *OC* 455 π. ταῦτα καὶ Κρέοντα πεμπόντων 'so let them send Creon (for all I care)': *OT* 426, *An.* 658, *A.* 971, 1115, *E.* 820. Also π. τάδε in the same sense: *OT* 343 π. τάδ', εἰ θέλεις, θυμοῦ δι' ὀργῆς. With a concessive future, *OC* 956 π. ταῦτα πράξεις οἷον ἂν θέλῃς 'so you can do what you like'. (b) *E.* 383 π. ταῦτα φράζου 'so take care': *A.* 1066, 1313, fr. 301. In a modal sense: *P.* 90 π. βίαν ἄγειν 'with relation to force, forcibly'. Ib. 594 π. ἰσχύος κράτος. *E.* 369 μηδὲν π. ὀργήν 'say nothing in anger'. Ib. 464 π. εὐσέβειαν λέγει, = εὐσεβῶς. The noun may indicate the consequence of the action, rather than its accompaniment. *E.* 921 οὐ π. ἡδονὴν λέγω; 'do I not speak pleasurably?' ('so as to please you'). *OC* 1776 τῷ κατὰ γῆς ... π. χάριν 'to gratify the dead man'. *P.* 1156* χορέσαι στόμα π. χάριν 'to sate and gratify your appetite' (the recipient of χάριν is here the subject).

With the genitive (ablatival) πρός is dubious in local sense 'from': *An.* 1037 τὸν π. Σάρδεων ἤλεκτρον 'electron from S.' (better τἀπὸ Σ. on basis of v.l. τὰ πρό). Also possibly of a person?: *OT* 935 π. τίνος δ' ἀφιγμένος; (παρὰ v.l.). Such uses are not paralleled in Aesch. or Eur. πρός is supported by Pearson, *C.Q.* 1929, 169 (cf. Dawe 1, 247 f.): but he gives it not a local sense, but 'at whose bidding', for which parallels are easy.

Of the *source* it is used in a range of contexts. Of birth, descent from: *A.* 1305 τοὺς π. αἵματος 'those born of (my) blood', i.e. of the same stock (reference to Ajax as half-brother); *E.* 1125 similarly, and cf. *OC* 245* τις ἀφ' αἵματος ὑμετέρου. Fr. 314, 351 (οὔτε) π. πατρὸς κλέπτης ἔφυ 'he was not born a thief on his father's side'. Of the personal source on which the action draws, or from which it derives: *A.* 527 (receive praise) π. ἐμοῦ, *OT* 429 ταῦτα π. τούτου κλύειν, *OC* 13 μανθάνειν π. ἀστῶν. *T.* 1167 (μαντεῖα) ἃ ...

εἰσεγραψάμην π. τῆς πατρῴας ... δρυός 'oracles that I wrote down for my use at the bidding of my ancestral oak' (the prophetic oak representing Zeus). *P.* 1359 παθεῖν π. τούτων. *OT* 292 θανεῖν π. ὁδοιπόρων. πρός is linked with ὑπό, *OT* 949, *T.* 1160: see § 19 infra on ὑπό. *P.* 960 φόνον ... τείσω ... π. τοῦ δοκοῦντος οὐδὲν εἰδέναι κακόν 'I shall pay the price of my blood because of the action of him whose thoughts seemed innocent'. This use may depend on a noun, pronoun, or adjective: *E.* 784 ἀπήλλαγμαι φόβου π. τῆσδ' ἐκείνου θ' 'I have been freed from fear inspired by this woman and man'. *OC* 73 π. ἀνδρὸς μὴ βλέποντος ἄρκεσις 'protection given by a blind man'. *T.* 738 τί ... πρός γ' ἐμοῦ; 'what, that is due to, caused by, me?'. *An.* 919 ἐρῆμος π. φίλων 'deserted by my friends'. Also with passive verbs (so, of the agent): *E.* 70 π. θεῶν ὡρμημένος 'moved to come by the gods'. *A.* 652 ἐθηλύνθην π. τῆσδε τῆς γυναικός 'I was softened by this woman'. Less often πρός is used with non-personal nouns: *OT* 1236 π. τίνος αἰτίας; 'from what cause?', *An.* 51 π. ἀμπλακημάτων 'because of faults'. *E.* 1211 π. δίκης 'in accordance with justice'. *An.* 170 π. διπλῆς μοίρας 'by a two-fold fate'.

Other uses seem more easily derivable from the true gen. (pertinentive). So, to indicate the person of whom an action is characteristic: *A.* 581 οὐ π. ἰατροῦ σοφοῦ ... 'it does not appertain to, is not the part of, a clever doctor ...'. Ib. 319, 1071, *E.* 401, fr. 79. Cf. the use of the simple gen., *T.* 435 ἀνδρὸς οὐχὶ σώφρονος (Ch. 5 § 3). Or else, of the person involved, who is concerned (cf. the use of the simple gen. for the place, in the area of which the action occurs: Ch. 5 § 11(2)): *T.* 150 π. ἀνδρὸς ἢ τέκνων φοβουμένη 'with fear concerning husband or children'. *An.* 704 τί π. παίδων; 'what, that concerns one's children?'. (Perhaps also *T.* 738 τί ... π. γ' ἐμοῦ, otherwise explained above: cf. too *E.* 1071* τὰ π. τέκνων.) Of the person in whose interest the action occurs: *OT* 1434 π. σοῦ γάρ, οὐδ' ἐμοῦ, φράσω. Ib. 134 (you have shown concern) π. τοῦ θανόντος (πρό v.l.). Of that by which, in the name of which, oath or supplication is made: *E.* 369 π. θεῶν, ib. 1208 π. γενείου, *P.* 468 π. νύν σε πατρός ... πρός τ' εἴ τί σοι κατ' οἶκόν ἐστι προσφιλές, ἱκέτης ἱκνοῦμαι (with enclitic σε advanced and intervening: cf. *T.* 436, *OC* 1333, and Wackernagel 2, 194). This use, as well as the preceding, is derived by Brugmann 516 from the sense 'before, in the face of'.

With the dative (locative) πρός indicates 'at, by, near' a place: *E.* 818 τῇδε π. πύλῃ. *OT* 20 ἀγοραῖσι θακεῖ πρός τε Παλλάδος διπλοῖς ναοῖς 'sits in the market-places, and by the twin temples of Pallas'. *T.* 371 (they heard it) π. μέσῃ ... ἀγορᾷ 'in the middle of ...'. *OT* 730 π. τριπλαῖς ἁμαξιτοῖς '(was killed) at the meeting of three roads'. Ib. 180* π. πέδῳ ... κεῖται 'lie on the ground'. Ib. 130 τὸ π. ποσί 'what is at one's feet'. With reference to

persons: *OC* 1268 π. σοὶ παρασταθήτω 'stand beside you'. *A*. 95 ἔβαψας ἔγχος εὖ π. Ἀργείων στρατῷ; 'did you dye your sword well upon the Argive host?', ib. 97. Where motion is involved: *An*. 1189 κλίνομαι π. δμωαῖσι 'I sank in the arms of the servants'. *OT* 1302* ὁ πηδήσας ... π. σῇ μοίρᾳ 'who leapt upon your appointed lot'. Fig. ib. 1169 π. αὐτῷ γ' εἰμὶ τῷ δεινῷ 'I am on the verge of the horror'. *A*. 582 θρηνεῖν ἐπῳδὰς π. πήματι 'to make incantation over a distress'.

Further, to denote 'addition to': *T*. 330 μηδὲ π. κακοῖς τοῖς οὖσιν ἄλλην ... λύπην λάβοι. *E*. 351, T. 45, 885.

προσ- as preverb most often has the meaning 'towards, to', and the associated case is accus. or dat. -έρχομαι *OC* 1104 πατρί; -βαίνω *OT* 1300 σε (but at *P*. 42 surprisingly as equivalent of προβαίνω, s.v.l.); -πίτνω 'beseech' *P*. 485 σε; -χωρῶ 'support' ib. 964 λόγοις; -άπτω 'attach to, put on' *E*. 432 τύμβῳ μηδέν; -έχω 'put in at' (in sailing) *P*. 244 γῆν (more usually with dat.); -αυδῶ *A*. 855, -φωνῶ *P*. 934, -βλέπω *OT* 1183, all with accus.; -κυρῶ 'meet with' *OT* 1299* ὅσα (usually with dat.: the accus. of neut. pl. adjectives is used in an internal relation); -βάλλω 'bring to, against' *OC* 1178 ἀνάγκῃ; -αρμόζω *T*. 494 'adapt'; -τίθημι 'put on' *E*. 933; with verbs of 'receiving, taking (to oneself)': -δέχομαι *T*. 233, -λαμβάνω *OC* 378.

Without the idea of motion, 'at, by' (with the dat.): -ημαι 'sit by' *OT* 15 βωμοῖσι; -ειμι 'be at hand for, be attached to' *E*. 654 ἐμοὶ δύσνοια; -κεῖμαι 'be situated in' *E*. 1040 κακῷ; -ᾄδω 'sing to accompany, support' *P*. 405 μοι.

With the sense of addition: -διαφθείρω 'kill in addition' *P*. 76; -εμβαίνω *A*. 1348 'step on as well'; -γίγνομαι *T*. 1173; -τίθημι *T*. 1253 ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τὴν χάριν 'add the favour on top of these words'.

§ 17. *σύν*

σύν (ξύν) is used only with the dative (instrumental-comitative). With nouns denoting persons, 'together with': *An*. 545 θανεῖν σ. σοί, *OT* 1184 ξ. οἷς τ' οὐ χρῆν ὁμιλῶν. *OT* 55 (γῆς) ξ. ἀνδράσιν κάλλιον ἢ κενῆς κρατεῖν 'it is better to rule the land with men in it (inclusive of men) than empty'. *An*. 674 ἥδε σ. μάχῃ δορὸς | τροπὰς καταρρήγνυσι '(anarchy) allied with battling spearmen puts armies to rout' (σ. μαχ. needlessly emended by edd.). Hence denoting 'with the aid of': *A*. 765 σ. θεῷ, *OT* 146. *A*. 383 ξ. τῷ θεῷ πᾶς καὶ γελᾷ κὠδύρεται 'everyone's laughter and tears depend upon the god'. With non-personal nouns, of what is worn, carried: *E*. 191* ἀεικεῖ σ. στολᾷ 'wearing unseemly dress', *OC* 1258. *A*. 30 πηδῶντα πεδία σ. νεορράντῳ ξίφει. *An*. 116* πολλῶν μεθ' ὅπλων ξ. θ' ἱπποκόμοις κορύθεσσι (but

as stated § 12 above, this is with personal reference). Notice here the coupling of σύν and of μετά with the genitive: σύν is the more ancient, and preferred in Tragedy: Aesch. σύν 67 times, μετά 8; Soph. σύν 91, μετά 24.

There is widely developed use to show the circumstances which accompany an action. *An.* 172 αὐτόχειρι σ. μιάσματι '(they died) in circs. of fratricidal pollution'. *E.* 61 οὐδὲν ῥῆμα σ. κέρδει κακόν 'no word is bad in a situation of profit (where there is profit)'. Ib. 430 σ. κακῷ '(you will look for me) in time of trouble (= if in trouble)'. *OC* 1288 ἀσφαλεῖ σ. ἐξόδῳ '(granting freedom to speak and hear) with guarantee of departure'. *OT* 17 σ. γήρᾳ βαρεῖς (the circumstance is causal). *OC* 1106 σ. πόθῳ ἡ χάρις. *E.* 1041 σ. δίκῃ λέγειν (= δικαίως), *P.* 1223 σ. σπουδῇ (= σπουδαίως), *OC* 885* σ. τάχει (= ταχέως). Of temporal circs.: ib. 1602 ταχεῖ σ. χρόνῳ 'quickly', *T.* 395 σ. χρόνῳ βραδεῖ 'slowly', and without determination *A.* 306 σ. χρόνῳ 'slowly'.

Another use borders on the instrumental (but not always clearly distinct from the foregoing). *OT* 124 εἴ τι μὴ ξ. ἀργύρῳ ἐπράσσετο 'unless it was carried on with the aid of money'. *T.* 720 ταὐτῇ σ. ὁρμῇ συνθανεῖν 'to die with him under the same impulse of fate' (or else circumstantial). *P.* 1335 ξ. τοῖσδε τόξοις ξ. τ' ἐμοί '(destroying Troy) with this bow and with my aid'.

In use as a preverb the sense 'together with' may denote sharing of the action of the verb, its common performance with another: so -θνῄσκω *T.* 998, -κάμνω *E.* 987, -μαχῶ *An.* 740, all with dative of the person concerned. -ἥδομαι *OC* 1398 οὔτε ταῖς παρελθούσαις ὁδοῖς ξυνήδομαί σοι 'I do not share pleasure with you in your previous journeys' (ὁδοῖς dative as with the *simplex*, σοι with ξυν-: there is no need to take ὁδ. independently of the verb as dative of the cause). -οιδα fr. 931 ἡνίκ' ἄν τις ἐσθλὸς ὢν αὑτῷ συνειδῇ 'has self-awareness'. Distinguish from such cases the following: -ωφελῶ *P.* 871 τλῆναί σε ... μεῖναι παρόντα καὶ ξυνωφελοῦντά μοι 'for you to endure to stay, remaining in my presence and aiding me': μοι dat. of the person aided (as with the *simplex*, *An.* 560), ξυν- emphasises by expressing close involvement in the act (not 'aiding me *along with another*'). Soph.'s special use of ξυν- in this way, and particularly with -ειμι, has been the subject of comment: cf. J. S. Phillimore, *C.R.* 1902, 337 f.; Pearson on fr. 950; W. B. Stanford, edn. of *Ajax* 265, n. 11. *OT* 863* εἴ μοι ξυνείη ... μοῖρα 'may it be my continuing lot (staying with me)', or else 'my personal lot'. *OC* 946 ὅτῳ γάμοι ξυνόντες ηὑρέθησαν ἀνόσιοι τέκνων 'one with whom was found closely linked unholy wedlock, of child' (sc. 'with parent'). Ib. 773. *A.* 491 τὸ σὸν λέχος -ῆλθον 'came to your bed (to share it)'.

Elsewhere συν- not referring to joint action, but otherwise modifying the verbal meaning (with transitives), or bringing the verb into relation with a

complement (with intransitives). Trans.: -λαμβάνω *A*. 310 'take together: grasp, seize'; -χέω *OC* 609 'confound'; -φέρω *E*. 946 'contribute'. Intrans.: -ειμι ib. 600 κακοῖς; -τυγχάνω *P*. 682* μοίρᾳ τοῦδ' ἐχθίονι συντυχόντα 'meeting with a destiny more hateful than this'. The dative is usual, as with ἐντυγχάνω *A*. 433: cf. -πίπτω ib. 467 ξυμπεσὼν μόνος μόνοις; -τρέχω *T*. 880 τῷ μόρῳ ξυντρέχει. Also with gen., *P*. 320 συντυχὼν κακῶν ἀνδρῶν Ἀτρειδῶν 'having found the Atreidae evil men' (but Campbell, of joint action, 'having in like manner found'). A second example with the gen. is uncertain: *OC* 1482* ἐναισίου δὲ συντύχοιμι (σοῦ τύχ. edd.). The gen. construction is in itself quite acceptable (and found also with ἐντυγχάνω, *P*. 1333: cf. § 8 above). Apart from cases affected by analogy, a compound formed from an intrans. *simplex* naturally takes the case associated with its preverb (so σύνειμι with dat.), but when the *simplex* is transitive its case is retained with the compound. The *simplex* -τυγχάνω is used both as transitive and as intransitive, hence two constructions are possible with the compound.

-ἕπομαι *OT* 1125 ποίμναις 'accompanies the flocks': redundant συν-.

§ 18. *ὑπέρ*

ὑπέρ has the basic sense 'above' in vontgwyt to ὑπό 'beneath'. With the accus. (of extent) it is used of motion passing over a place: *An*. 1145* μολεῖν ... Παρνασίαν ὑπ. κλιτῦν 'come over the height of P.'. Fr. 956. 1 ὑπ. πόντον πάντα. Of passing beyond a limit (fig.): *An*. 365* σοφόν τι ... ὑπ. ἐλπίδ' ἔχων 'possessing what is subtle beyond belief'.

With the genitive (partitive, of place) in a concrete sense, of rest over a place: *An*. 117* στὰς ὑπ. μελάθρων, ib. 528* νεφέλη δ' ὀφρύων ὕπερ. Then by extension, of motion over a place; in this use not distinguishable from ὑπ. with the accus.: ib. 105* Διρκαίων ὑπ. ῥεέθρων μολοῦσα 'coming over the stream of D.'. *A*. 702* ὑπ. πελαγέων μολών, ib. 1279 πηδῶντος ... τάφρων ὕπερ.

There is wide development in figurative uses, which cannot always be clearly distinguished. Some are already Homeric. So 'for, on behalf of', of what is defended: *A*. 1231 τοῦ μηδὲν ἀντέστης ὕπερ (the local source is visible here); also more widely, *OT* 137 ὑπ. οὐχὶ τῶν ἀπωτέρω φίλων [ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ '(I shall dispel this taint) not for the sake of distant friends but for my own sake'; *OC* 33 τῆς ὑπ. τ' ἐμοῦ [αὑτῆς θ' ὁρώσης. Exceptionally, of that against which one is protected: *OT* 164* προτέρας ἄτας ὕπ. ὀρνυμένας πόλει '(if you have ever removed the fire of calamity) in defence against (?) disaster in the past approaching the city': comparison is made of A. *Th*. 111* ἴδετε παρθένων ἱκέσιον λόχον δουλοσύνας ὕπερ. It is however preferable

to take ὑπέρ in both passages as examples of a wider use 'in relation to, concerning' (developing from the local sense 'over'). Then at *OT* 164* the sense of ἄτας ὕπερ would be 'in a situation of disaster'. The use is Homeric, *Il.* 6. 524 ὑπ. σέθεν αἴσχε' ἀκούω 'I hear shameful things about you' (hardly 'on your behalf'), and frequent in Classical prose and later. Cf. *OT* 989 ποίας γυναικὸς ἐκφοβεῖσθ' ὕπερ; 'who is the woman in relation to whom you feel fear?' (with deliberate ambiguity, also suggesting 'on whose behalf': but this sense is secondary). Also possibly ib. 1444 and *E.* 554 (if not 'on behalf of'). The relationship can if required be causal: *An.* 932* τοῖσιν ἄγουσιν κλαύμαθ' ὑπάρξει βραδυτῆτας ὕπερ 'her guards shall have sorrow on account of their slowness'. *T.* 708 ἀντὶ τοῦ θνῄσκων ὁ θὴρ [ἐμοὶ (ἂν) παρέσχ' εὔνοιαν, ἧς ἔθνῃσχ' ὕπερ; 'in return for what would the creature at the moment of death have shown good will to me, who was the reason for his death?'.

As a preverb, locally 'over, above': -πέτομαι *An.* 113* αἰετὸς εἰς γᾶν ὣς -έπτα 'flew aloft as an eagle to our land'. Fig. -βαίνω *An.* 481 'transgress' νόμους, -τρέχω ib. 455 νόμιμα; -πηδῶ fr. 961 'avoid' πληγήν. With the meaning 'on behalf of' (a person), with the genitive: -μαχῶ *A.* 1346 ταῦτ' ... τοῦδ' -μαχεῖς ἐμοί; 'do you fight this fight with me on his behalf?'. -μάχομαι *OT* 265 πατρός. -πονῶ *OC* 345 ἀντ' ἐκείνων τἀμὰ δυστήνου κακὰ [-πονεῖτον 'you bear my sorrows, hapless that I am, in place of them (my sons)' (δυστ. linked with τἀμά, not with the verb). -δείδω *An.* 82 σου 'fear for you, on your account'. ὑπερ- 'in defence of': -ἵστημι *E.* 188* ἅς -ίσταται 'protects'. ὑπερ- 'because of': -αλγῶ *An.* 630* ἀπάτης.

With the sense 'exceeding, surpassing': -βάλλω *T.* 584 (mid.); -φέρω *OT* 381 τέχνη τέχνης, *OC* 1007 τοῦθ' -φέρει 'has this pre-eminence' (with internal accus. τοῦτο: τῷδ' edd.).

With the notion 'beyond, in excess': -κτῶμαι *E.* 217* 'get to excess'; -χλίω *T.* 281 'be over-wanton'. -νοῶ *OC* 1741* τί δῆθ' -νοεῖς; 'what do you think further?' (ὅπερ νοεῖς edd.).

§ 19. *ὑπό*

ὑπό has the meaning 'under, below'. With the dative (locative) it refers to place 'under which; down in which'. *P.* 1200 οἱ ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ πάντες 'all under it (Ilium, and its walls)', i.e. 'fighting beneath them': cf. A. *Ag.* 860 etc. ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ, ib. 1457* ὑπὸ Τροίᾳ. *P.* 286 βαιᾷ τῇδ' ὑπὸ στέγῃ 'within this small house' (ὑ. gives sense of confinement); *A.* 754 εἷρξαι ὑπὸ σκηναῖσι. *OC* 673* (nightingale sings) χλωραῖς ὑ. βάσσαις 'in the green glens' (covered by them). *An.* 337* περιβρυχίοισιν περῶν ὑ.' οἴδμασιν 'making his way surrounded by, deep in, engulfing waves'.

In the sense 'under the influence, effect, of', with instrumental value. *An*. 975* ἀραχθέντων ὑ.' αἱματηραῖς χείρεσσι: the use is Homeric, cf. *Il*. 2.374 χερσὶν ὑ.' ἡμετέρῃσιν ἁλοῦσα, also A. *Th*. 930* ἐτελεύτασαν ὑ.' ἀλλαλοφόνοις χερσίν, and is local in origin. Cf. the local use with ἐν, as in ἐν χερσίν *E*. 1138 (§ 8). It is also found (unlike ἐν) with dative of a tool, *OT* 202 ὑ.' σῷ φθίσον κεραυνῷ: the local sense is evident, the thunderbolt descends on its victim. Cf. *Il*. 5. 653 ὑπὸ δουρὶ δαμέντα.

ὑπό is coupled with the accus. of *extent*, or of *motion to*. *OT* 477* φοιτᾷ ὑ.' ἀγρίαν ὕλαν 'roams through the wild forest' (with suggestion of concealment). *A*. 1220* γενοίμαν ... ἄκραν ὑ.' πλάκα Σουνίου 'would I were ... approaching the point of the cliff of S.' (of motion up to and under). *E*. 720 ὑ.' ἐσχάτην στήλην ἔχων 'driving close up to the pillar at the end of the course'. *An*. 1315 ὑ.' ἧπαρ '(struck herself) close to the liver'. *T*. 930.

ὑπό with the genitive (partitive) is used locally of place 'under which', when it is equivalent to the dative use. *An*. 65 τοὺς ὑ. χθονός, *E*. 1419* γᾶς ὑπαί (Epic form of prep.) - so regularly of the underworld, and not with the dative (Jebb). Fr. 444. 4 πῶλος ὡς ὑ. ζυγοῦ 'under the yoke'. *T*. 539 μιᾶς ὑ. χλαίνης. *T*. 1036* παῖσον ἐμᾶς ὑ. κλῃδος 'under my collar-bone'. *An*. 1248 ὑ. στέγης '(lament) in the house, in private': cf. *P*. 286 above ὑ. στέγῃ (it seems less likely that στέγη is 'roof' in these examples). The sense 'from under' (ablatival) is not found in Soph.

From the local sense developed a causal relation. Thus *A*. 1253 μέγας ... βοῦς ὑ. σμικρᾶς μάστιγος ... πορεύεται 'a mighty ox goes on its way under (the influence of) a tiny whip' (the local sense is still sensible). *OC* 681* θάλλει ... ὑ.' ἄχνας ... νάρκισσος 'the narcissus flourishes under, by the effect of, the dew'. So too of persons 'under the influence of whom': *E*. 444 ὑ.' ἧς θανών, *A*. 1025 ὑ.' οὗ φονέως ἐξέπνευσας 'under whom as murderer, under whose murderous hand, you breathed your last'. The use was extended to other situations where the local relation was not present. It is combinable with any type of verb or verb phrase, with intransitives, transitives with object, and especially with passives: but it is pointless to look for passive equivalents of non-passive verbs, as if thus to explain the construction (cf. the similar uses of non-passive verbs with ἐκ, παρά and πρός). See Schwyzer, *Abh. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1942, Phil.-hist. Kl. 10, 'Zum persönlichen Agens beim Passiv': ὑπό with gen. is general from Vth. century, and takes the place of ὑπό with dat. (frequent in Homer with intransitives). He gives the following figures for use in Aesch. and Soph. of prepositions with gen. of a personal agent and passive verb, which show ὑπό as less used by the latter than both ἐκ and πρός. ἐκ, A. 7, S. 17 (on my count, 21); παρά, A. 2, S. 4; πρός, A. 15, S. 19; ὑπό, A. 12, S. 12.

(a) With non-personal nouns. *A.* 1253 and *OC* 681* quoted above. *T.* 1077 σκέψαι δ' ὁποίας ταῦτα συμφορᾶς ὕπο [πέπονθα 'consider under the influence of what sort of misfortune I have suffered this'. *E.* 711 χαλκῆς ὑπαὶ σάλπιγγος ἦξαν 'they rushed forward at the sound of the bronze trumpet' (the sound is the signal to start, and so the cause of their going: hence this is not an example of accompanying sound, on which see below). *P.* 200 ὑπὸ τῶνδε δαμῆναι 'to be overcome by these (arrows)'. *T.* 1104 ὑπ' ἄτης. Fr. 565. 4 ὀσμῆς ὕπο. Of mental and emotional processes: *OT* 1131 εἰπεῖν ἐν τάχει μνήμης ὕπο 'to speak quickly, influenced by' (so 'prompted by') 'memory'. *An.* 648 ὑφ' ἡδονῆς γυναικὸς οὕνεκα '(do not lose your senses) for a woman's sake, influenced by pleasure'. *OT* 1073 ὑπ' ἀγρίας ᾄξασα λύπης. *An.* 221 ὑπ' ἐλπίδων [ἄνδρας τὸ κέρδος ... διώλεσεν 'profit ruins men under the influence of hope'.

(b) With personal nouns. *A.* 1321 κλύοντες αἰσχίστους λόγους ... τοῦδ' ὑπ' ἀνδρός, cf. ib. 495, *E.* 553: all, of the person from whom one hears, and so, who is responsible for what is heard. *T.* 391 οὐκ ἐμῶν ὑπ' ἀγγέλων [ἀλλ' αὐτόκλητος ἐκ δόμων πορεύεται 'he is coming out of the house not under the influence of my messengers, but unbidden'. *OC* 391 τοιοῦδ' ὑπ' ἀνδρός '(who could prosper) under the influence of such as I?'. *A.* 511 εἰ ... διοίσεται ... ὑπ' ὀρφανιστῶν μὴ φίλων 'if he passes his life under guardians who are not kind' (ὑπό paralleled by *OC* 391: alternatively, if διοίσ. is passive, 'if he is made to suffer distress by ...'). *OC* 1388, 1013, *P.* 957.

Linked with πρός. *OT* 949 πρὸς τῆς τύχης ὄλωλεν οὐδὲ τοῦδ' ὕπο (τοῦδε personal). *T.* 1160 πρὸς τῶν πνεόντων μηδενὸς θανεῖν ὕπο '(it was foretold by Zeus that I should) die through and at the hands of none of the living'. The use of two prepp. with the same *regimen* cannot be ruled out as impermissible (cf. § 2 above on *P.* 554 ἀμφὶ σοῦ 'νεκα). Johansen points out (272) that ὑπό 'implies a more direct participation in the act of killing' than πρός: the local reference in ὑπό ('under') is more immediate than in πρός ('from the direction of'). Thus the combination would give a wider meaning than either πρός or ὑπό alone, and the universality is appropriate in the context.

Linked with ἐξ: *OC* 737 οὐχ ἐξ ἑνὸς στείλαντος, ἀλλ' ἀστῶν ὕπο [πάντων κελευσθείς.

Finally, there is a second development of local sense, to show accompanying circumstance. Thus, of sound (which may be thought of as rising above one). *E.* 630 ὑφ' εὐφήμου βοῆς [θῦσαι 'to sacrifice with auspicious sound only', so 'in silence'. Cf. A. *Ag.* 1554 ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν, also the use to denote musical accompaniment (Hesiod, etc., including Attic prose: Schwyzer 530). *An.* 692 ἀκούειν ὑπὸ σκότου 'to hear in the dark' (of furtive speech): cf. A. *Ag.* 1030* ὑπὸ σκότῳ βρέμει (καρδία) 'mutters in the dark'. ?

T. 419 ἣν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ὁρᾷς: Jebb doubts the use of ὑπό to show the 'mental or moral circumstances (as distinct from motives) of the agent', but the distinction seems too finely drawn. Cf. E. *H.F.* 289 δειλίας θανεῖν ὕπο 'to die in circumstances of cowardice, in a cowardly way': and of outward circumstance, id. *Hipp.* 1299 ὑπ' εὐκλείας θανῇ. Also perhaps *An.* 223 σπουδῆς ὕπο (*ex* Arist.: τάχους codd.), if = 'eagerly', or 'quickly' (cf. Thuc. 3. 33. 3); but the meaning could be 'because of my eagerness'. So at T. 419 ὑπ' ἀγνοίας would be 'in a state of ignorance, being ignorant of her identity'. But the context makes the passage dubious.

ὑπο- as a preverb has the sense 'under', both literal and figurative. -δείδω *A.* 169 'cower beneath' αἰγυπιόν; -ζεύγνυμι ib. 24 (pass.) 'be subjected to' πόνῳ; -εκφεύγω *An.* 776 'escape from under' μίασμα; -εξέρχομαι fr. 757. 2 (s.v.l.) πρᾶγμα τόδε; -έρχομαι *P.* 1231 'enter' με ... φόβος; -δύω *P.* 1112* '(deceitful words) came to me' μοι; -βάλλω *A.* 188 (med.) 'make false suggestions'. Of a low sound: -στένω *E.* 79. The notion of subjection is seen in -είκω *P.* 1046 'yield to' κακοῖς; and of secret action in -κλέπτω *E.* 114; -εκπέμπω ib. 1350.

§ 20. *Improper prepositions*

The improper prepositions (see § 1 above) can be dealt with more briefly. The majority are found already in Homer, though sometimes there restricted to adverbial use, and some later divergences of form occur. Nearly all are linked with the genitive only (ablatival, or partitive: also adnominal); uses are more restricted and specific.

A. *Homeric forms*

(i) With the genitive.

With the notion of 'lack, separation', etc. *ἄνευ* 'without' *OT* 590 ἄ. φόβου; 'apart from' *E.* 187* ἄ. τοκέων; 'without the sanction of' *OC* 926 ἄ. γε τοῦ κραίνοντος. *ἄτερ* 'without' *A.* 1388 ταφῆς ἄ. *δίχα* (adv. in Homer) 'separate, apart from' *P.* 31 κενὴν οἴκησιν ἀνθρώπων δ. 'an empty dwelling, without men'; *E.* 547 σῆς δ. γνώμης 'contrary to', *OC* 48 πόλεως δ. 'without approval of'. *χωρίς* (adv. in Homer) 'separate from' *P.* 115 σὺ κείνων χ., 'away from' ib. 487 χ. ἀνθρώπων στίβου; 'devoid of' *OT* 550 τοῦ νοῦ χ.; 'without the sanction of' *T.* 1002* χ. Ζηνός (or else '(who) except Zeus?'). *πλήν* may be included here, though the gen. with this is not ablatival but partitive or adnominal (originally 'near, in proximity of': Schwyzer 542; Frisk, *G.E.W.*): 'except, apart from' *A.* 1341 π. Ἀχιλλέως. But the other cases are also found (i.e. repeating the case required with the verb of the sentence): nom., *A.* 1238 οὐκ ἄρ' Ἀχαιοῖς ἄνδρες εἰσὶ π. ὅδε;,

accus., *OC* 1161 οὐκ οἶδα π. ἕν; dat., *OT* 370 ἀλλ' ἔστι (sc. πᾶσι) π. σοί. This conjunctional use of πλήν with the other cases is first found in Vth. cent., but not in Aeschylus.

Of what is 'near' (partitive gen.). *ἄγχι* *OC* 399 ἄ. γῆς Καδμείας. Also compar. ἆσσον *E.* 900 τύμβου ... ἄ.. *ἐγγύς* in compar. -υτέρω *OC* 1217* λύπας ἐ. 'closer to, more affected by, grief'; and superl. *An.* 933. *πέλας* *OC* 1593 π. κρατῆρος. *πλησίον* *T.* 1076 π. πατρός. Also *ὁμοῦ* *P.* 1218* νεὼς ὁμοῦ στείχων 'coming near, approaching, my ship'. ὁμοῦ is found regularly with dat. in Homer etc., as 'together with'; the gen. use (= ἐγγύς) is unique in Tragedy and altogether rare, but attested as an Attic feature (Schol. ap. Apoll. Rhod. 2. 121; Menander fr. 760a, b Koerte ὁμοῦ δὲ τοῦ τίκτειν ..., and ... τοῦ τίκτειν ὁμοῦ). The adverbial use of ὁμοῦ 'near' is not infrequent: cf. *An.* 1180 ὁρῶ τάλαιναν Εὐρυδίκην ὁμοῦ.

'Opposite, facing'. *ἀντίον* *T.* 785 τἀνδρὸς ἀ. μολεῖν 'to approach him'. *ἐναντίον* *OC* 1002 τῶνδ' ἐ. 'in their presence'.

Of various other spatial and temporal relations. *ἔσω* 'within' *OT* 679 δόμων ... ἔ. *ἔνδον* 'id.' *A.* 218 σκηνῆς ἔ. *ἐκτός* 'outside' *T.* 203 ἐ. αὐλῆς, *P.* 504 ἐ. ὄντα πημάτων 'free of troubles'. *ἔξω* 'id.' *OT* 622 γῆς ἐ. βαλεῖν; also *ἔξωθεν* (non-Homeric) *E.* 1449 συμφορᾶς ἔ. τῶν ἐμῶν γε φιλτάτων 'indifferent, a stranger to, the fortune of those most dear to me'. *κάτω* 'below' (adv. in Homer) *OT* 968 κ. γῆς. *ἔνερθε* 'id.' fr. 686. 1 γῆς ἔν. *ἄνω* 'above' (adv. in Homer) *P.* 1092* αἰθέρος ἄ. 'up in the sky' (loc. dub.). *καθύπερθεν* 'above; superior to' *E.* 1090* καθ. ... τῶν ἐχθρῶν. *ὄπισθεν* 'behind' *An.* 640 γνώμης πατρῴας πάντ' ὄπ. ἑστάναι 'to stand behind your father's will', i.e. 'obedient to it'. *ἐξοπίσω* 'id.' fr. 534 ἐξ. χερὸς ὄμμα τρέπουσα 'turning her gaze from her hand' ('from what she is doing'). *ἐξόπισθε* (non-Homeric) fr. 598. 1 τὰ δ' ἐξ. χειρός 'what is behind you' (cf. Pearson ad loc.). *πάρος* 'in front of' *A.* 73 δωμάτων π., 'in preference to' *OC* 418 π. τοὐμοῦ πόθου (the latter sense not Homeric). *πέρα* 'over and away from': in figurative use, *OT* 74 τοῦ εἰκότος π. 'beyond what is reasonable, expected', *E.* 1506 π. πράσσειν τῶν νόμων 'to act lawlessly'. *πέραν* 'over, across' *An.* 334* πολιοῦ π. πόντου ... χωρεῖ 'goes over the foaming-white sea'. It would be possible to explain the gen. with πέρα as ablatival, and that with πέραν as partitive; but since πέρα appears as a substantive (cf. A. *Supp.* 262, *Ag.* 190*), it is better to take both gen. as adnominal (see further Schwyzer 541, 714; Frisk, *G.E.W.* ad vb.). *μεταξύ* (adverb in Homer) *OC* 290 τὰ μ. τούτου 'what happens before that'. *πάροιθεν* 'before' (of time) *T.* 605 κείνου π. *πρόσθε* 'id.' *An.* 462.

Of causal relation: gen. adnominal. *ἕκατι* 'because of, owing to' *P.* 669 ἀρετῆς ἕ. (in Homer only = 'by the will of (a god)'). *χάριν* 'in return for,

on account of' *A*. 953 'Ὀδυσσέως χ. (to gratify him), *OT* 888* δυσπότμου χ. χλιδᾶς 'in return for, to punish, his wantonness'. Note *A*. 176* νίκας ἀκάρπωτον χάριν 'to punish a victory which brought no profit': here χάριν, because of its adjunct adjective ἀκάρπωτον, retains its original status of accus. noun in apposition (cf. *T*. 485, 1413).

(ii) With the dative.

ἅμα 'together with' (of persons) *P*. 1026 ἔπλεις ἅμ' αὐτοῖς. *ὁμοῦ* 'id.' *OT* 1007 οὔποτ' εἶμι τοῖς φυτεύσασίν γ' ὁμοῦ 'I shall never meet my parents' (or else, ὁμοῦ advbl. = ὁμόσε, with τοῖς φυτ. dat. of interest): this shows the 'Attic' sense of 'near' which has been noted (ὁμοῦ with gen., *P*. 1218*). So too *T*. 1225 τοῖς ἐμοῖς πλευροῖς ὁμοῦ κλιθεῖσαν 'she who has lain by my side'. Further, 'with the aid of' *A*. 767 θεοῖς ... ὁμοῦ (cf. σύν).

(iii) With the accusative. *μά* is used in negative oaths, and followed by the accus. The word was not in origin strictly a preposition (cf. Schwyzer 533), but doubtless acquired this status. *E*. 626 ἀλλ' οὐ μὰ τὴν δέσποιναν Ἄρτεμιν ..., ib. 881. Here may also be noted *νή* (non-Homeric), in positive asseveration: fr. 957 νὴ τὼ Λαπέρσα, νὴ τὸν Εὐρώταν τρίτον, | νὴ τοὺς ἐν Ἄργει ... θεούς. νή is frequent in Prose and Comedy, but only here in a tragic author; this suggests that the fragment (unidentified) is from a Satyric play.

B. *Non-Homeric Forms*

(i) With the genitive. *οὕνεκα* (only this form, an Atticism, in Soph.: εἵνεκα and ἕνεκα Homeric, see Barrett on E. *Hipp*. 453-6): 'on account of' *P*. 1038 οὕν. ἀνδρὸς ἀθλίου. *E*. 387 ἐξίκοιτο τοῦδέ γ' οὕν. ἐν τάχει 'may he come quickly so far as that is concerned (if only on that account)'. *P*. 554 ἀμφὶ σοῦ 'νεκα βουλεύματα 'plans about and concerning you' (ἀμφὶ σοῦ νέα edd.): cf. § 2 above (ἀμφί). *δικήν* 'in the manner of' (with adnominal gen.): fr. 659. 1 πώλου δ. This form is an old appositional accus., like χάριν (cf. Lasso de la Vega 1, 401).

(ii) With the accus. *ὡς* 'to', of motion to persons (dub. once in Homer, *Od*. 17, 218): *T*. 533 ἦλθον ὡς ὑμᾶς. But also twice in Soph. with a non-personal noun: *T*. 366 ἥκει δόμους | ὡς τούσδε πέμπων 'he has come sending her to this house': ὡς is to be justified on the ground that δόμους includes the persons resident in it. *OT* 1481 ἔλθετε | ὡς τὰς ἀδελφὰς τάσδε τὰς ἐμὰς χέρας 'come to my fraternal hands' (equivalent to ἐμέ).

CHAPTER EIGHT

PRONOUNS

A. *Personal Pronouns (First and Second Person)*

§ 1. *Nominative uses: introduction*

Nominative use of the personal pronouns (first and second person) is dispensable, when indicating the subject of a verb. It is therefore of interest to examine instances where they do occur: it is normally in contexts of emphasis or contrast. (Schwyzer 186-8: Kühner-Gert 1, 555-6: Gildersleeve 1, 35). Note that the nominative forms of the pronoun are always accented, unlike the oblique cases.

§ 2. *ἐγώ*

In *OT* 1-569 there occur 100 uses of first person singular verb forms: ἐγώ (-γε three times) accompanies 19 of these, leaving 81 unaccompanied. *ἐγώ in contrast or coupling*: *P.* 25 ὡς σὺ μὲν κλύῃς, [ἐγὼ δὲ φράζω. Ib. 585 ἐγώ εἰμ' Ἀτρείδαις δυσμενής, οὗτος δέ μοι [φίλος μέγιστος. Ib. 990 Ζεὺς ἔσθ' ... Ζεύς, ᾧ δέδοκται ταῦθ'· ὑπηρετῶ δ' ἐγώ. *OT* 18 ἐγὼ μὲν ... οἵδε τ' ... (vel οἳ δ' ἔτ'). *OC* 902 ὡς μὴ παρέλθωσ' αἱ κόραι, γέλως δ' ἐγὼ [... γένωμαι. *An.* 484, 555. *T.* 286. *P.* 994 οὔ φημ'. :: ἐγὼ δέ φημι 'I say no' :: 'But *I* say yes'. *A.* 589 οὐ κάτοισθ' ἐγὼ θεοῖς [ὡς οὐδὲν ἀρκεῖν εἰμ' ὀφειλέτης ἔτι 'do you not know that I no longer owe any service to the gods?': Ajax asserts his independence, and the juxtaposition ἐγὼ θεοῖς stresses this. *E.* 282 ἐγὼ δέ ... κλαίω κτλ.: after speaking of Clytaemnestra, Electra turns to herself: ib. 303, similarly after speaking of Aegisthus. *Emphasising, without contrast*: *P.* 239 ἐγὼ γένος μέν εἰμι τῆς ... Σκύρου, κτλ.: spoken by Neoptolemus, asked to identify himself. Similarly ib. 261 ὅδ' εἴμ' ἐγώ σοι κεῖνος, ὃν ..., ὁ τοῦ Ποίαντος παῖς Φιλοκτήτης, where in turn Philoctetes gives *his* identity. Ib. 453 ἐγὼ μέν (strengthened by μέν *solitarium*), cf. ib. 1218 etc.: also *An.* 65 ἐγὼ μέν with οὖν, *OT.* 244. *A.* 51 ἐγώ σφ' ἀπείργω 'it was I who stopped him': ἐγώ 'an expression of divine majesty and power' (Jebb): similarly, 59, 69, 85. *An.* 997 ὡς ἐγὼ τὸ σὸν φρίσσω στόμα (Humbert 58: Creon stresses the violence of his feeling). ἐγώ may be further stressed, so by καί *P.* 317, *OT* 293, *OC* 53, etc.: by αὐτός, *OT* 6, 587, *P.* 319 (χαὐτός). αὐτός also by itself: *P.* 290 αὐτὸς ἂν τάλας [εἰλυόμην 'I myself would crawl'. Ib. 670. *OT* 221 αὐτός = 'by myself, alone'.

With οἶδα: *OC* 662 οἶδ' ἐγὼ in parenthesis, also ib. 852, 1197: cf. ib. 359 τοῦτ' ἐγὼ ... [ἔξοιδα. *T.* 314 τί δ' οἶδ' ἐγώ;. Schwyzer 186 sees stress in the frequent coupling with verbs of *knowing*, *thinking*, *saying*, *hearing* (also Brandenstein 1,95), but others (mistakenly) find it absent (so Kühner-Gerth 1,556; Gildersleeve 1,35). However, the force is possibly sometimes weakened by repetition in this formula.

There remain cases where semantic motivation for the use of ἐγώ is less, or not at all, apparent. Thus *P.* 5 τὸν ... Ποίαντος υἱὸν ἐξέθηκ' ἐγώ (but possibly a contrast with τῶν ἀνασσόντων in the next line?: '*I* put Neoptolemus ashore here—but it was my superiors who ordered it'). Ib. 479 ἐὰν μόλω 'γὼ ζῶν πρὸς Οἰταίαν χθόνα. Ib. 1049 τοιοῦτός εἰμ' ἐγώ (in line final position; convenient metrically, cf. *A.* 318, 790, *E.* 323, *OT* 857). *T.* 912 ff. ... σφ' ὁρῶ ... κἀγὼ λαθραῖον ὄμμ' ἐπεσκιασμένη [φρούρουν · ὁρῶ δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα: here there is a series of three verbs, denoting *watching*, *observing*, of which only the middle one takes ἐγώ.

§ 3. *σύ*

In *OT* 1-441 there are 100 uses of second person singular verb forms: σύ is found with only 10 of these. The motives are as for ἐγώ. *In contrast or coupling*: *OT* 79 σύ τ' ... οἴδε τε, ib. 401 καὶ σὺ χὠ συνθεὶς τάδε. A series of uses occurs, ib. 390 ff.: (Oedipus attacks Teiresias, accuses him of blindness as a seer) (390) ἐπεὶ φέρ' εἰπέ, ποῦ σὺ μάντις εἶ σαφής; (emphatic here) 'on what occasion have *you* shown skill in prophesy?: you did not help us, but we needed a seer's skill—skill *you* did not have, but *I* came and tamed the Sphinx (σύ 395, in contrast with ἀλλ' ἐγώ 396): I, whom *you* (ὃν δὴ σύ 399, with antithesis) are trying to expel'.

Further stressed with αὐτός. *E.* 1470 αὐτὸς σὺ βάσταζε 'lift the veil yourself'. *OC* 488 αἰτοῦ σύ τ' αὐτὸς κεἴ τις ἄλλος ἀντὶ σοῦ 'make prayer yourself, and any other in place of you'. αὐτός also by itself: *OT* 544 κρῖν' αὐτὸς μαθὼν 'learn and judge yourself'. *E.* 996.

In parenthesis (cf. οἶδ' ἐγώ), ὡς σὺ φῄς *P.* 1028, *A.* 1234, *OC* 940, ὡς φῄς σύ *An.* 706, οἷον σὺ φῄς *OT* 803.

But σὺ δέ introducing a second clause (with an order) stresses the predicate, not the pronoun: *E.* 448 ταῦτα μὲν μέθες · σὺ δὲ ... δός (Homeric, Ionic: cf. Jebb ad loc., Schwyzer 188, Chantraine 153). Cf. the use of σέ γε (with the indicative) in lyric: *An.* 789*, *OT* 1101*, *P.* 1118*. Some cases of σύ are weaker. *P.* 1024 ... στρατηγῶν οἷς σὺ ταῦθ' ὑπηρετεῖς.

§ 4. *ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς*

The nominative plural forms ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς are much less frequent, but show the same effects. So ἡμεῖς: *E.* 796 πεπαύμεθ' ἡμεῖς, οὐχ ὅπως σε

παύσομεν '*we* have ceased, but will be far from stopping *you*'. *P.* 464 (following σύ), *T.* 39 (κεῖνος δέ), ib. 390 ἡμεῖς δὲ προσμένωμεν; (directs attention to the speaker, 'and what about *me*? am *I* to wait?'). ὑμεῖς: *P.* 1080 (νὼ μέν ... ὑμεῖς δέ). *A.* 687 (σὺ δέ ... ὑμεῖς θ' ... ἐγώ). *OT* 142 (ὑμεῖς μέν ... ἄλλος δέ). But *OC* 847 οὐκ ἄξεθ' ὑμεῖς; (indignant question equivalent to an order) 'take him off, won't you?'. No stress on ὑμεῖς, cf. *An.* 885 οὐκ ἄξεθ' ὡς τάχιστα;

For the stressed third person, see αὐτός (§ 8).

§ 5. *Oblique cases*

In the oblique cases the expected distinction of emphasis as between accented and unaccented forms occurs, but is not universal (Schwyzer 187 f.; Vendryes, *Traité d'Accentuation grecque*, § 108; Apollon. Dysc. *Synt.* 116 ff.). But it must be borne in mind that an element of doubt attaches to instances with oblique cases of σύ (non-initial). Here there is not the distinction of form found with ἐγώ (as between με and ἐμέ, etc.), so that only accent separates emphatic from unemphatic use; and accentuation (whether traditional or applied by editors) is uncertain or invalid evidence. Strong forms occur initially (but here, of course, unaccented forms are not admissible): *An.* 525 ἐμοῦ δὲ ζῶντος οὐκ ἄρξει γυνή. *A.* 455 κεῖνοι δ' ἐπεγγελῶσιν ..., ἐμοῦ μὲν οὐχ ἑκόντος (ἐμοῦ initial in its phrase). *OT* 677 πορεύσομαι, | σοῦ μὲν τυχὼν ἀγνῶτος, ἐν δὲ τοῖσδ' ἴσος *A.* 1268 εἰ σοῦ γ' ὅδ' ἀνὴρ ... ἔτ' ἴσχει μνῆστιν. *P.* 76 ὄλωλα καὶ σὲ προσδιαφθερῶ ξυνών 'I am then lost, and I shall destroy you as well by my association'. *OC* 392 ἐν σοὶ τὰ κείνων φασὶ γίγνεσθαι κράτη 'they say it is in you that their power rests'. Also in abrupt address: *E.* 1445 σέ τοι, σὲ κρίνω, ναὶ σέ, τὴν ... θρασεῖαν 'it's you, yes, you, that I am asking': *An.* 441 σὲ δή, σὲ τὴν νεύουσαν ἐς πέδον κάρα, | φῄς, ἢ καταρνῇ ... 'you there, you bending your head to the ground, do you admit or deny ...?'. Elsewhere: *OT* 349 καὶ τοὔργον ἂν σοῦ τοῦτ' ἔφην εἶναι μόνου. *P.* 524 ἀλλ' αἰσχρὰ μέντοι σοῦ γέ μ' ἐνδεέστερον ... φανῆναι. *A.* 515 ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἔστιν εἰς ὅ τι βλέπω | πλὴν σοῦ. *OC* 971, *A.* 1136. But note the weak form when coupled with a noun or another pronoun, and *preceding* καί or ἤ (Apollon. Dysc. *Synt.* 121): *An.* 95 ἔα με καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἐμοῦ δυσβουλίαν | παθεῖν. *P.* 47 μᾶλλον ἂν | ἕλοιτό μ' ἢ τοὺς πάντας Ἀργείους λαβεῖν. *OT* 1478 καί σε ... δαίμων ἄμεινον ἢ 'μὲ φρουρήσας τύχοι (strong form for the second pronoun). Also with τε: *P.* 1314 ἥσθην πατέρα τὸν ἀμὸν εὐλογοῦντά σε | αὐτόν τ' ἔμ' (v.l. τέ μ'). Also weak in the ethic dative: *OC* 845 ποῦ, τέκνον, εἶ μοι; *A.* 1084, *E.* 1473, and further examples in Chapter 6, § 10. So too in plural forms: *OC* 81 ὦ τέκνον, ἦ βέβηκεν ἡμὶν ὁ ξένος; 1038 σὺ δ' ἡμίν, Οἰδίπους, | ἕκηλος αὐτοῦ μίμνε. With prepositions the

situation is not entirely clear, but strong forms seem more frequent (Vendryes, op. cit., § 112): so with πρός we find σέ *T.* 285, 369, *P.* 953, *OC* 257, and ἐμέ *T.* 469 (σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ φράζω κακὸν [πρὸς ἄλλον εἶναι, πρὸς δ' ἔμ' ἀψευδεῖν ἀεί, with antithesis): but *A.* 292 ὁ δ' εἶπε πρός με βαιά. But in the following examples of strong forms, there is no emphasis on the pronoun. *E.* 1360 πῶς ... ξυνών μ' ἔληθες οὐδ' ἔφαινες, ἀλλά με [λόγοις ἀπώλλυς, ἔργ' ἔχων ἥδιστ' ἐμοί; (the stress is not on ἐμοί, but on the contrast λόγοις: ἔργα, 'how could you cast me down with mere *tales*, when you possessed *truths* most sweet to me?'). *OC* 812 με ... ἐμέ. *T.* 1172 κἀδόκουν πράξειν καλῶς· [τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν θανεῖν ἐμέ 'I thought that I would prosper, but the meaning of it was only that I should *die*'. *P.* 299 πάντ' ἐκπορίζει πλὴν τὸ μὴ νοσεῖν ἐμέ 'it provides me with everything, save my *good health*'. And contrarily *P.* 1051 οὐκ ἂν λάβοις μου μᾶλλον οὐδέν' εὐσεβῆ 'you will not find anyone more scrupulous than *me*', with weak form μου.

For the use of enclitic μοι, σοι with possessive genitive function, see Chapter 6, § 8: in Sophocles such dative use is not purely adnominal (the few cases of datives μοι and σοι in variant readings which are next noted could all be dative of interest). But enclitic μου, σου are so used (all non-reflexive): μου, *T.* 1055 ἐκ δὲ χλωρὸν αἷμά μου [πέπωκεν, *E.* 305 τὰς οὔσας τέ μου [καὶ τὰς ἀπούσας ἐλπίδας (μοι v.l.), ib. 638 μου βάξιν, *P.* 933 (s.v.l.), 942, 1385 ὁ λόγος ... μου (μοι L), *OC* 821; σου, *A.* 584 γλῶσσά σου, 1124 id., *OT* 538 τοὔργον ... σου, *P.* 884 τὰ συμβόλαιά σου (σοι L), *OC* 891. Also ἐμοῦ, *T.* 1149 τελευταίαν ἐμοῦ φήμην, *P.* 1282 ἐμοῦ ... τὸν βίον, *OC* 588; σοῦ, *P.* 1066 οὐδὲ σοῦ φωνῆς ἔτι [γενήσομαι προσφθεγκτός (or possibly σοῦ φ. make genitive of the whole and part with πρ.), *OC* 206* τίν' ἂν [σοῦ πατρίδ' ἐκπυθοίμαν;

§ 6. *Reflexive use*

For reflexive use a number of forms are found.

(a) The personal pronouns are used by themselves: in principal clauses there is regularly a contrast, with reference to another person than the self. *OT* 1434 πρὸς σοῦ γάρ, οὐδ' ἐμοῦ, φράσω, ib. 379 Κρέων δέ σοι πῆμ' οὐδέν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς σὺ σοί. *E.* 461 σοί θ' ὑπούργησον τάδε [ἐμοί τ' ἀρωγά 'do this service to aid yourself and me'. *OC* 754 ἄθλιον τοὔνειδος ... ὠνείδισ' ἐς σὲ κἀμὲ καὶ τὸ πᾶν γένος; *E.* 885. *OT* 1355*. Also in subordinate use: with a dependent infinitive, *E.* 471 πικρὰν δοκῶ με πεῖραν τήνδε τολμήσειν 'I think I shall venture that which will prove bitter', also *A.* 607*, *E.* 65, *T.* 706. With an articular infinitive: *E.* 363 τοὐμὲ μὴ λυπεῖν. Within an infinitive clause: *An.* 736 ἄλλῳ γὰρ ἢ 'μοὶ χρή με τῆσδ' ἄρχειν χθονός; 'should I rule this land in the interest of any one other than myself?'.

(b) *The personal pronouns with the addition of αὐτόν etc.* *OC* 1417 μή σέ τ' αὐτὸν καὶ πόλιν διεργάσῃ 'do not ruin both yourself and the city'. *P.* 1315 ἥσθην πατέρα τὸν ἀμὸν εὐλογοῦντά σε | αὐτόν τ' ἐμέ 'I am pleased with your praise of my father and of myself' (indirect reflexive).

(c) Most often the forms ἐμαυτόν etc., σεαυτόν (σαυτ-) etc., are used. *OT* 141 ἐμαυτὸν ὠφελῶ, *OC* 1303 ξυνωμότας ἔστησ' ἐμαυτῷ, etc. *OT* 312 ῥῦσαι σεαυτόν. *E.* 581 ὅρα ... μὴ πῆμα σαυτῇ ... τίθῃς. *P.* 773.

(d) αὐτὸς αὐτόν, or αὑτὸς αὑτόν, or αὑτοσαυτόν etc., is an emphatic reflexive use (Kühner-Gerth 1,571, with Kühner-Blass 1,600 n. 5, Schwyzer 196 f.): cf. Doric αὐταυτόν, αὑτοσαυτόν. The orthography is uncertain: though editors generally prefer αὑτ., L gives αὐτ. almost consistently, while αὑτ. appears in A (but αὐτ. also here at *OT* 138). The one exception is at *OT* 228 with the received reading αὐτὸς καθ' αὑτοῦ (but contrast A. *Pers.* 415 αὐτοὶ δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν MAV: ὑφ' αὑτ. cett.). For similar divergence in Aeschylus, cf. Fraenkel on *Ag.* 836 (he prefers αὑτ-). Further, notice the structure of *OC* 1356 τὸν αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ πατέρα. Here it could be better to write αὑτοσαυτοῦ: the first part, αὑτοσ- is 'bound' in conjunction with -αυτοῦ, since a 'free' form αὐτός could not have taken such a position after the article. It is possible that the form αὑτο-, which must be a secondary development, arose first when αὑτοσαυτόν was re-analysed, and then divided by a preposition, as in αὐτὸς καθ' αὑτοῦ. First person: *OT* 138 ὑπὲρ γὰρ οὐχὶ τῶν ἀπωτέρω φίλων | ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ τοῦτ' ἀποσκεδῶ μύσος (equivalent to αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ) 'I shall dispel this pollution not on behalf of more distant friends, but for my very own sake'. *A.* 1132 τούς γ' αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ πολεμίους '(I refuse the burial of) my very own enemy': the plural has singular reference (to Ajax), like τοὺς θανόντας (1131). It seems mistaken to find a generalising reference in αὐτ. αὑτοῦ here, as if its *third* person use could be simultaneously felt (so Kamerbeek): the other uses of the formula for first or second person here quoted show no such shading. *E.* 285 ἐπικωκύω ... αὐτὴ πρὸς αὑτήν 'I bewail ... to myself'. Second person: *T.* 451 εἰ δ' αὐτὸς αὑτὸν ὧδε παιδεύεις 'if you thus instruct yourself'. *OC* 930 αἰσχύνεις πόλιν | τὴν αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ 'you dishonour your own city'. Ib. 853, 1356. Also in third person use (§ 11).

Sophocles does not use αὑτόν etc. by itself as a reflexive of the first or second person (as e.g. in A. *Ag.* 1141* ἀμφὶ δ' αὑτᾶς θροεῖς νόμον ἄνομον, second person: Schwyzer 197). But αὐτόν has first person reference (emphatic, not reflexive) in *OC* 966 καθ' αὑτόν γ' οὐκ ἂν ἐξεύροις ἐμοὶ ... ὄνειδος οὐδέν 'you could not find any reproach against me, taken by myself' (καθ' αὑτ. adjunct to ἐμοί).

B. *Third Person Pronouns*

§ 7. *Introduction*

The third person stands apart from both first and second. Between first and second there is clear opposition, but the third person refers to someone (or to a thing) outside the basic speech situation involving speaker and hearer (cf. Lyons, 276 f.: Kurylowicz 148). This person, or thing, can be referred to by the appropriate noun, instead of by a pronoun, for proper identification, and such reference is normally necessary at first mention. It is a sign of this special status that there is a lack of Greek third person pronouns in the nominative corresponding to ἐγώ, σύ, ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς: it is only in the oblique cases and especially in enclitic and reflexive use, that there are true (and inherited) third person pronouns. Otherwise we find in use for the third person αὐτός (-όν etc.) and the demonstratives: these in fact may be called true 'pronouns' (ἀντωνυμίαι) in the sense of noun-substitutes. The same name does not apply so strictly to ἐγώ etc. whose reference is immediate and inherent in the situation, without amplification, and which are not replacing a noun.

§ 8. *αὐτός*

αὐτός, stressing 'self' in contrast to others, is used in the nominative for the third person as well as for first and second persons, with stress on identity, or on personal choice of action, solitariness, etc. *A*. 1099 οὐχ αὐτὸς ἐξέπλευσεν ...; 'did he not sail forth of his own accord?' (stress on self-determination). *E*. 421 ... σκῆπτρον οὐφόρει ποτὲ | αὐτός 'the sceptre which he himself used to bear'. *A*. 1283 αὐτὸς Ἕκτορος μόνος μόνου ... ἦλθ' ἐναντίος 'by himself he met Hector, in single combat'. Also in apposition (to be so regarded, rather than as adjectival), to a noun (*OT* 805 αὐτὸς ὁ πρέσβυς), or to a demonstrative pronoun (*T*. 58 ὅδ' αὐτός). Similarly in the oblique cases, if in apposition: *P*. 484 πρὸς αὐτοῦ Ζηνός, *OC* 1650 ἄνακτα αὐτόν, *E*. 1329 ἐν αὐτοῖσιν κακοῖς, *P*. 1022 ἀλγύνομαι τοῦτ' αὐτό, *T*. 287 αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον, *P*. 316 οἷς (s.v.l.) ... αὐτοῖς.

Also (but more rarely) in an oblique case and not in apposition: fr. 85 ὅρα μὴ κρεῖσσον ᾖ | καὶ δυσσεβοῦντα τῶν ἐναντίων κρατεῖν | ἢ δοῦλον αὐτὸν ὄντα τῶν πέλας κλύειν 'consider if it be not better ... than to be a slave oneself, subject to a master's rule'. Cf. Hdt. 5. 85. 3 ἀνακομισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐς Φάληρον 'he got back alone to Phaleron'.

In the instrumental (comitative) dative adjunct to a noun, denoting addition: fr. 958 ἐδέξατο ... Θηβαία κόνις | αὐτοῖσιν ἵπποις 'the dust of Thebes received (him) together with his horses', also *A*. 27 - see Chapter 6

§ 18. Schwyzer 164 f. suggests an earlier form of the phrase in which αὐτός would agree with the subject or object of the sentence (so in fr. 958, an earlier αὐτὸν ἵπποις): it is true that in this idiom the noun in the dative with αὐτός regularly refers to that which is less important, to what is added on (although the usual meaning of αὐτός would rather lead us to expect stress on that noun).

In the genitive αὐτός is coupled with a possessive adjective. *E.* 252 τὸ σὸν σπεύδουσ' ἅμα [καὶ τοὐμὸν αὐτῆς 'promoting your cause and at the same time my very own': in this supporting role αὐτῆς stresses ἐμόν just as if it were adjunct to ἐμοῦ. Also *OT* 416 ἐχθρὸς ὢν [τοῖς σοῖσιν αὐτοῦ 'a foe to your very own kin', ib. 1248 τοῖς οἷσιν αὐτοῦ 'for his own offspring'.

αὐτόν etc. in the oblique cases, when not in apposition, provides the regular third person anaphoric pronoun. *T.* 269 ἔρριψεν ἐκτὸς αὐτόν, 465 τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς τὸν βίον διώλεσεν, *OT* 752 ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσιν ἦν [κῆρυξ, *et saep.*

With the article prefixed αὐτός has the sense of 'same' (ὁ here originally showing its demonstrative use: ὁ αὐτός 'that very one'). *E.* 325 ἐκ πατρὸς ταὐτοῦ. *An.* 1076 ἐν τοῖσιν αὐτοῖς τοῖσδε ... κακοῖς. *P.* 128 τοῦτον τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα.

§ 9. *ὁ ἡ τό*

ὁ ἡ τό, a weakened demonstrative, is used as a third person pronoun in restricted contexts. So principally at the start of a clause, in association with μέν, δέ, γάρ. With μέν: *A.* 804 οἱ μὲν ... οἱ δὲ ... οἱ δὲ .... *OC* 1016 οἱ μὲν ... ἡμεῖς δὲ .... *OT* 715 καὶ τὸν μὲν ... παιδὸς δὲ .... *OC* 702* τὸ μέν .... *An.* 162 τὰ μὲν δὴ πόλεος ... ὑμᾶς δὲ .... With δέ, not necessarily after μέν: ὁ δέ, *E.* 736, *A.* 292, *OT* 1264: ἁ δέ (fem. sing.), *An.* 981*: τὸ δέ, *OC* 1225* (τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ φανῇ, βῆναι κεῖθεν ὅθεν περ ἥκει, πολὺ δεύτερον: probably not hyperbaton of τὸ βῆναι here, but anticipation of βῆναι with pronominal τό, cf. *Od.* 1.370 ἐπεὶ τό γε καλὸν ἀκουέμεν ἐστὶν ἀοιδοῦ, and repeated ib. 9.3 with τόδε for τό γε (Kühner-Gerth 1,659; Chantraine 160)). With δέ and prepositions: *OC* 742 ἐκ δὲ τῶν μάλιστ' ἐγώ, *P.* 1243 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐγώ (τοῖσδ' v.l.). With δ' οὖν, expressing defiance: *A.* 961 οἱ δ' οὖν γελώντων (οἵδ' L) 'let them mock'. *OT* 669 ὁ δ' οὖν ἴτω. With γάρ: *E.* 45 ὁ γάρ, *OT* 1082 τῆς γάρ, ib. 1102* τῷ γάρ, *P.* 154* τὸ γάρ (as object of μαθεῖν).

Also without such particles, almost wholly in lyric, *OC* 1699* ὁπότε γε καὶ τὸν ἐν χεροῖν κατεῖχον 'when I held him in my arms'. Fr. 314.77 τῶν εἴ τις ὀπτήρ ἐστιν 'if anyone is a witness of them', ib. 211 ὅδ' (ὁ δ') οὐ φανεῖται τοῖσιν 'he will not appear because of that'. Notice that these iambic examples are in the satyr-play *Ichneutae*, where special licence may be thought of. Fr. 910, 3 δακρυρροεῖ γοῦν καὶ τὰ καὶ τὰ τυγχάνων 'he weeps

when meeting with both this and that' (i.e. with any fortune) (καὶ τὰ χαρτά edd.): the phrase τὰ καὶ τά has currency both in verse and in prose. Especially with initial pronoun: *OT* 200* τόν ... ὑπὸ σῷ φθίσον κεραυνῷ 'destroy him ...' (hardly relative, in view of the clause τελεῖν ... ἔρχεται which has intervened since the reference to Ares). *OC* 161* τῶν ... εὖ φύλαξαι 'take good heed of that' (awkward as relative, which would give a sequence of three dependent clauses, introduced by ἵνα ... οὗ ... τῶν ...: it is better to make a break in the construction at τῶν). *An.* 1137* τὰν ἐκ πασᾶν τιμᾷς ὑπερτάταν πόλεων 'it (i.e. Thebes) you honour high above all cities' (τάν at the start of a strophe, which marks its independence). On the other hand, in a passage like ib. 606* τὰν οὔθ' ὕπνος αἱρεῖ ... it is hardly possible to decide between demonstrative and relative status.

Adverbial use. *A.* 32 f. τὰ μέν ... τὰ δέ ... (= μέν ... δέ ...); so too *E.* 1271, *T.* 534 f. *P.* 142* τό 'therefore' (rather so than pronominal 'this', as Waern, *Eranos* 1958, 155 ff.). Doubtfully, *OT* 511* τῷ 'id.' (Epic, and only here and A. *Pr.* 237 in Trag.: Pap. Ox. 2180 reads τῶν (relative)).

ὁ δέ can introduce a following noun (Epic use: Chantraine 160 f.). *A.* 780 ὁ δ' εὐθύς ... πέμπει με ... Τεῦκρος, *P.* 371 ὁ δ' εἶπ' Ὀδυσσεύς (both with change of subject). (But distinguish *E.* 137* and *OT* 1171 quoted by Kühner-Gerth 1, 658, and *T.* 650* ἁ δέ οἱ φίλα δάμαρ ... αἰὲν ὤλλυτο as taken by Jebb: in these the article forms part of an adjectival phrase).

Examples of ὁ δέ in apodosis, after a relative clause as protasis, are uncertain (cf. Denniston 178). This is proposed at *P.* 87 οὓς ἂν τῶν λόγων ἀλγῶ κλύων [..., τούσδε καὶ πράσσειν στυγῶ, with τοὺς δέ for τούσδε: also at *T.* 23, 820. It is true that Sophocles employs apodotic δέ after temporal, comparative and conditional protasis (on which see Denniston 179 f.), and the possibility of use after a relative cannot be ruled out. Nor does the objection of Jebb on *P.* 87 (edition of *Phil.* p. 233) that τοὺς δέ would be 'too emphatic', seem to be true: emphasis might be seen with more justification in τούσδε. It is simply the absence of MSS support for τοὺς δέ etc. that slightly tips the balance against these forms.

§ 10. *νιν, σφε, οἱ*

(a) νιν is used as an accusative anaphoric pronoun, in all genders and numbers, and most often referring to persons: the singular and personal use seems to be more original. So equivalent to αὐτόν, *A.* 82, *OT* 855, *P.* 14, 169*, *OT* 248 (κατεύχομαι δὲ τὸν δεδρακότ' ... κακὸν κακῶς νιν ἄμορον ἐκτρῖψαι βίον: νιν redundant, resuming τὸν δεδραχ.: cf. *T.* 289): to αὐτήν, *An.* 432, *T.* 937, *OC* 314: to αὐτό, *T.* 145 (= τὸ νεάζον 'youth'). To plural αὐτούς, *OT* 123, 868* (= νόμους): -άς, *OT* 1331 (= τὰς ὄψεις), *OC* 43,

1123, *An.* 577 (either plural or dual): -ά, *E.* 436 (= κτερίσματα), 624 (= ἔπη). In two passages μιν is read (*T.* 388, = αὐτόν: fr. 152,2, reference obscure), but is changed by general consent to νιν as the preferred tragic form. (Pearson on fr. 152: Schwyzer 1,608; 2,190 f.: Frisk, s.v. μιν).

(b) Forms with the stem σφ- (originally reflexive, like ἕ, οὗ), relate in Greek chiefly to the plural, and are mainly personal. Accusative σφας (= αὐτούς), *An.* 128*, *A.* 839, *OT* 1470; also accusative σφε, *A.* 1389, *OC* 605. Dative σφιν (= αὐτοῖς), *E.* 1070* (σφισιν codd.), *OC* 444, 451. But also singular accusative masculine σφε *An.* 44, 516, *T.* 120*, 804, *P.* 200, *OC* 40 (non-personal, reference to χῶρος 'place'); also feminine *An.* 772, *T.* 463, 878, *P.* 200* (reference to Τροίαν). Dative singular, σφιν *OC* 1490.

(c) οἱ occurs rarely in lyric, equivalent to non-reflexive αὐτῷ. *T.* 650* ἁ δέ οἱ φίλα δάμαρ ... ὤλλυτο 'his dear wife was wasting'. *A.* 906* ἐν γάρ οἱ χθονὶ πηκτὸν τόδ' ἔγχος 'this sword, fixed by him in the ground'. *E.* 195* ὅτε οἱ ... ὡρμάθη πλαγά (σοι codd.).

§ 11. *Reflexive use*

The regular direct reflexive pronoun is αὑτόν (ἑαυτόν) etc. *A.* 1099 οὐχ αὐτὸς ἐξέπλευσεν ὡς αὑτοῦ κρατῶν; 'did he not sail forth of his own accord, as his own master?'. *T.* 881 αὑτὴν διηίστωσε 'put an end to herself'. *OC* 660 ὁ νοῦς ὅταν [αὑτοῦ γένηται 'when the mind becomes its own master (belonging to itself)'. Fr. 871,7 ὅταν περ αὑτῆς εὐπρεπεστάτη φανῇ (sc. σελήνη) 'whenever it has been seen at its fairest'. *An.* 144 καθ' αὑτοῖν 'against each other' (reciprocal reflexive). Also (one example) οὗ: *OT* 1257 μητρῴαν δ' ὅπου [κίχοι διπλῆν ἄρουραν οὗ τε καὶ τέκνων '(seeking) where he could find the mother, bearer of the fruit both of himself and of his children'. (Homeric use is mainly in this direct form. οὗ here is wrongly taken as indirect reflexive by Schwyzer 199: cf. Kühner-Gerth 1,565; 567).

The emphatic reflexive αὐτὸς αὑτόν (or αὐτόν) is used in the third person as well as in first and second (see § 6). *An.* 1177 αὐτὸς πρὸς αὑτοῦ '(he is dead) by his very own hand': *A.* 906. Similarly αὐτὴ πρὸς αὑτῆς *T.* 891, 1132. Ib. 910 αὐτὴ τὸν αὑτῆς δαίμον' ἀνακαλουμένη.

Indirect reflexives (in a dependent clause, referring to the subject of the leading clause): οἱ, σφε, σφίσιν. *OC* 1630 αὐδᾷ μολεῖν οἱ ... Θησέα 'he asked that Theseus should come to him'. *OT* 761 ἐξικέτευσε ... ἀγρούς σφε πέμψαι 'he besought me to send him to the country' (σφε singular). *OC* 59 οἱ δὲ πλησίοι γύαι [... Κολωνὸν εὔχονται σφίσιν [ἀρχηγὸν εἶναι 'the neighbouring fields claim that Colonus is their founder'. Note here the form ἵ: fr. 471 ἡ μὲν ὡς ἵ θάσσονα, [ἡ δ' ὡς ἵ τέτοκε παῖδα (ὡσεί, τέκοι codd.): (sc. 'they

claimed' *vel sim.*) 'one, that *she* had born the faster son, another, that *she* had'. The source is anaphoric, not reflexive (connected with ὁ, and not with ἑ: Schwyzer 1,608; Frisk s.v.).

C. *The Article*

§ 12. *Introduction*

The articular use of ὁ ἡ τό shows a weakening of the pronoun's demonstrative use (§ 9). This developed mainly in the post-Homeric language, and in tragedy the situation is fluid, with uses on the one hand dispensing with the article as in Epic, and on the other hand employing it as in contemporary prose. The role of metrical convenience must also not be forgotten.

Absence of the article (when compared with classical prose use) is thus an archaism, and is freely indulged. It appears to be a little more marked in lyric than in non-lyric passages, to judge from the following partial figures. These relate to use, or to absence of use, of ὁ ἡ τό in articular function in passages from *OT* - (a) non-lyric, 400 lines between 1 and 515: (b) lyric, 200 lines between 151 and 1198. Nouns accompanied by a demonstrative are excluded, and also proper nouns.

non-lyric	(a)	article present 113	article absent 82
lyric	(b)	article present 35	article absent 44

But it should be noted that there is an unavoidable arbitrary element in the judgement of passages with article 'absent'. Further, and more detailed, investigation is desirable. For usage generally in Sophocles, cf. Ellendt 488-501 (and especially 493-6 for absence of use with some common nouns): also Bruhn 48-51 (on some limited cases).

§ 13. *With common nouns, individualising*

With common nouns, and adjectives, *individualising*. The article refers to what has been mentioned already, or is widely known; or else, distinguishes from others by adding a closer definition (provided e.g. by an adjective, or by a relative clause). A demonstrative pronoun 'this, that', could occur in similar contexts, but would be more forceful. It is, however, more usual for the article to be omitted than to be used in these contexts.

Anaphoric. A. 1354 μέμνησ' ὁποίῳ φωτὶ τὴν χάριν δίδως 'remember what sort of man he was to whom you show the favour' (the χάρις has been the subject of discussion). *E.* 375 ... ὃ ταύτην τῶν μακρῶν σχήσει γόων 'that

which will restrain her from her long laments'. *OC* 887 τίς ποθ' ἡ βοή; τί τοὔργον; 'what is the meaning of this cry? What is this matter?'. *An.* 384 ἥδ' ἔστ' ἐκείνη τοὔργον ἡ 'ξειργασμένη (ἐξειρ-v.l.) 'she is the one who did the deed'. Ib. 1178 τοὔπος ὡς ἄρ' ὀρθὸν ἤνυσας, ib. 1190 ἀλλ' ὅστις ἦν ὁ μῦθος αὖθις εἴπατε. *T.* 476 ταύτης ὁ δεινὸς ἵμερός ποθ' Ἡρακλῆ [διῆλθε 'that overpowering love', referring to what has been described (or else of the overmastering form of passion, which is here defined) (cf. Jebb, App. p. 192 on this and other passages with ὁ δεινός). With a repeated noun: *P.* 992 θεοὺς προτείνων τοὺς θεοὺς ψευδεῖς τίθης 'while sheltering behind the gods, you make them false': *OC* 277, 5 (repeated adjective). With an adjective: *E.* 742 ὁ τλήμων, 806 ἡ δύστηνος. With interrogative ποῖος, in reference back to a noun or equivalent: *OT* 120 ('he could only tell one thing') τὸ ποῖον; 'what was that?': *E.* 671, *T.* 78.

Of what is given closer definition. *A.* 312 ἐμοὶ τὰ δείν' ἐπηπείλησ' ἔπη 'those dreadful words': the article makes the description more immediate, the words being vividly in the speaker's memory. With ordinal numerals in a series: *E.* 704 ff. ὁ πέμπτος ... ὁ δ' ὄγδοος (but omitted with ἕκτος, ἕβδομος, ἔνατος). *P.* 237 τίς ἀνέμων ὁ φίλτατος; 'which of winds the very kindliest (brought you)?'. Cf. with this use of the superlative adjective *An.* 100* ἀκτὶς ἀελίου, τὸ κάλλιστον ... φανὲν ... τῶν προτέρων φάος 'o ray of the sun, shining with the very fairest light of all' (cf. Jebb ad loc.). With a relative clause following: *OT* 362 φονέα σε φημὶ τἀνδρὸς οὗ ζητεῖς κυρεῖν 'I declare you are the killer of that man whose killer you are seeking'. Ib. 1048 τὸν βοτῆρ' ὃν ἐννέπει. *T.* 696 τὸ κάταγμα ... ᾧ προὔχριον. *An.* 31 τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντα 'Creon, the good man' (ironical): cf. *OT* 385 Κρέων ὁ πιστός 'Creon the trusty', *P.* 873 Ἀτρεῖδαι ... ἀγαθοὶ στρατηλάται 'the Atreidae, those noble leaders'. Ib. 322 τοῖς πανωλέθροις Ἀτρείδαις. *OT* 1288 δηλοῦν ... [τοῖς πᾶσι Καδμείοισι τὸν πατροκτόνον, [τὸν μητρός 'to reveal to all the people of C. the murderer of his father, the (ravisher) of his mother'. The effect is as if to quote the description as it was spoken. Cf. *A.* 1289 ὁ δοῦλος, οὐκ ... γεγώς (cf. Agamemnon's taunts, 1228 f., 1235, 1260). Cf. the use after verbs of *naming*: *A.* 726 τὸν τοῦ μανέντος κἀπιβουλευτοῦ στρατῷ [ξύναιμον ἀποκαλοῦντες 'calling him the kinsman of the maniac and plotter against the host' (with twofold use of the article): cf. A. *Ag.* 712* κικλήσκουσα Πάριν τὸν αἰνόλεκτρον, E. *Bacch.* 1146 ἀνακαλοῦσα Βάκχιον [τὸν ξυνκύναγον κτλ. (Bruhn § 88).

Of what is familiar, well-known. So often with adjective κλεινός. *E.* 8 Ἥρας ὁ κλεινὸς ναός (cf. also in this passage, in which celebrated places are pointed out, 4 τὸ παλαιὸν Ἄργος, 9 Μυκήνας τὰς πολυχρύσους). Ib. 160* ἁ κλεινὰ γᾶ Μυκηναίων. *OT* 8 ὁ πᾶσι κλεινὸς Οἰδίπους καλούμενος. *T.* 19 ὁ

κλεινὸς Ζηνὸς Ἀλκμήνης τε παῖς. *E.* 300 ὁ κλεινὸς νυμφίος (ironical, of Aegisthus: followed by three further uses of the article, spoken in contempt). *P.* 654 ἦ ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ κλεινὰ τόξ' ἃ νῦν ἔχεις; *OC* 1673 τὸν πολὺν ... πόνον 'that long suffering' (which is well known). Ib. 87 τὰ πόλλ' ἐκεῖνα κακά. *E.* 166* τὸν ἀνήνυτον οἶτον κακῶν. Ib. 564 τὰ πολλὰ πνεύματα (of strong winds customary in that place). *P.* 263 ff. (ὅδ' εἴμ' ἐγώ σοι κεῖνος, ὃν ...,) ὁ τοῦ Ποίαντος παῖς Φιλοκτήτης, ὃν οἱ [δισσοὶ στρατηγοὶ χὠ Κεφαλλήνων ἄναξ [ἔρριψαν ... ὧδ' ἐρῆμον: Philoctetes is revealing his identity, and the liberal use of articles underlines the fame of himself and his story. (Notice the end position of οἱ (263): other examples at *An.* 409, *OC* 351, *E.* 879, all articular. But in Aeschylus only so placed when pronominal (*Ag.* 7, *Sept.* 385, *Eum.* 137). *An.* 402 - the guard, having arrested Antigone, is asked what she was doing - αὕτη τὸν ἄνδρ' ἔθαπτε · πάντ' ἐπίστασαι 'she was burying *him*: that is the whole story' (no need to say more for identification of the corpse). Creon cannot believe this, and the message is repeated (404): ταύτην γ' ἰδὼν θάπτουσαν ὃν σὺ τὸν νεκρὸν [ἀπεῖπας (here τόν with demonstrative force, coupled with the relative). Then further (409) τὸν νέκυν.

§ 14. *With common nouns, generalising*

The article is used with nouns generically, of individuals as a type (in either the singular or plural): and with adjectives and participles, where the use is substantival. *An.* 520 ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ χρηστὸς τῷ κακῷ λαχεῖν ἴσους (sc. ποθεῖ) (ἴσος codd.) 'the good man desires not to take an equal portion with the evil man'. *OC* 279 τὸν εὐσεβῆ βροτῶν ... τοὺς δυσσεβεῖς. *A.* 1350 τόν τοι τύραννον εὐσεβεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον. Ib. 1352 τὸν ἐσθλὸν ἄνδρα. *An.* 438 τοὺς φίλους. *OT* 124 πῶς οὖν ὁ λῃστής ... ἐς τόδ' ἂν τόλμης ἔβη; 'how would the robber have been so bold?': not referring to any particular person and spoken after hearing that more than one robber was involved: Oedipus is thinking generally, and 'the robber' = 'anyone engaged in robbery'. (There is however ironical *double entendre*: ὁ λῃστής can also be taken as individual, 'the particular robber concerned', i.e. Oedipus himself. See Chapter 1, § 1). Fr. 487,3 πάλιν γὰρ αὖθις παῖς ὁ γηράσκων ἀνήρ 'the man (any man) who is aged is again a child'. Fr. 434,1 τῷ κακῶς πράσσοντι. Fr. 409,1 τοῖς κακῶς πράσσουσιν. Fr. 229 τὸν δρῶντα γάρ τι καὶ παθεῖν ὀφείλεται 'the one who does a deed must also suffer'. Fr. 64,1 τοῖς φρονοῦσι σώφρονα. (But also with absence of article. *OT* 873 ὕβρις φυτεύει τύραννον 'insolence breeds the tyrant'. Ib. 614 δίκαιον ἄνδρα ... κακόν 'the just man ... the wicked'. *A.* 160 μεγάλων ... βαιὸς ... μέγας ... μικροτέρων. *E.* 697 ἰσχύων 'the man of

strength'. *OT* 317 φρονοῦντι 'the man with knowledge'. *P.* 668 δόντι 'him who gave (it)' (particular). *OC* 955 θανόντων 'the dead').

Further, generalising non-personal nouns. *A.* 649 ἁλίσκεται χὠ δεινὸς ὅρκος χαὶ περισκελεῖς φρένες (χαὶ *per conj.* for καὶ) 'both the solemn oath and the stubborn will are found weak' (i.e. any one's oath, etc.) *A.* 473 αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἄνδρα τοῦ μακροῦ χρῄζειν βίου 'it is shameful for a man to crave for the long (type of) life' (the addition of the article produces the image of different types of life, from which choice is made, rather than implying that long life is normal (as Kamerbeek). So too *OT* 381 τῷ πολυζήλῳ βίῳ 'the much-admired life' (cf. Kamerbeek ad loc.), ib. 518. *E.* 302 ὁ σὺν γυναιξὶ τὰς μάχας ποιούμενος 'fighting his battles (i.e. any which he fights) with the aid of women'.

With abstract nouns: *E.* 1384 τῆς δυσσεβείας. *An.* 943* τὴν εὐσεβίαν. Fr. 188.1 ἡ δύσκλεια. *A.* 1334 ἡ βία (similarly with βία E. 256), *A.* 1335 τὴν δίκην (also *An.* 538, 1270, *E.* 1042), *An.* 1195 ἀλήθεια (also ib. 1193, *OT* 369, *T.* 398), *A.* 1357 ἀρετή, *OC* 116 ηὐλάβεια (also *E.* 994), *A.* 157* ὁ φθόνος (also *OT* 382). (But also without article εὐσέβεια, *E.* 250*, 968, *OC* 189. δίκη *P.* 1036, T. 347. βία *P.* 601. φθόνος *OC* 1234, etc.).

§ 15. *With proper nouns*

Proper nouns are not normally in need of specification, being specific enough themselves. Names of persons are regularly anarthrous: thus the name of Ajax, *A.* 4, 19, 73, 201, 335, etc.; of Oedipus, *OT* 40, 914, 947, *An.* 2, 167. Tragedy lacks the familiar and popular use of the article with such nouns (cf. Gildersleeve, *Syntax* 2, 229). But the article occurs when attributes are added to the noun (and then properly belongs to the attributes): *A.* 206 ὁ δεινὸς μέγας ὠμοκρατὴς Αἴας 'Ajax the terrible, etc.', ib. 216 ὁ κλεινὸς νύκτερος Αἴας, ib. 1223 τὸν στρατηλάτην Ἀγαμέμνονα. *OT* 8 ὁ πᾶσι κλεινὸς Οἰδίπους. *E.* 80 ἡ δύστηνος Ἠλέκτρα. *An.* 31 τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντα. Notice exceptionally *A.* 101 παῖς ὁ τοῦ Λαερτίου (τοῦ occasioned by the use of ὁ in the phrase?) but ib. 1 ὦ παῖ Λαρτίου, 380* τέκνον Λαρτίου, P. 402* τῷ Λαρτίου.

Names of gods are similarly treated and are usually anarthrous. So Ζεύς: *An.* 304 εἴπερ ἴσχει Ζεὺς ἔτ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ σέβας, *T.* 399 ἴστω μέγας Ζεύς, etc. With attributes the article is usually present: *T.* 275 ὁ τῶν ἁπάντων Ζεὺς πατὴρ Ὀλύμπιος, fr. 684.4 ὁ παγκρατὴς Ζ.: but also *A.* 492 πρός τ' ἐφεστίου Διός. In the genitive, depending on an articular substantive (Gildersleeve 2,232): *P.* 802 τὸν τοῦ Διὸς παῖδα (but contrast ib. 1415). Other divine names with article and attribute: Apollo, *OC* 1091*, *T.* 208*: Athena, *OC* 706*, 1070*: Ares, *OT* 190*, *OC* 1046*: Hades, *A.* 1194*, *T.* 501: Erinys,

E. 489*. There are a few rare cases with the article and the simple noun: *OT* 498* ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὖν Ζεὺς ὅ τ' Ἀπόλλων ξυνετοί, *An.* 519 ὅ γ' Ἅιδης, ib. 777, fr. 298. Also twice ὁ Φοῖβος *E.* 35, *OT* 788 (the name is by origin an epithet, 'the Shining One').

With names of towns the article is usually absent. So for Τροία *A.* 459, *P.* 112, 915, 941, 1341, etc. Exceptionally *P.* 1392 τὴν Τροίαν. Also ib. 113 (but there repeating Τροίαν of 112, so anaphoric). For Θήβη, -αι (without article) *An.* 733, 988, *OC* 919, 1305, 1325, etc. But *OT* 1380 ἔν γε ταῖς Θήβαις, *OC* 616 ταῖσι Θήβαις. With attributes: *E.* 4 τὸ παλαιὸν Ἄργος, 9 Μυκήνας τὰς πολυχρύσους, *P.* 1346 τὴν πολύστονον Τροίαν. Notice *P.* 325 ἵν' αἱ Μυκῆναι γνοῖεν ἡ Σπάρτη θ' ὅτι | χἡ Σκῦρος ἀνδρῶν ἀλκίμων μήτηρ ἔφυ '(may I obtain vengeance from the Atreidae), that their Mycenae and Sparta may learn that my Scyros too is a mother of brave men'. Mycenae and Sparta are famous, and the cities of the Atreidae: Scyros, the birth-place of the speaker, Neoptolemus, is a small island and commonly held to be of little significance. The nuance of the article with Σκῦρος is best rendered by the English possessive adjective, since it conveys a familiar association with some person: so also possibly with Μυκῆναι and Σπάρτη (if not here with the sense of 'the famous'). Ib. 970 μή ποτ' ὤφελον λιπεῖν | τὴν Σκῦρον (spoken by Neoptolemus) 'would that I had never left my Scyros'. This use is further seen, ib. 381 οὐ μή ποτ' ἐς τὴν Σκῦρον ἐκπλεύσῃς ἔχων (spoken to Neoptolemus) 'you will never carry the arms back to your Scyros' (here the tone is scornful): cf. ib. 1060 χαῖρε τὴν Λῆμνον πατῶν (Odysseus to Philoctetes) 'you can pace about your Lemnos and be welcome to it!' (σήν for τήν, Walter followed by Radermacher, but the change is unnecessary). But without the article ib. 1368 καὐτὸς ἐν Σκύρῳ μένων | ἔα κακῶς αὐτοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι κακούς (Philoctetes to Neoptolemus), 'stay yourself in Scyros and leave those villains to their bad end': in this, the only example in the play of Σκῦρος without the article, there is no place for either scorn or affectionate reference and the tone is objective.

§ 16. *With a dependent genitive*

The article can have a genitive noun adjunct to it. In the masculine and feminine use this regularly signifies 'son, daughter of ...': it is not necessary to suppose ellipse of υἱός etc., the genitive itself indicates origin. *An.* 156 Κρέων ὁ Μενοικέως, *P.* 402* τῷ Λαρτίου, *OT* 490 τῷ Πολύβου, *A.* 401* ἁ Διὸς ἀλκίμα θεός, ib. 450 ἡ Διὸς γοργῶπις ... θεά.

Neuter τό, τά with genitive of noun or pronoun. Here the genitive is pertinentive, and the meaning covers a wide range of association. *E.* 1345 καλῶς τὰ κείνων πάντα 'all their fortunes, affairs, are well'. Ib. 1203 εἰ τὸ

τῶνδ' εὔνουν πάρα 'if their attitude is friendly' (εὔνουν predicative, not substantive: note the reply ἀλλ' ἐστὶν εὔνουν): cf. *OT* 785 τὰ κείνοιν 'their behaviour'. *P.* 300 φέρε ... τὸ τῆς νήσου μάθῃς 'let me inform you about the situation on the island'. Ib. 497 ... ἢ τὰ τῶν διακόνων, | ὡς εἰκός, οἶμαι, τοὐμὸν ἐν σμικρῷ μέρει | ποιούμενοι τὸν οἴκαδ' ἤπειγον στόλον 'or else my messengers, as I think is likely, thought little of my concerns and hastened home': it does not seem possible to regard τὰ τῶν διακ. as simply equivalent to οἱ διάκονοι, hence with this text we should suppose a break in the construction (Campbell, Jebb.) (But it might be better to alter to τὸ τῶν διακ with the sense 'as is the way of messengers', and the subject 'they' is then supplied from the context: τὸ τῶν διακ would be a parenthetic apposition, with τό nom.). *OT* 977 ἄνθρωπος ᾧ τὰ τῆς τύχης κρατεῖ 'man, in whose life the influence of chance is supreme' (cf. Thucydides 4.18.3 τὸ τῆς τύχης). *E.* 261 τὰ μητρός 'relations with my mother', ib. 92 τὰ παννυχίδων 'the events of my night vigils'. *OC* 649 θάρσει τὸ τοῦδέ γ' ἀνδρός 'have no fear concerning me' (τό either accus. of respect, or object of the verb).

§ 17. *Further use, with adjectives, and with participles*

The article can introduce an adjective in apposition to a personal pronoun. (Gildersleeve 2,279). *E.* 282 ἐγὼ δ' ... ἡ δύσμορος (v.l. without article), ib. 304 ἐγὼ δ' ... ἡ τάλαινα, *An.* 922 με τὴν δύστηνον. Similarly when the adjective is in apposition to the (unexpressed) subject: *P.* 951 οὐδέν εἰμ' ὁ δύσμορος, ib. 1352, *An.* 919. There is probably a sense of characterisation in the use of the article: 'I, the unfortunate one', etc.: this will be absent from the parallel use without the article, e.g. *T.* 705 οὐκ ἔχω τάλαινα ποῖ γνώμης πέσω, *P.* 311 ἀπόλλυμαι τάλας, *T.* 763 δείλαιος ... κατηύχετο.

The substantival use of article with adjective and participle, referring to persons generically, already has been referred to (§ 14) above: *An.* 520 ὁ χρηστός 'the good man' etc. It need only be added here that the uses can also be particular: e.g. *An.* 1305 τῷ παιδοκτόνῳ 'the killer of your children'. *OC* 1374 ὁ σύναιμος 'your brother'. *T.* 1244 etc. ὁ φυτεύσας 'father'. *E.* 470 etc. ἡ τεκοῦσα, ib. 342 etc. ἡ τίκτουσα 'mother', *OT* 999 etc. οἱ τεκόντες 'parents'.

Notice must now be taken of the parallel use of the neuter article with adjective in singular and plural and with the participle in singular.

(i) With the adjective in the singular the meaning is either concrete (and usually generic), or abstract. So with concrete meaning: *A.* 964 οἱ γὰρ κακοὶ γνώμαισι τἀγαθὸν χεροῖν | ἔχοντες οὐκ ἴσασι 'men of faulty judgement

are not aware of holding what is good in their grasp'. *P.* 476 τοῖσι γενναίοισί τοι [τό τ' αἰσχρὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ τὸ χρηστὸν εὐκλεές 'for noble men what is shameful (or else abstract, 'infamy') is hateful, and what is good, (or 'virtue') is honourable'. *OC* 1127 τὸ εὐσεβές ... τοὐπιεικές (abstract) 'piety ... fairness'. *OC* 1119 πρὸς τὸ λιπαρές 'with eagerness'. With a dependent genitive: *An.* 365* τὸ μηχανόεν τέχνας 'ingenuity in skill', *T.* 398 τὸ πιστὸν τῆς ἀληθείας 'the genuineness of truth (= genuine truth)'. *A.* 743 τὸ κέρδιστον γνώμης 'the most profitable (course) in purpose'. Less often, concrete and specific: *OT* 722 τὸ δεινὸν οὑφοβεῖτο 'the dreadful event which he feared', *E.* 376 φέρ' εἰπὲ δὴ τὸ δεινόν 'come, declare the dreadful fate'.

(ii) With the plural adjective the usual meaning is concrete, and also generic: *An.* 92 τἀμήχανα 'what is impossible, the impossible', *A.* 132 τἀνθρώπεια 'human affairs', *OT* 910* τὰ θεῖα 'divine practices, cults', also *OC* 1537 (or else, 'godliness'), *P.* 452 id. 'the ways, works of heaven'. *P.* 448 τὰ πανοῦργα 'what is bad' (neuter generalising, with reference here above all to 'wicked men'). Specifically, *P.* 24 τἀπίλοιπα τῶν λόγων 'the rest of my speech' (with dependent genitive).

(iii) τό with the neuter participle. *A.* 229* τὸ προσέρπον 'the future', *E.* 40 τὸ δρώμενον 'what is happening', *T.* 144 τὸ νεάζον 'youth, what is young'. Further, with the value of an abstract noun: *P.* 674 τὸ νοσοῦν '(my) sickness', (= τὸ νόσωδες), *T.* 196 τὸ ποθοῦν 'feeling of desire'. This last use was developed in the second half of the fifth century, and in prose of the period specially favoured by Thucydides (2.61.2 τὸ λυποῦν, etc.). Goodwin § 829, Schwyzer 408 f.

Also the participle occurs without the article: *E.* 697 ἰσχύων '(the) man of strength' (general), *OC* 76 ἰδόντι 'any one who sees', *P.* 668 δόντι 'him who gave (it)' (particular), *OC* 955 θανόντων 'the dead'. See Chapter 14 §§ 8 ff. for further details of participial use.

§ 18. *With infinitives*

τό with the infinitive and infinitival clauses. The substantival infinitive was specially favoured by Sophocles who used the form more than any of the other classical dramatists (once in every 106 lines in Sophocles, in 160 lines in Aeschylus, in 269 lines in Euripides, in 238 lines in Aristophanes: cf. P. Burguière, *Histoire de l'infinitif en grec* 118). In contemporary prose it was Thucydides who made most use of it, so that again, as with the participial type τὸ νοσοῦν just studied, there appears a syntactical resemblance between the two authors: but here it is on a more extensive scale. (Schwyzer 368 ff., Goodwin 314 ff.)

Most frequently τό is nominative or accusative (40 times nom., 42 accus., according to F. Birklein, *Entwicklungsgesch. des substant. Infinitivs* 10 ff.). So *An.* 437 τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ κακῶν πεφευγέναι [ἥδιστον 'to have escaped from ills one's self is most pleasant'. *T.* 1228 τὸ ... ἀπιστεῖν τὴν πάρος συγχεῖ χάριν 'to disobey destroys the favour won before'. *P.* 109 εἰ τὸ σωθῆναί γε τὸ ψεῦδος φέρει 'if the falsehood brings deliverance'. Ibid. 620 τὸ σπεύδειν δέ σοι ... παραινῶ 'I advise you to hasten'. *An.* 535, 778, *A.* 555, *E.* 467.

Also in genitive τοῦ (6 times) and dative τῷ (5 times): in Aeschylus these uses twice for each form (*Ag.* 253*, 1369: *PV* 381, 681). *T.* 57 πατρὸς ... ὥραν τοῦ καλῶς πράσσειν δοκεῖν 'regard for his father's being deemed to fare well'. *A.* 476 ἀναθεῖσα τοῦ κατθανεῖν 'moving back from death'. *P.* 197 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὡς οὐ θεῶν του μελέτῃ, [τοῦ μὴ πρότερον τόνδ' ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ [τεῖναι τὰ ... βέλη, [πρὶν ... '(he bears these woes) surely by the intention of one of the gods, to stop him bending his shafts against Troy before ...'. The genitive use can be justified by the sense of prevention inherent in θεῶν του μελέτῃ; at the same time this can be seen as an early example of the final use of τοῦ plus infinitive (see Burguière 134). *T.* 463 εἰ κάρτ' ἐντακείη τῷ φιλεῖν 'if she should be absorbed in loving'.

Other uses of the oblique cases are found governed by prepositions: πρό with genitive *An.* 883 πρὸ τοῦ θανεῖν; εἰς with accusative, *OC* 1368 εἰς τὸ συμπονεῖν, 1537; ἐν with dative *A.* 554 ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν, *OC* 115, 496, 795. (Note that five out of the seven uses with prepositions are in *OC*).

But instances also occur of τό plus infinitive where τοῦ might be expected (Schwyzer 371 f. (7), Goodwin 316 f.). *OT* 1232 λείπει μὲν οὐδ' ἃ πρόσθεν ᾔδεμεν τὸ μὴ οὐ [βαρύστον' εἶναι 'not even what we knew before falls short of being fit for loud lament'. Ib. 1388 οὐκ ἂν ἐσχόμην [τὸ μὴ ἀποκλῇσαι τοὐμὸν ἄθλιον δέμας 'I would not have refrained from setting apart my wretched body'. *P.* 1241 ἔστιν ὅς σε κωλύσει τὸ δρᾶν 'there is one who will stop you from the act'. An ablatival genitive would have been expected with a true nominal complement in all these passages. It is possible to see in such uses an accusative of respect (cf. Chapter 4 § 14), so at *P.* 1241 τὸ δρᾶν 'with respect to the act'; and if, at the period when Sophocles was writing, there was a fully developed range of uses of all the cases τό, τοῦ and τῷ with the infinitive, this would probably be the right course. But in fact such a system was then rather in process of creation. It is therefore better to follow Burguière (*Histoire de l'infinitif en grec* 106-26), and regard τό with infinitive in passages of the sort in question as strictly a morphemic variant of the simple infinitive in which it would be irrelevant to ask what precisely is the case-function of τό. The way to this situation was prepared

by the many passages (with parallel or single examples) where the infinitive appears indifferently either with or without τό. So *P.* 620 τὸ σπεύδειν δέ σοι [... παραινῶ, cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1132 παραινῶ σοι σιωπᾶν. *OC* 442 δυνάμενοι τὸ δρᾶν [οὐκ ἠθέλησαν, but δύναμαι with simple infinitive *passim*. *P.* 118 οὐκ ἂν ἀρνοίμην τὸ δρᾶν, E. *I.A.* 966 οὐκ ἠρνούμεθ' ἂν [τὸ κοινὸν αὔξειν. Fr. 149.9 τοὺς ἐρῶντας αὐτὸς ἵμερος [δρᾶν καὶ τὸ μὴ δρᾶν πολλάκις προσίεται. *E.* 265 λαβεῖν θ' ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τητᾶσθαι πέλει. (But at *OC* 1224 f. μὴ φῦναι ... τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ φανῇ, βῆναι ..., τὸ δέ is better taken as demonstrative: see § 9).

§ 19. *With adverbs*

The article with an adverb adjunct to it may make a phrase equivalent to a substantive. *A.* 1151 τῶν πέλας 'one's neighbours'. *An.* 75 τοῖς κάτω 'those below, the dead', ibid. τῶν ἐνθάδε 'those here, the living'. *T.* 943 τἀνθάδε 'the situation in this place'. *OT* 1267 τἀνθένδε 'that which comes next, the sequel'.

Also, to an adjective. *P.* 1224 ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ. *OT* 1423 τῶν πάρος κακῶν. Ib. 1 Κάδμου τοῦ πάλαι. *OC* 389 τοῖς ἐκεῖ ἀνθρώποις.

Further, retaining adverbial force: *P.* 895 τοὐνθένδε 'next' (in time), *OC* 476 τὸ δ' ἔνθεν 'id.'. Ib. 593 τὰ νῦν, also *E.* 421, 562, etc.: *OC* 133* τὰ δὲ νῦν. *An.* 611* τό τ' ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ πρίν 'during the near and remote future, as in the past'.

§ 20. *With prepositional phrases*

The article is similarly used with prepositional phrases. As a substantive equivalent: *OT* 1430 τοῖς ἐν γένει 'kinsfolk'. *OC* 617 τὰ πρὸς σέ 'relationship with you'. *OT* 130 τὸ πρὸς ποσί 'what lies before one'. *T.* 479 τὸ πρὸς κείνου 'what is in his favour'.

As an adjective: *OC* 567 τῆς ἐς αὔριον ἡμέρας 'to-morrow'. *An.* 1327 τἀν ποσὶν κακά 'the evils at hand'. Ib. 392 ἡ ἐκτὸς καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας χαρά 'the joy that is outside and beyond one's expectation' (the genitive is to be supplied with ἐκτός). *T.* 631. *An.* 95. Cf. the rarer anarthrous use: *OT* 55 (γῆς) ξὺν ἀνδράσιν κάλλιον ἢ κενῆς κρατεῖν 'it is better to rule it (this land) peopled with men than deserted': ξὺν ἀνδράσιν is parallel to κενῆς. *E.* 61 οὐδὲν ῥῆμα σὺν κέρδει κακόν 'no profitable speech is bad'. *OC* 586 ἐν βραχεῖ χάριν 'a favour of small compass'.

Further, as an adverbial phrase. *A.* 1376 τἀπὸ τοῦδε 'henceforth'. *An.* 889 ἁγνοὶ τοὐπὶ τήνδε τὴν κόρην 'undefiled with respect to this maiden'. *P.* 1441 εὐσεβεῖν τὰ πρὸς θεούς 'to be pious towards the gods'. *OT* 706 τό γ' εἰς ἑαυτὸν πᾶν ἐλευθεροῖ στόμα 'he keeps his lips quite free with regard to

himself'. *OC* 1628 τἀπὸ σοῦ βραδύνεται 'there is delay with respect to your influence (i.e. because of you)'. (But *P.* 1441 might be substantival, with the phrase making an internal accusative: also *OC* 1628, with the phrase as subject).

§ 21. *Position of the article*

A few remarks are needed on the position of the article. Where there is more than one attributive adjective with an articular noun, one may come between article and noun, while the other follows without the article. *P.* 392* τὸν μέγαν Πακτωλὸν εὔχρυσον 'Pactolus the mighty, rich in gold'. Ib. 986* τὸ παγκρατὲς σέλας Ἡφαιστότευκτον 'fire all-powerful, wrought by H.'. *OT* 1199* τὰν γαμψώνυχα παρθένον χρησμῳδόν 'the maiden with curved talons, prophetic'. *E.* 133* τὸν ἐμὸν στενάχειν πατέρ' ἄθλιον 'mourn for my unhappy father'. *OC* 675, 1235*.

The adverbial modifier of an adjective may come between article and noun, while the adjective follows. *OT* 1245 τὸν ἤδη Λάϊον πάλαι νεκρόν 'L., now long dead'. *OC* 1514 αἱ πολλὰ βρονταὶ διατελεῖς 'the very frequent thunder'. *E.* 1143. Similarly with a participle and its attribute: *E.* 184* ὁ παρὰ τὸν Ἀχέροντα θεὸς ἀνάσσων 'the god who rules by Acheron'. *P.* 1316 τὰς ἐκ θεῶν τύχας δοθείσας 'the fortunes given by the gods'. *E.* 284.

It is disputed whether an attributive adjective without article can follow an articular noun. *A.* 573 (ὅπως) ... τἀμὰ τεύχη μήτ' ἀγωνάρχαι τινὲς [θήσουσ' Ἀχαιοῖς μήθ' ὁ λυμεὼν ἐμός '(see that) neither any stewards make my arms a prize, nor the man who is my ruin'. Cf. Jebb, Kamerbeek, ad loc.: also Gildersleeve 2.283 f. E. *Hipp.* 683 Ζεύς σ' ὁ γεννήτωρ ἐμός is quoted as parallel: here the article is not essential, and Ζεύς σε γενν is an easy emendation (cf. Barrett ad loc.). Jebb compares passages such as *E.* 133* (supra), but these show the very different feature of another attribute before the noun. However, there seems no need to change the text of *A.* 573. The Homeric parallels offered by Gildersleeve are good enough evidence of the construction possible with a demonstrative use of ὁ: thus *Il.* 1.340 πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηνέος 'in the name of that cruel prince', *Od.* 17.10 τὸν ξεῖνον δύστηνον. So ὁ λυμεὼν ἐμός would be an Epicism, either 'that destroyer of mine', or 'that man, my destroyer' (with ὁ demonstrative as either adjectival or pronominal: for the latter, when not linked with a particle (μέν, δέ, etc.), cf. § 9 supra). It is well-known that ὁ is used in Epic to mark a contrast: so in *Il.* 1.339 f., with an enumeration of gods and men who are invoked, πρός τε θεῶν μακάρων πρός τε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, [καὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηνέος (beginning with the very general reference, ending with the single person chiefly in mind).

Similarly *A*. 572 f., with μήτ' ἀγωνάρχαι τινές (vaguely general), then μήθ' ὁ λυμεὼν ἐμός (= Odysseus, whom he especially hates). (Note that on this explanation *A*. 573 would not be a close parallel for *Hipp*. 683, where contrast is missing and the supposed articular phrase is in apposition.)

Notice should be taken of the order article—noun—anarthrous dependent noun in the genitive (adnominal). Thus *OC* 1721* τὸ τέλος, [ὦ] φίλαι, βίου; further, with an adjective attributive to the *regens*, ib. 596 τὴν παλαιὰν ξυμφορὰν γένους, *T*. 527*; and with an adjective attributive to the genitive, *E*. 955 τὸν αὐτόχειρα πατρῴου φόνου. These uses are uncommon, but none the less permissible as a group in Tragedy: Fraenkel (on *Ag*. 637, arguing there against linking ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν) would prefer to reject the first form (where the adjective is absent), and so would regard the inserted vocative φίλαι at *OC* 1721* as perhaps producing a special situation. Where the genitive is partitive, however, the use is freer: *A*. 682 τοῖς πολλοῖσι γὰρ βροτῶν, *P*. 304 τοῖσι σώφροσιν βροτῶν, *OC* 279 τὸν εὐσεβῆ βροτῶν.

Finally, the article has sometimes to be supplied with the second of two forms, where the first is articular. *E*. 991 τῷ λέγοντι καὶ κλύοντι, ib. 1498. *OC* 606 τἀμὰ κἀκείνων πικρά. *T*. 1068 τοὐμὸν ... ἢ κείνης εἶδος.

D. *Demonstratives*

§ 22. *Introduction*

In general we find the familiar distinction drawn between ὅδε and οὗτος on the one hand, making a closer reference, and (ἐ)κεῖνος on the other, making a remoter; and further, ὅδε is more close than οὗτος. In other words, there is a tripartite system, corresponding to the division of person in the personal pronouns and the verb between 'I', 'thou', 'he': cf. Kurylowicz 148-9. But the pattern is not always maintained. C. W. Bain, *The Demonstrative Pronoun in Sophocles*, Baltimore 1913, has pointed out the influence of metre (seeing especially greater metrical possibilities for ὅδε in the iambic trimeter); and *variatio* may be a further disturbing factor. For example, reference is made in the third person to Ajax (who is absent from the stage) in *A*. 6-80 as follows: (ἐ)κεῖνος 6, 20, 28: ὅδε 39, 77: οὗτος 80, all without any sense distinction. Further, compare, in each case with the same reference, *P*. 841 τοῦδε ... τοῦτον, 1434 τοῦδε ... οὗτος, *OC* 1768 τάδε ... ταῦτα, *E*. 981 τούτω ... τώδε, *P*. 1437 οὗτος ... τόνδε (Kühner-Gerth 1,644 wrongly sees sense distinctions. Cf. also Humbert 30 f.: since ὅδε is said to be more forceful than οὗτος, the order οὗτος ... ὅδε at *E*. 981 would show *gradation ascendante*. But do we then find a descending emphasis in *P*. 841 etc.?).

§ 23. ὅδε

ὅδε refers primarily to what is present or near in place (deictic), or contemporary in time. *P.* 1 ἀκτὴ μὲν ἥδε ... Λήμνου 'this is the coast of Lemnos'. *E.* 4 τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν Ἄργος ... τόδε 'this is ancient Argos' (in a list of places which the *paedagogus* is pointing out: ὅδε also used ib. 7, 10, with αὕτη ib. 6). Ib. 1228 ὁρᾶτ' Ὀρέστην τόνδε 'see Orestes here'. *OC* 1612 τῇδ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ 'on this day'. *A*. 753 κατ' ἦμαρ ... τὸ νῦν τόδε: but *A*. 21 νυκτὸς τῆσδε 'last night', *E*. 644 νυκτὶ τῇδε 'id.'. To herald a new arrival on the stage: *OC* 111 πορεύονται γὰρ οἵδε δή τινες 'here come some men', *T*. 391 ὅδ' ἀνὴρ ... πορεύεται, *OT* 632 ὁρῶ [τήνδ' ἐκ δόμων στείχουσαν Ἰοκάστην, ib. 297, 531, *An*. 155. Of those already present: *OT* 1120 ἦ τόνδε φράζεις; :: τοῦτον, ὅνπερ εἰσορᾷς 'Do you mean this man here?' :: 'Yes, that man whom you are looking at'. (τόνδε deictic, τοῦτον less close, associated with the second person.) *An*. 566-7 τί γὰρ μόνῃ μοι τῆσδ' ἄτερ βιώσιμον; :: ἀλλ' ἥδε μέντοι (μέν σοι codd.) μὴ λέγ'· οὐ γὰρ ἔστ' ἔτι'what life can I live alone, without her here?' :: 'Speak no more of "her here": she no longer lives'. Since Antigone (who is in fact present) is as good as dead in Creon's eyes, he objects to the use of ἥδε to refer to her (no doubt sophistically). Coupled with (ἐ)κεῖνος, in recognition or presentation: *An*. 384 ἥδ' ἔστ' ἐκείνη τοὔργον ἡ 'ξειργασμένη 'here she is, the one who did the deed'. *OC* 138 ὅδ' ἐκεῖνος ἐγώ 'I here am he' (ἐκ. refers to the mention by the previous speaker of one being sought). *P*. 261 ὅδ' εἴμ' ἐγώ σοι κεῖνος, ὅν .... *E*. 665, 1178. See below, § 25, on *OT* 1055. (Also οὗτος for ὅδε in this use, see below.)

Of what follows, referring forward. *OC* 787 οὐκ ἔστι σοι ταῦτ', ἀλλά σοι τάδ' ἔστι '*that* lot (anaphoric) is not for you, but *this* one is ...'. *OT* 279 τόδ' εἰπεῖν, ὅστις εἴργασταί ποτε 'to say this, who is the doer of the deed' (τόδε as antecedent of the ὅστις- clause). *P*. 686 τόδε θαῦμα μ' ἔχει, πῶς ποτε ... οὕτω βιοτὰν κατέσχεν 'I am possessed by wonder about this, how he maintained his life in such case'. Also as antecedent of a relative (and in this function not necessarily preceding the relative). *P*. 199 πρὶν ὅδ' ἐξήκοι χρόνος, ᾧ λέγεται [χρῆναί σφ' ... δαμῆναι 'until the time comes, at which it is said it must be overcome'. *T*. 23 ὅστις ἦν [... ἀταρβὴς τῆς θέας, ὅδ' ἂν λέγοι 'whoever was not fearful at the sight, he may tell'. *An*. 666 ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις στήσειε, τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν 'one should obey whomsoever the city appoints', ib. 464. But ὅδε as the antecedent of a relative may also have its deictic force: *P*. 471 ἐν κακοῖσι τοῖσδ' οἵοις ὁρᾷς ... ἐνναίοντά με 'me, dwelling amid this distress of mine such as you see'. *OT* 383.

But ὅδε can also be anaphoric. *A*. 28 τήνδ' οὖν ἐκείνῳ πᾶς τις αἰτίαν νέμει 'everyone lays on him the blame for this' (i.e. for what has just been

described). Ib. 113 τήνδε δίκην 'this (already described) punishment'. *E.* 421. *An.* 575. (Cf. A. *Ag.* 57 τῶνδε μετοίκων, and Page ad loc.).

There are passages where ὅδε is claimed to refer to what is especially prominent in the speaker's mind; a number of such are given by Kühner-Gert 1.644 (mainly from Sophocles). So *E.* 540 πότερον ἐκείνῳ παῖδες οὐκ ἦσαν διπλοῖ, | οὓς τῆσδε μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἦν θνῄσκειν; 'did not he (Menelaus) have two children, who should properly have died before my daughter?': τῆσδε would be used, although Iphigeneia is dead, because Clytaemnestra dwells especially on her. Rather, τῆσδε shows association with the speaker ('*my* daughter'), contrasted with the children of Menelaus, ἐκεῖνος. Kamerbeek similarly sees stress on what is in the speaker's mind at *OT* 798 τούσδε τοὺς χώρους; here τούσδε is antecedent to οἷς. Of other examples in Kühner-Gerth, there is anaphoric use at *E.* 884, 1192 (in each referring to what has immediately preceded). In *E.* 888 and *A.* 1032 ὅδε is deictic, referring to what is present and before the speaker (the emotion of Chrysothemis: the sword of Ajax). Note the instructive example *Od.* 3.352 οὔ θην δὴ τοῦδ' ἀνδρός, Ὀδυσσῆος, φίλος υἱὸς | νηὸς ἐπ' ἰκριόφιν καταλέξεται 'I will not have the son of Odysseus, of all men, sleeping on a ship's deck'. Here τοῦδ' ἀνδρός provides a build-up, before the name is given: τοῦδε is properly deictic, pointing to the name which follows ('not the son of this man above all, Odysseus'). (A further possible case in *P. Teb.* 692, 17 (? Sophocles, *Inachus*): Page, *Lit. Pap.* 24, 6: Lloyd-Jones, *C.R.* n.s. 15, 1965, 241 f.; but it may be sufficient to see ὅδε here as picking up relative ὅτις.)

In a special Tragic use ὅδε refers to the first person. So pronominally: *T.* 305 τῆσδέ γε ζώσης ἔτι 'while I still live', ib. 1013 ἐπὶ τῷδε νοσοῦντι. *OC* 450 οὔ τι μὴ λάχωσι τοῦδε συμμάχου 'they will not get me as ally'. (? Ib. 1524 ὡς ... ἀλκὴν ὅδε ... τιθῇ 'that I' (or else 'this place') 'may provide defence': it is questioned whether the first person use is possible as subject without a first person verb, as being too obscure. In support E. *Hel.* 1168 is quoted, σε ... Θεοκλύμενος παῖς ὅδε προσεννέπει, πάτερ: but the context is quite different, the person is clearly identified by his name and by παῖς, and ὅδε means 'here', announcing the speaker's presence. But note *T.* 1238 ἀνὴρ ὅδ' ὡς ἔοικεν οὐ νεμεῖν ..., where ἀν. ὅδε with third person verb refers to Hyllus who is thus indirectly addressed, and is directly addressed in the following sentence (with σε). Cf. *P.* 910. It is possible that (ὁ) ἀνὴρ ὅδε takes a third person verb regardless of whether it refers to the speaker, to one addressed, or to a third party). More often the use is adjectival, used with ἀνήρ (with and without the article). *T.* 1256 τελευτὴ τοῦδε τἀνδρὸς ὑστάτη 'my final end'. *P.* 1036 ὀλεῖσθε ... τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε. *OT* 534 φονεὺς ὢν τοῦδε

τἀνδρὸς ἐμφανῶς [λῃστής τ' ἐναργὴς τῆς ἐμῆς τυραννίδος 'being plainly my slayer, and evident thief of my crown' (here followed by ἐμός, cf. *OC* 1329). *An.* 1034 ἀνδρὸς τοῦδε, *P.* 1375, *OC* 649. With σῶμα: *OC* 355 μαντεῖα ... ἃ τοῦδ' ἐχρήσθη σώματος 'the oracles which were uttered about me' (followed by μοι). But ὅδε with ἀνήρ can refer also to another person who is present, *OC* 630, 1428; while *P.* 910, *T.* 1238 (see above) refer to the person addressed, with indignant tone.

In addition, ὅδε is used with meaning close to ἐμός. *E.* 353 τῶνδε γόων, ib. 1133 χεροῖν ταῖνδε, *OT* 811 τῆσδε χειρός.

§ 24. *οὗτος*

In a number of uses οὗτος shows similarity to ὅδε, and it is found coupled with ὅδε without distinction of 'nearness' or 'remoteness', as has been seen above (§ 22). Note further *E.* 274 ταύτην ... τῷδε συγκοιμωμένην 'her (= Clytaemnestra) lying with him (= Aegisthus)'. Ib. 371 εἰ σὺ μὲν μάθοις [τοῖς (i.e. λόγοις) τῆσδε χρῆσθαι, τοῖς δὲ σοῖς αὕτη πάλιν 'if you would learn to profit by her advice, and she by yours' (τῆσδε and αὕτη both refer to Chrysothemis). *T.* 476 ταύτης ... 477 τῆσδε (both refer to Iole).

οὗτος refers to what is present (deictic): *A.* 661 τοῦτο ... δώρημα, of the sword that Ajax holds. *T.* 242 αὗται δὲ ... τοῦ ποτ' εἰσὶ καὶ τίνες; 'these women, to whom do they belong, and who are they?'. *E.* 675 μὴ ταύτης κλύε 'do not listen to her'. Ib. 1474 αὕτη πέλας σοῦ 'she is here, near you'.

οὗτος is also anaphoric: *A.* 119 τούτου ... τἀνδρός, of Ajax who has just left the stage. Ib. 1214* οὗτος, again of Ajax, named in the previous clause. *An.* 296 τοῦτο καὶ πόλεις [πορθεῖ, τόδ' ἄνδρας ἐξανίστησιν δόμων 'this' (i.e. 'money', subject of previous sentence) 'ruins cities, this drives men from their homes'. *OT* 562 ὁ μάντις οὗτος (referred to in 556). *E.* 301 ὁ πάντ' ἄναλκις οὗτος. Also, but less often, introductory to what follows: *P.* 232 ἴσθι τοῦτο πρῶτον, οὕνεκα [Ἕλληνές ἐσμεν 'know this first, that we are Greeks' (followed by τοῦτο γὰρ βούλει μαθεῖν 'for this is what you wish to learn', with τοῦτο anaphoric). *An.* 61 ἐννοεῖν χρὴ τοῦτο μὲν ... ὅτι .... *OT* 584, 1005.

Regularly as antecedent to a relative. *OC* 1357 στολὰς ταύτας φορεῖν, [ἃς νῦν δακρύεις εἰσορῶν 'to wear this dress, at sight of which you now weep'. *T.* 495 ἅ τ' ... δῶρα χρὴ προσαρμόσαι, [καὶ ταῦτ' ἄγῃς 'that you may take the gifts which it is proper to give in return'. *OT* 69, *T.* 419.

To introduce a new arrival (for which ὅδε is more usual). *E.* 1431 οὗτος ἐκ προαστίου χωρεῖ 'here he comes from the suburb' (but Dain after Hermann separates οὗτος from this clause: in any case, the proximity is not so close here as with ὅδε above). Coupled with ἐκεῖνος in recognition:

fr. 314, 96 ταῦτ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖνα τῶν βοῶν τὰ βήματα 'these are the tracks of the cattle' (for which search has been made). *E.* 1115.

The connection with the second person is seen in the vocative use in peremptory or impatient address. Coupled with σύ: *OT* 532 οὗτος σύ, πῶς δεῦρ' ἦλθες; 'you there, what boldness brought you here?' Ib. 1121 οὗτος σύ, πρέσβυ, δεῦρό μοι φώνει βλέπων 'you there, old man, look at me and tell me ...'. Followed by σέ: *A.* 71 οὗτος, σὲ ... προσμολεῖν καλῶ 'Ho there, I call you to approach' (spoken by Athena). Ib. 89 ὦ οὗτος, Αἴαν, δεύτερόν σε προσκαλῶ 'Ho, there, Ajax, I summon you a second time'. Ib. 1047. Without the personal pronoun, *OC* 1627 ὦ οὗτος οὗτος, Οἰδίπους, τί μέλλομεν χωρεῖν; 'Ho there, Oedipus, why are we slow in going?' (spoken by a divine voice). (Cf. Svennung, *Anredeformen* 208 ff.: the tone is often excited and colloquial: also Stevens 102).

Adverbial καὶ ταῦτα linked with an appositional phrase (especially participial). *E.* 614 ἥτις τοιαῦτα τὴν τεκοῦσαν ὕβρισεν, | καὶ ταῦτα τηλικοῦτος 'she who has so abused her mother, and that too at such an age as she is!': the origin will have been as an internal accusative (so here, ταῦτα ὕβρισεν τηλικ. οὖσα), or as object of a verb to be understood (e.g. ἐποίησε). *An.* 322 (οὔκουν τό γ' ἔργον τοῦτο ποιήσας ποτέ 'at any rate (I am) not the doer of the deed') καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπ' ἀργύρῳ γε τὴν ψυχὴν προδούς 'yes you are, and on top of that one that sells himself for money'. *OT* 37.

For τοῦτο, ταῦτα adverbial 'for this reason', see Chapter 4 § 12.

Introductory τοῦτο μέν. *A.* 670 τοῦτο μὲν νιφοστιβεῖς | χειμῶνες ἐκχωροῦσιν εὐκάρπῳ θέρει· | ἐξίσταται δὲ .... τοῦτο is in nominative apposition to the sentence, used as a reinforcement for the particle: the effect is to stress that both *this* and *that* occurred. Also *OC* 440, τοῦτο μέν ... δέ: *An.* 165 τοῦτο μέν ... τοῦτ' αὖθις: *OT* 603 τοῦτο μέν ... τοῦτ' ἄλλο: *P.* 1345 τοῦτο μέν ... εἶτα.

§ 25. *ἐκεῖνος*

(ἐ)κεῖνος refers to what is more distant. So of the past: *OC* 1195 σὺ δ' εἰς ἐκεῖνα, μὴ τὰ νῦν, ἀποσκόπει | ... πήματα 'consider those former distresses, not the present ones'. *T.* 1091 ὑμεῖς δὲ κεῖνοι δὴ καθέσταθ', οἵ ποτε ... 'you are those (arms, etc.) who, of old ...'. It is used in contrast with other pronouns: so with ὅδε, *E.* 784 ἀπήλλαγμαι φόβου | πρὸς τῆσδ' ἐκείνου τε 'I have been freed from fear coming from her and him' (i.e. the supposedly dead Orestes). *An.* 1312. Coupled with ἐγώ: *OT* 714, 1020. With σύ: *P.* 115. With ἡμεῖς: *T.* 1272. With possess. adj. ἐμός: *OC* 606 τἀμὰ κἀκείνων πικρά. It is appropriate for reference to those who are dead: *E.* 269-70 (of Agamemnon, in contrast with Aegisthus), ib. 924-5, *OT* 959, *An.* 170. Rarely, as a straight anaphoric pronoun: *A.* 755.

As already stated, linked with ὅδε and οὗτος in recognition or presentation: An. 384 ἥδ' ἔστ' ἐκείνη, *E*. 1115 τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' ἤδη σαφές (if punctuated after σαφές, but see Jebb ad loc.), ib. 1178, *OC* 138 ὅδ' ἐκεῖνος ἐγώ. The function of ἐκεῖνος in all these cases is to point back to earlier reference or implication.

As antecedent to a relative (but ἐκεῖνος has its full demonstrative force): *OT* 1054 νοεῖς ἐκεῖνον ὅντιν' ἀρτίως [μολεῖν ἐφιέμεσθα; τόνδ' οὗτος λέγει; (v.l. τόν θ') 'have you in mind that man whom we lately summoned to come? is it he that this man speaks of?' The use of τόνδε to refer to the same person must recall the coupling just noticed: the effect is the same as if to ask ἔσθ' ὅδ' ἐκεῖνος;. The reading τόν θ' gives less dramatic sense, '... and the one that this man speaks of'. *E*. 2 νῦν ἐκεῖν' ἔξεστί σοι [παρόντι λεύσσειν, ὧν πρόθυμος ἦσθ' ἀεί 'now you can see before your eyes those sights, which you always desired' (ἐκεῖνα = *illa*, of what is well-known, often referred to). Ib. 278, *OT* 1454.

Referring forward, to a following clause: *P*. 310 ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐδεὶς ... θέλει, [σῶσαί μ' ἐς οἴκους 'but *this* no one is willing to do, to take me safely home'. ἐκεῖνο is more forceful than τόδε would be, making a contrast with forms of help which Philoctetes *has* been offered (food, clothing, etc.) *A*. 94 ἐκεῖνό μοι φράσον, to introduce a following question: as Jebb remarks, ἐκεῖνο points to an abrupt change of subject.

§ 26. *Combination of article and demonstrative*

The article may be used (as in Classical) or omitted (as in Epic: Chantraine 170) with all three demonstratives when used adjectivally. No doubt metre had influence on the choice. More often than not it is omitted. Thus with article: τῆσδε τῆς γῆς *OC* 915, 1287, but more often without it, τῆσδε γῆς *T*. 801, *OT* 54, 210*, 1043, *E*. 71, *P*. 528, 577, 989, *OC* 294, 462, 862, 871; γῆς τῆσδε *OT* 104, 236, 353, 418, 1223, *OC* 1087*. A check of *OT* 1-500 provides examples of adjectival ὅδε and οὗτος (none of ἐκεῖνος) in the following numbers: arthrous, 6; anarthrous, 32.

E. *Indefinite* τις

§ 27. *Use and position*

Indefinite τις is used both as pronoun and as adjective. The following uses call for comment.

τις may be used where the identity of a person is known, but it is preferred not to state it. *T*. 35 τὸν ἄνδρα ... λατρεύοντά τῳ 'my husband, in service to a certain master'. *A*. 1138 τινι = σοι (spoken with menace), similarly

An. 751. But accompanying a name it can have a scornful implication: *P*. 442 Θερσίτης τις ἦν 'there was one Thersites'.

As substitute for the first person, used with the deliberative subjunctive in the third person. *A*. 403* ποῖ τις οὖν φύγῃ; (followed by first person ποῖ ... μενῶ; *OC* 170* (where τις stands for first person plural).

τις also stands individually, for any one of a group of persons: 'any' = 'each and every'. *A*. 417* τοῦτό τις φρονῶν ἴστω 'let any one in his senses know this'. (But ib. 504 τοιαῦτ' ἐρεῖ τις 'thus someone will say'). *A*. 965 οἱ κακοὶ γνώμαισι τἀγαθὸν χεροῖν | ἔχοντες οὐκ ἴσασι, πρίν τις ἐκβάλῃ 'do not know they possess it, until each has lost it'. *E* 717 πάντες ... φείδοντο κέντρων οὐδέν, ὡς ὑπερβάλοι | χνόας τις αὐτῶν 'they all were ûnsparing with their goads, that each of them might overtake the wheelhubs (of his rivals)'. *An*. 28. *OT* 1475 λέγω τι; 'am I right, do I speak sense?'. This use of τι developed in opposition to οὐδέν: thus, οὐδὲν λέγειν 'speak nonsense'. (A difficulty is presented by τί φημι; *OT* 1471 and *T* 865. If τι is interrogative (as generally accepted), the meaning is best taken as 'what do I say it is?' (with reference in each case to a noise which causes speculation). It is also proposed to regard it as equivalent to λέγω τι (which follows *OT* 1471 with an interval of three lines), 'do I speak sense?': so Schwyzer 214, LSJ s.v. τις, III 1 a. The initial position of τί (or τὶ) is not fatal to this view (cf. A. *Ch*. 654 τίς ἔνδον;), and note that φημί is itself enclitic. But can φημί be used for λέγω with the sense required? οὐδέν φημι is not used as equivalent to οὐδὲν λέγω 'I speak nonsense'.) *E*. 305 μέλλων γὰρ αἰεὶ δρᾶν τι 'being always about to take effective action'. Ib. 336. *T*. 160 ὥς τι δράσων 'as one about to perform a deed of note'.

τις combines with adjectives used predicatively, giving a generic instead of a specific sense, and so implying membership of a class (cf. Humbert 26). But the modification of sense is slight. *P*. 519 ὅρα σὺ μὴ ... τις εὐχερὴς παρῇς 'see that you are not an accommodating sort of man'. *A*. 1266 ὡς ταχεῖά τις βροτοῖς | χάρις διαρρεῖ 'in what a swift kind of way gratitude vanishes' (χάρις is a 'swift kind of thing'): I find it hard to accept that τις has strengthening force (as Kamerbeek ad loc.; Kühner-Gerth, 1, 663 'both strengthening and weakening'). *OT* 618 ὅταν ταχύς τις οὐπιβουλεύων ... χωρῇ (if we take τις with the adjective, 'comes in a swift guise'; but it might be linked with οὐπ., 'if one who plots against me comes swiftly' (with the use of τις and ὁ to be noted next). *An*. 365* σοφόν τι τὸ μηχανόεν τέχνας ... ἔχων 'possessing ingenuity in skill which reaches mastery'. Also with attributive adjectives, especially with δεινός: *OC* 1651 δεινοῦ τινος φόβου 'object of terror of a strange kind'; *T*. 46, *P*. 965; and with adjectives of size, βραχύς *OC* 1162, μέγας *OC* 1746*, *P*. 1265.

τις also accompanies an articular noun: this counterbalances the definiteness which the article would otherwise convey (Kühner-Gerth 1, 662-3). *OC* 289 ὅταν δ' ὁ κύριος [παρῇ τις 'when your master is present, whoever he is' (further amplified by ὑμῶν ὅστις ἐστὶν ἡγέμων). *OT* 107 τοὺς αὐτοέντας χειρὶ τιμωρεῖν τινας (v.l. τινα) 'to punish the murderers, whoever they are'. Possibly also *An.* 252 ἄσημος οὑργάτης τις ἦν 'the unknown perpetrator left no tracks' (but here τις can combine with the adjective, 'one who left ...'). Exact parallels seem wanting: but cf. Xen. *Cy.* 6, 1, 1 (προσῆγον οἱ μὲν Καδουσίους, οἱ δὲ ..., ὁ δέ τις Σάκας) which lacks a noun with ὁ δέ, and Isaeus 7.30 ἔσται τις ὁ ἐναγιῶν 'there will be someone who will offer sacrifice' (Radermacher, *Rh.M.* 93, 1950, 165-6). There could be a parallel to this last passage in *OT* 618 (see preceding paragraph).

The position of τις (adjectival, or pronominal with an attribute) is usually following the word or phrase, or part of the phrase, with which it is semantically linked; or else second in its clause (as other enclitics): Schwyzer 213. Cases where it precedes its semantic partner can be explained under the latter head. So *A.* 29 καί μοί τις ὀπτήρ ... (cf. Ar. *Nub.* 37 δάκνει με τις δήμαρχος (v.l. δημ. τις), with Dover ad loc.), *An.* 249 οὔτε του γενῇδος, *P.* 519 μὴ νῦν μέν τις εὐχερής, ib. 1039 εἰ μή τι κέντρον. Also with greater separation from its phrase: *OC* 280 φυγὴν δέ του [μήπω γενέσθαι φωτὸς ἀνοσίου βροτῶν. But τις may come after the second word: *A.* 468 καὶ δρῶν τι χρηστόν, *T.* 898 καὶ ταῦτ' ἔτλη τις χεὶρ γυναικεία, *P.* 104.

F. *Interrogative τίς and ποῖος*

§ 28. *Use and position*

τίς serves as direct interrogative pronoun and adjective. As pronoun: *An.* 521 τίς οἶδεν ...; *OT* 815, ib. 651, *T.* 311, *E.* 921, etc. As adjective: *A.* 282 τίς ἀρχή, *An.* 548, *E.* 558, *OC* 205*, etc. ποῖος is adjectival, and properly has the special meaning 'of what kind?'. So *E.* 266 ποίας ἡμέρας δοκεῖς μ' ἄγειν; 'what kind of days do you think make up my life?'. *OT* 99 ποίῳ καθαρμῷ 'what kind of purification'.

The notion of 'kind' is possibly (but not certainly) present too in cases of repetition of another's words (which may, but need not, be scornful or indignant). *T.* 427 ('there is a difference between a suggestion (δόκησιν) and an established truth') ::ποίαν δόκησιν; 'what suggestion?', equivalent to 'what do you mean by suggestion?' (scorn: Stevens 102, colloquial use). Sophocles has other parallel uses, even if not with the noun in exact repetition, in the light of which it seems rather artificial to claim *T.* 427 as a unique use in Sophocles. *P.* 918 (μὴ στέναζε, πρὶν μάθῃς) ::ποῖον μάθημα;

(said in anger). Elsewhere equally anaphoric, but ποῖος without the noun. *OT* 437 (ἔφυμεν ... γονεῦσι δ', οἵ σ' ἔφυσαν, ἔμφρονες) ::ποίοισι; '*what* parents of mine?': this too is scornful. Oedipus at this stage does not have doubts about his parentage (cf. 774 f.). But *T.* 64 (εἴρηκεν δ' ἐλεύθερον λόγον.) ::ποῖον; δίδαξον, μῆτερ, εἰ διδακτά μοι 'what words? tell me, mother, if it is meet': here the tone is neutral. So too *An.* 42 ποῖόν τι κινδύνευμα; (where the noun takes up the ideas of enterprise just expressed by verbs). *E.* 1349 ποίῳ; (referring back to ὅτῳ : ἀνδρί to be supplied). *A.* 747 ποῖον; (sc. τι). As already stated (§ 13) τὸ ποῖον; (*OT* 120, *E.* 671), τὰ ποῖα; (*T.* 78) raise a question by referring back to a noun or equivalent just spoken: in these passages also there is no special tone.

Elsewhere ποῖος is used as an equivalent of adjectival τίς, without the notion of 'kind' (cf. Funk 155 f. for this equivalence in Hellenistic). *T.* 421 ποίοις ἐν ἀνθρώποισι; 'in the presence of which men (did I say it)?'. *A.* 1006 εἰς ποίους βρότους; *OT* 89 ἔστιν δὲ ποῖον τοὔπος; 'what is the oracle?', ib. 1371 ὄμμασιν ποίοις βλέπων | πατέρα ποτ' ἂν προσεῖδον '(I do not know) with what eyes I could have looked on my father, if I had sight'. *OT* 421 ποῖος Κιθαίρων perhaps = 'what part of Cithaeron?'.

More than one interrogative word (pronoun, adjective or adverb) can be used together independently (Kühner-Gerth 2, 521). The two interrogatives may be linked with different predicates: so *T.* 421 τίς πόθεν μολὼν | σοὶ μαρτυρήσει ...; 'what man, coming from where, will bear witness for you?': τίς with μαρτυρήσει, πόθεν with the secondary predicate μολών. But they can also attach to the same predicate: *An.* 401 ἄγεις δὲ τήνδε τῷ τρόπῳ πόθεν λαβών; 'how, and where, did you arrest her that you bring?': both τῷ τρόπῳ and πόθεν with λαβών. Also *P.* 1090* τοῦ ... πόθεν, *A.* 1185* τίς ... ἐς πότε. Distinguish *E.* 958 ποῖ γὰρ μενεῖς ῥᾴθυμος ἐς τίν' ἐλπίδων | βλέψασ' ἔτ' ὀρθήν; 'in what direction, to what hope that is still intact, have you looked, that you will stay inactive?': here it is best to take both ποῖ and ἐς τίν' ἐλπ. with βλέψασα (*pace* Jebb), so that ποῖ is enlarged and made more explicit by the following phrase, in view of the echo in 995 ποῖ ποτ' ἐμβλέψασα.

τίς and ποῖος are combined with a following demonstrative phrase (usually with ὅδε). *T.* 184 τίν' εἶπας τόνδε λόγον; 'what is this speech which you have spoken?'. *P.* 1204 ποῖον ἐρεῖς τόδ' ἔπος;. This form of expression is the interrogative transform of a statement with a predicative adjective: so, as a statement, προσφιλῆ εἶπας τόνδε λόγον 'welcome is this speech which you have spoken'; as a question, with τίνα in place of προσφιλῆ. Cf. *E.* 388, *A.* 46, *OT* 2; *P.* 441, *OC* 68 (οὗτος). Similarly, τί combined with an articular adjective: *OC* 598 τί γὰρ τὸ μεῖζον ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον νοσεῖς; 'what is

the sorrow greater than of human compass from which you suffer?'. Ib. 1488 (Bruhn § 96).

Interrogatives are commonly initial. On postponed interrogatives cf. G. Thomson, *C.Q.* 33, 1939, 147 ff., with these statistics of frequency of use. An example occurs in Aeschylus once in 326 verses, in Sophocles once in 258, in Euripides once in 143, in Aristophanes once in 106. Thomson argues that the general effect is to reduce the force of the interrogative, a more important item taking its place. But this may be doubted in certain cases, as when the question begins with a repeated word: repetition is frequently initial in other types of sentence. *P.* 111-12 ὅταν τι δρᾷς ἐς κέρδος, οὐκ ὀκνεῖν πρέπει. :: κέρδος δ' ἐμοὶ τί ...;, *OT* 128, *An.* 772. Cf. Moorhouse, *Studies*, 146-7 n. Further, in μέν- and δέ- clauses it is the grammatical structure which requires priority for these particles and the items contrasted by them (*OT* 1233, *T.* 459).

τίς also serves in indirect questions, in place of ὅστις: *P.* 56 ὅταν σ' ἐρωτᾷ τίς τε και πόθεν πάρει, ib. 238 ὅπως εἰδῶ τίς εἶ, etc. See Ch. 22 § 3 below, on indirect questions.

CHAPTER NINE

ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

§ 1. *Substantival use (anarthrous)*

An adjective is regularly made substantival by the article, as has been seen (Ch. 8, §§ 14, 17; also Ch. 1, § 10, on the use of the neuter adjective of persons). Some further examples which are without the article may be added. *A*. 905 τίνος ... ἔπραξε χειρὶ δύσμορος; 'by whose hand did the hapless man do it?' *P*. 83 εἰς ἀναιδὲς ἡμέρας μέρος βραχὺ | δός μοι σεαυτόν 'put yourself in my hands for a small part of the day for a shameless purpose': the alternative, to take ἀναιδές with μέρος as 'a shameless part of the day', gives a forced sense. *OT* 1312 ἐς δεινόν, οὐδ' ἀκουστόν, οὐδ' ἐπόψιμον '(your destiny has plunged) into disaster, into a fate that one cannot bear to hear of, nor look at' (Jebb wrongly, 'to a dread place etc.': the Chorus repeats its words of 1297, ὦ δεινὸν ἰδεῖν πάθος). *P*. 467 ἐξ ἀπόπτου 'from a position out of sight'. Ib. 1081 τῆς τύχης ... τῆς εὖ διδούσης 'Fate dispensing blessing' (εὖ is properly adjectival, neuter of ἐύς (Hom.): Wackernagel 2, 142, Fraenkel on A. *Ag*. 121* τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω). With a dependent genitive adjunct to the neuter: *An*. 1209 ἀθλίας ἄσημα βοῆς 'indistinct, sad cry', *OC* 923 φωτῶν ἀθλίων ἱκτήρια 'suppliant, unhappy men' (both with defining genitive: Ch. 5, § 5). *T*. 347 δίκης ἐς ὀρθόν 'according to the straight rule of honesty'. *An*. 853* ἐπ' ἔσχατον θράσους.

§ 2. *With ellipse of noun*

For uses of a feminine adjective as a cognate accusative (*E*. 1415 παῖσον διπλῆν), and in prepositional phrases (*An*. 994 δι' ὀρθῆς), see Ch. 1, § 9. There are also some familiar elliptical uses, with which a noun is to be supplied. δεξία 'right hand' *P*. 1398, ἀριστέρα 'left hand' ib. 20. ξένη 'foreign land' *OC* 184. In less certain cases ellipse of χρόνος has been claimed (so Campbell). *T*. 80 ἐς τὸν ὕστερον 'for the future' has been much emended, the easiest change being ἐς τό γ' ὕστερον. Support for ellipse of χρόνον is weak at the best: at *E*. 1075* τὸν ἀεὶ πατρὸς ... στενάχουσα it is possible to supply στεναγμόν from the verb (Kaibel after Haupt); *OC* 1584, also with τὸν ἀεί, is apparently corrupt but remedied by reading λελογχότα in 1583. Cases such as ἐν ὀλίγῳ 'for a short time' (Pind. *P*. 8. 92), 'quickly' (Pl. *Ap*. 22b) can of course have the substantival neuter adj.

§ 3. *Patronymic and possessive adjectives, etc.*

An adjective derived especially from a personal noun, and denoting possession, association with, or descent from (patronymic), provides an equivalent of the use of the genitive of that noun: the adj. use is the more ancient (Homeric), but not confined to poetry nor to literature alone (Wackernagel 2, 68 ff., and *Kl. Schr.* 2, 1358 ff.; Longo on *T.* 51). In patronymics: *T.* 1219 τὴν Εὐρυτείαν παρθένον. *A.* 134 Τελαμώνιε παῖ, ib. 801 τοῦ Θεστορείου μάντεως. *E.* 182*, 570, fr. 487. 1. *OT* 267 τῷ Λαβδακείῳ παιδὶ Πολυδώρου τε καὶ [τοῦ πρόσθε Κάδμου τοῦ πάλαι τ' Ἀγήνορος 'for the son of Labdacus and of P. and of C. of old and of ancient A.' (adj. coupled with the following genitives).

Of other relationships (pertinentive-possessive, etc.): *T* 260 πόλιν τὴν Εὐρυτείαν (cf. ib. 1219 above): the next clause starts with τόνδε, referring to Eurytus, as if his name had just been given in the form of a substantive. Ib. 51 τὴν Ἡράκλειον ἔξοδον, 576, 913, 916. *E.* 194* κοίταις πατρῴαις, 1427 μητρῷον λῆμα, 1117 τῶν Ὀρεστείων κακῶν, *OT* 400, 451 φόνον τὸν Λαΐειον 'the murder of L.' (objective relation). In contrast, the genitive may replace the adj. even in a familiar collocation, and so acquire distinction: *OC* 947 Ἄρεος ... πάγον instead of Ἄρειον (Wackernagel 2, 73). Distinguish *OC* 1494* ἐναλίῳ Ποσειδαονίῳ θεῷ 'for the sea-god P.'. Jebb compares Epic βίη Ἡρακληείη, but this is not parallel (Ἡρακλ. pertinentive with βίη in a nominal periphrasis). The adj. Ποσειδ. seems to correspond to a noun in apposition: 'the Poseidonian god' = 'the god Poseidon'. Compare *OT* 1105* ὁ Βακχεῖος θεός (but Βακχ. could be 'of the Bacchants').

An expansion of this use is found, as a poetical extension, in still wider contexts with simple and especially with compound adjj. (Kühner-Gerth 1, 261 f.; Schwyzer 178). Fr. 174 δραπέτιν στέγην 'home of a runaway'. *E.* 699 ὠκύπους ἀγών 'contest for the swiftest runner', cf. *A.* 935*. *An.* 1022 ἀνδροφθόρου αἵματος 'blood of a slain man'. *A.* 55 πολυκέρων φόνον 'slaughter of many horned creatures'. *OC* 1464* κτύπος διόβολος 'sound (of bolt) hurled by Zeus'. Fr. 523. 3 ὀξυπλῆγας γόους 'wailing that accompanies fierce blows'. *T.* 824*, *OT* 26, *OC* 710*.

Possessive adjectives are linked with possessive genitives, since they share the same function: *T.* 485 κείνου τε καὶ σὴν ... κοινὴν χάριν 'for the joint sake of him and of yourself'. *OC* 344 τἀμὰ δυστήνου κακά (δυστ. in apposition to ἐμά). *OT* 1248 τοῖς οἷσιν αὐτοῦ. *E.* 252 τοὐμὸν αὐτῆς.

§ 4. *Enallage*

Where there is a noun phrase, made up of a noun (the *regens*) and another noun in the genitive dependent on it, an attributive adjective may

agree with the *regens* instead of with the dependent genitive which it logically qualifies (*enallage*). See Bruhn 7; V. Bers, *Enallage and Greek Style* (1974). In some examples, but not in all, the two nouns make a composite expression for a single, or unified, referent, and this has been seen as a source of the construction: its effect is to bind the whole phrase into closer unity. Bers (pp. 21-7) finds the origin rather in cases where the adjective is pronominal possessive (as *OC* 344 τἀμὰ δυστήνου κακά, *E.* 1390* τοὐμὸν φρενῶν ὄνειρον). The two types may coincide: *OT* 1032 ποδῶν ἄρθρα ... τὰ σά 'your footjoints, ankles'.

(a) With a pronominal possessive adj. *OT* 1400 τοὐμὸν αἷμα ... πατρός 'my father's blood': the expression has value here in indicating that the blood (of the family) is also 'mine', i.e. that of Oedipus (which is also stressed by the word order). *E.* 785 τοὐμὸν ... ψυχῆς ἄκρατον αἷμα. The earliest examples of enallage are of this type (Hom. *Od.* 14. 197 ἐμὰ κήδεα θυμοῦ: Bers 23 ff.).

(b) With adjj. of family kinship. *A.* 860 ὦ πατρῷον ἑστίας βάθρον. *E.* 1374 πατρῷα ... ἕδη θεῶν. *OC* 297 πατρῷον ἄστυ γῆς (if understood as 'capital of his ancestral land'; or alternatively (and without enallage) 'his father's city in the land' (Jebb): Bers 10 f.). *T.* 817 ὄγκον ... ὀνόματος ... μητρῷον. *An* 862* ἰὼ ματρῷαι λέκτρων ἆται (πατρῷαι v.l.). Notice the feature of solemn invocation in *A.* 860, *An.* 862* (so too *P.* 952 ὦ σχῆμα πέτρας δίπυλον): Bers 58 finds enallage in Sophocles associated more with ceremonial or elevated diction rather than with high passion. *An.* 793* τόδε νεῖκος ἀνδρῶν ξύναιμον 'this quarrel of kinsmen'.

(c) With other adjj. Fr. 841 ἔρωτος δῆγμα παιδικόν 'the sting of love for a young boy' (but possibly not enallage, since παιδικόν may be linked directly with δῆγμα). *A.* 8 κυνὸς Λακαίνης ... εὔρινος βάσις (if εὔρινος is taken as nom.): or again, the adj. may directly qualify βάσις, 'keen-scented tracking'. *E.* 1177 ἦ σὸν τὸ κλεινὸν εἶδος Ἠλέκτρας τόδε; (Ἠλέκτρα v.l.): εἶδος Ἠλ. is not periphrasis for 'Electra', since the context shows that it is her εἶδος which is being discussed. *T.* 964* ξένων γὰρ ἐξόμιλος ἥδε τις βάσις 'here is the approach of alien strangers': a linking of ἐξόμιλος with ξένων could be thought undesirable as bordering on tautology, while, coupled with βάσις, it marks a note of apprehension regarding the approach (Bers 61, following Long).

(d) With other attributes. τοσόσδε: *OT* 532 τοσόνδ' ἔχεις τόλμης πρόσωπον ..; 'have you such great effrontery?' (τόλ. πρόσ. make a unity in which the presence of πρόσωπον adds vividness: it would not be possible to associate τοσόσδε, referring to quantity, with πρόσωπον directly). With participles: *An.* 26 τὸν ἀθλίως θανόντα Πολυνείκους νέκυν. *OT* 1375 ἦ τέκνων ὄψις

... [βλαστοῦσ' ὅπως ἔβλαστε 'the sight of children who were born as they were born'.

Uncertainty arises in some cases where nominal periphrasis may be involved (on which see Ch. 5 § 5). *OT* 869* (accepted by Bruhn, and Bers 18) οὐδέ νιν θνατὰ φύσις ἀνέρων ἔτικτεν: but φύσις can have concrete sense, as at fr. 590. 1 θνητὴν φύσιν 'mankind', so that θνατά would here be its logical attribute. *An.* 879* τόδε λαμπάδος ἱερὸν ὄμμα: λαμπάς = 'the sun'. ἱερόν may substitute for ἱερᾶς; but Bers 16 points out, in connection with (Hom.) *H. Ap.* 371 ἱερὸν μένος Ἠελίοιο, that ἱερός is not applied to the sun in Homer, so that ἱερόν would properly qualify μένος. (Similarly, where ἱερὸν μένος is used with the genitive of a person, e.g. ἱ.μ. Ἀντινόοιο *Od.* 18. 34.) There are two examples of dignified appellation employing κάρα, based on Epic models: *An.* 1 ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα, *OT* 1235 θεῖον Ἰοκάστης κάρα, but here the adjectives are at least as well associated semantically with κάρα.

§ 5. *Verbal Apposition*

Anarthrous adjectives can take the function of an adverbial complement, agreeing with either subject or object of the sentence (Schwyzer 178 f., 618 f; Kühner-Gerth 1, 273 ff.; Chantraine 8 f.). The term 'verbal apposition' used by Schwyzer is perhaps more suitable than to call this a type of predicative adjective. With reference to time: *A.* 217 νύκτερος ... ἀπελωβήθη 'was dishonoured in the night' (cf. with adverb ib. 1056 νύκτωρ ἐπεστράτευσεν 'marched against us in the night'). Ib. 929* τοιά μοι πάννυχα καὶ φαέθοντ' ἀνεστέναζες ... ἐχθοδοπά 'such hostile complaints were you making to me by night and in the brightness of day' (φαέθοντα 'shining' is treated as an adj. of time, coupled with πάννυχα). *T.* 1 λόγος μὲν ἔστ' ἀρχαῖος ἀνθρώπων φανείς 'there is a saying of men, revealed of old' (ἀρχ. with φανείς). Ib. 165 χρόνον προτάξας, ὡς τρίμηνον ἡνίκα [χώρας ἀπείη κἀνιαύσιος βεβώς 'having fixed a time, (saying) that when he was absent from the country for three months and for a year ...': with this text, as in the MSS., τρίμηνον (χρόνον) is expressed differently from ἐνιαύσιος βεβώς (a more regular expression is obtained by reading τρίμηνος, or ἐνιαύσιον). *P.* 600 ὃν ... χρόνιον ἐκβεβληκότες 'whom having cast out long ago'. *A.* 921, *OC* 441, fr. 502. 1.

With reference to place: note that here especially compound adjj. so used may be derived from a prepositional phrase by hypostasis, as ὑπερπόντιος from ὑπὲρ πόντου. *An.* 785* φοιτᾷς ὑπερπόντιος 'you travel across the sea'. *OT* 32 ἑζόμεσθ' ἐφέστιοι 'we sit at the hearth'. Ib. 1411 με ... θαλάσσιον

ἐκρίψατε 'cast me into the sea'. *OC* 118* ἐκτόπιος συθείς 'rushing away'. *An.* 1301, *P.* 1457, *OT* 1340, *OC* 716.

With modal sense: *A.* 229* περίφαντος θανεῖται 'he will die conspicuously'. Ib. 275 λύπῃ πᾶς ἐλήλαται κακῇ 'he is wholly oppressed by bitter grief'. *T.* 927 δρομαία βᾶσα 'going with a run, running'. *An.* 305 ὅρκιος λέγω 'I speak on oath'. Ib. 1215 ἴτ' ἆσσον ὠκεῖς. *P.* 857* ἐκτέταται νύχιος. Fr. 567. 1 ὡς ὁ Σίσυφος πολὺς [ἔνδηλος ἔν σοι πάντα 'how Sisyphus is greatly evident in you in all things' (πολύς modifies the predicate adj. ἔνδηλος). (But at *P.* 335 τοξευτός, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἐκ Φοίβου δαμείς 'shot with an arrow, as men say, laid low by Phoebus', τοξ. and δαμ. are in apposition.) *P.* 808, 1190, *An.* 1175, *A.* 57.

§ 6. *Predicative use (including proleptic)*

True predicative use of the anarthrous adjective is seen in two forms, both as a necessary and as an optional extension of the verbal predicate. With a lexically restricted range of verbs the predication is incomplete without such an extension; with it, we have a composite predicate. In this use either adjective or noun can stand as predicate. This is first seen in the familiar use with intransitives, above all with εἰμί 'be' (e.g. *T.* 258 ὅθ' ἁγνὸς ἦν) and with γίγνομαι (*A.* 550 γένοιο πατρὸς εὐτυχέστερος). Then with transitives, with the adjective in apposition to the object of the active verb. So with verbs of *thinking, calling* (an object so and so). *OT* 610 τοὺς κακοὺς ... χρηστοὺς νομίζειν 'to think bad men good'. *OC* 486 ὥς σφας καλοῦμεν Εὐμενίδας, ib. 939. With τυγχάνω: *OT* 1450 ἐμοῦ ... ζῶντος οἰκητοῦ τυχεῖν 'to have me while living as a dweller in the city'. With factitive verbs, e.g. τίθημι: *P.* 632 ἐχίδνης, ἥ μ' ἔθηκεν ὧδ' ἄπουν 'the snake, which made me thus crippled'. *An.* 673 ἀναστάτους οἴκους τίθησιν 'it makes homes desolate'. Finally, with passive use of such transitives: *OT* 522 κακὸς κεκλήσομαι 'I shall be called base'.

Secondly, an adjective may be added optionally as a secondary predicate to a construction which is semantically and syntactically complete without it. Here two uses are to be distinguished. In the first (the proleptic use) the adjective indicates the end result of the action, which is therefore anticipated. There is again a composite predicate, as in the type just examined. *A.* 240 τὸν δ' ὀρθὸν ἄνω κίονι δήσας 'tying the other upright to a pillar' (ὀρθόν, 'so that it was upright': τόν is here demonstrative). *E.* 18 κινεῖ φθέγματ' ὀρνίθων σαφῆ 'arouses the songs of birds so that they are clearly heard'. *An.* 108* τὸν ... φῶτα ... φυγάδα πρόδρομον ... κινήσασα 'driving the man into headlong flight'. *OC* 919 σε Θῆβαί γ' οὐκ ἐπαίδευσαν κακόν 'Thebes did not make you bad by its training'. *An.* 791* δικαίων ἀδίκους

φρένας παρασπᾷς 'you draw the minds of the just into injustice'. With parallel use of a noun: *A*. 517 μητέρ' ἄλλη μοῖρα τὸν φύσαντά τε [καθεῖλεν Ἅιδου θανασίμους οἰκήτορας 'another form of destiny has brought down my mother and father, so as to be dwellers in Hades'. *An*. 475, *P*. 693*, 819, 1361, *T*. 240, 276.

In the second use the predicative adjective makes an affirmation about a noun (often the object, but not necessarily so); and here the primary predicate remains distinct from this secondary one. Regularly the secondary predicate (i.e. the adjective), which is the more important in significance, is put in a position of special emphasis in the sentence, especially initial: this is not similarly seen with either of the preceding predicative uses, where the adjective forms only one part of a larger predicate. *E*. 397 οὐχ ἐμοὺς τρόπους λέγεις 'the ways of which you speak are not mine': alternatively, this could be οὐχ ἐμοί εἰσι τρόποι οὓς λέγεις. Ib. 1500 ἀλλ' οὐ πατρῴαν τὴν τέχνην ἐκόμπασας 'the skill of which you boasted was not your father's'. Notice in these the linking with the initial negative, which must take precedence: cf. *A*. 1121, 1285. *OC* 753 ἆρ' ἄθλιον τοὔνειδος ... ὠνείδισα ...; 'is not the reproach a heavy one that I made ...?' *A*. 738 βραδεῖαν (ὁδὸν) ἡμᾶς ... ἔπεμψεν 'it was a slow journey that he sent us on'. *An*. 365* σοφόν τι τὸ μηχανόεν τέχνας ... ἔχων 'possessing ingenuity in skill which shows much cunning'. *OC* 647 μέγ' ἂν λέγοις δώρημα τῆς συνουσίας 'great would be the benefit of your presence, of which you speak' (not 'you might call it great', with μέγα λέγειν composite, as in ib. 939 ἄνανδρον λέγων: note Jebb's remark, that it is equivalent to μέγα ἂν εἴη δώρημα ὃ λέγεις. The potentiality is necessarily transferred to the verb of *speaking*, ἂν λέγοις, when this is the only verb in the sentence).

§ 7. *Articular adjective as predicate?*

Some cases are claimed of an articular adjective used as predicate, but they may be explained otherwise. The strongest candidate is the first. *OC* 1200 τῶν σῶν ἀδέρκτων ὀμμάτων τητώμενος 'since your sightless eyes are lacking' (you feel the need of them): the expression is redundant. Note that the meaning is not 'you are being bereft of your eyes, which become sightless': the blinding of Oedipus has taken place long before. Ib. 1089* τὸν εὔαγρον τελειῶσαι λόχον: proleptic according to Jebb, and Campbell ('slightly' so); but Jebb's paraphrase 'to accomplish the successful surprise' (perhaps better 'the ambush with its fair capture') shows the right alternative. *T*. 477 ἡ πολύφθορος χαθῃρέθη ... Οἰχαλία 'O., the seat of ruin, was destroyed' (again with a measure of redundancy). Ib. 1249 τὸ σὸν [θεοῖσι δεικνὺς ἔργον 'bringing *your* influence to the notice of the gods'

(notice the emphatic position of τὸ σόν): but taken as predicative by Campbell, Kamerbeek, J. H. Kells, *Philologus*, Bd. 108, 1964, 72 ff., *C.R.* 1961, 193 (Kells sees predication also in the next two passages). *OT* 572 τὰς ἐμὰς [οὐκ ἄν ποτ' εἶπε Λαΐου διαφθοράς 'he would never have spoken of *my* killing of Laius' (again notice the position of τὰς ἐμάς): in the speaker's intention this is an equivalent of 'said (falsely) that I had killed Laius', but it is an expression with the advantage of ambiguity, since the audience knows that the killing was indeed his. (There is yet another ambiguity: with ἐμάς objective, and Λαΐου subjective, we have the meaning 'the ruin of me by Laius'—Laius set in train a course of events which did not lead to his son's death by exposure (as intended), but did eventually entail his ruin). *OT* 1477 γνοὺς τὴν παροῦσαν τέρψιν, ἥ σ' εἶχεν πάλαι 'knowing the only available joy, the one which possessed you of old' (not 'knowing that it was available').

§ 8. *Plurality of adjectives*

Two or more adjectives occur attributive to the same noun, without connecting particle, especially in lyric. The position of the noun with relation to the adjectives shows variation. With noun following: *An.* 352* οὔρειόν τ' ἀκμῆτα ταῦρον. Ib. 953* ἁλίκτυποι κελαιναὶ νᾶες. Ib. 1197 νηλεὲς κυνοσπάρακτον σῶμα. *OC* 1671* πατρὸς ἔμφυτον ἄλαστον αἷμα. With noun preceding: ib. 1221* μοῖρ' ἀνυμέναιος ἄλυρος ἄχορος. Ib. 711* αὔχημα μέγιστον εὔιππον εὔπωλον εὐθάλασσον 'the greatest boast, rich in horses, in colts, in the sea'. *P.* 227 ἄνδρα δύστηνον, μόνον, [ἔρημον ὧδε κἄφιλον. Or, the noun may intervene: *An.* 349* ἀγραύλου θηρὸς ὀρεσσιβάτα. *P.* 394* τὸν μέγαν Πακτωλὸν εὔχρυσον: note here the placing of the article, which precedes the first attribute only. So too *OT* 1199* τὰν γαμψώνυχα παρθένον χρησμῳδόν. *An.* 881* τὸν δ' ἐμὸν πότμον ἀδάκρυτον οὐδεὶς φίλων στενάζει 'none of my friends laments my unwept lot' (ἀδάκρ. is therefore not necessarily proleptic). *OC* 1235* τό τε κατάμεμπτον ἐπιλέλογχε πύματον ἀκρατὲς ἀπροσόμιλον γῆρας ἄφιλον: πύματον an adverbial complement, the rest attributive. *A.* 1404* ὑψίβατον τρίποδ' ἀμφίπυρον λουτρῶν ὁσίων θέσθ' ἐπίκαιρον 'place the lofty cauldron over the fire, proper for holy ablution' (ἀμφίπυρον predicative, ὑψίβ and ἐπίκ. attributive).

§ 9. *Repetition of adjectives*

The repetition in the same clause of adjectives with polyptoton (as the repetition of other parts of speech) is developed as a stylistic means of acquiring emphasis. This begins with passages in which the adjectives have their normal, individual application. *A.* 1283 αὐτὸς Ἕκτορος μόνος

μόνου ... ἦλθ' ἐναντίος (each man is a single fighter, on his own). Ib. 620* ἄφιλα παρ' ἀφίλοις ἔπεσε ... Ἀτρείδαις (the adjj. represent the two ways of stating the situation—the attitude of the Atreidae, and the result produced). *E.* 742 ὠρθοῦθ' ... ὀρθὸς ἐξ ὀρθῶν δίφρων 'upright, in his upright car'. *OC* 1109 δυσμόρου γε δύσμορα (sc. σκῆπτρα φωτός). In an extended use, where one adjective serves mainly or wholly to support and stress another, redundancy of meaning enters, and the device may 'degenerate into a mannerism' (see Denniston on E. *El.* 337: he contrasts from this point of view S. *E.* 742 and E. *Bacch.* 1073 ὀρθὴ δ' ἐς ὀρθὸν αἰθέρ' ἐστηρίζετο, with redundant ὀρθόν). *A.* 267 κοινὸς ἐν κοινοῖσι λυπεῖσθαι ξυνών 'to share grief in common with friends': Jebb notes the stress on mutual sympathy. Ib. 467 ξυμπεσὼν μόνος μόνοις (of Ajax) 'attacking them (the Trojans) alone': Ajax would be alone, but can this be said of his opponents? Jebb comments that μόνοις means there will be no other *Greeks* present; this sense, of course, is conveyed by μόνος, not μόνοις, so that one must suppose that he regards μόνοις as strictly redundant and as underlining μόνος. Another possibility is, that Ajax would fight them in a series of single combats (thus making the passage a plural version of ib. 1283 μόνος μόνου ... ἐναντίος); but this version makes a less bold image for Ajax to picture to himself. *OT* 479* μέλεος μελέῳ ποδὶ χηρεύων. *An.* 1266* νέος νέῳ ξὺν μόρῳ ... ἔθανες. *T.* 613 φανεῖν θεοῖς [θυτῆρα καινῷ καινὸν ἐν πεπλώματι: but here there is also an underlying ironic sense in καινόν, since Heracles would be a novel kind of sacrificer, as killing himself.

Repetition without polyptoton occurs rarely: fr. 753 βαρὺς βαρὺς ξύνοικος, ὦ ξένοι, βαρύς. *OT* 1330* (if κακά is not substantive). Possibly *Inach.* P. Tebt. 692. 16 πολὺ πολὺ ἰδρίδας (πολύ adverbial); so proposes Carden 82 (for πολυΐδρ.), comparing E. *Alc.* 442* πολὺ δὴ πολὺ δὴ ... ἀρίσταν.

Reference has already been made (Ch. 5 § 10) to a combination of an adjective in the (partitive) genitive dependent on another adjective (Kühner-Gerth 1, 339; Schwyzer 116, 700). So both with superlative adjj. (*P.* 65 ἔσχατ' ἐσχάτων κακά), and with positives used substantivally (*OT* 465* ἄρρητ' ἀρρήτων, *OC* 1238* πρόπαντα κακὰ κακῶν). Another example in *OT* 261 κοινῶν παίδων κοινά, if this means, as I believe, 'children most nearly kin' (see further Ch. 1 § 10, with particular reference to the use of the neuter). Cf. *A.* 267 for repetition of κοινός.

§ 10. *Verbal adjectives*

Verbally derived adjectives exceptionally can be followed by an accusative object (Ch. 4 § 7). *An.* 787* σ' οὔτ' ἀθανάτων φύξιμος οὐδείς 'neither does any of the immortals escape from you'. Fr. 887. 2 adds a

possible example. The force of the adj. approximates to that of a participle, but without indication of aspect and time, so it is specially suitable for timeless or repeated action. Cf. A. *Pr.* 904* (πόλεμος) ἄπορα πόριμος.

Forms in -τος are specially numerous (cf. C. E. Bishop, 'Verbals in -τος in Sophocles', *A.J.P.* 13, 1892, 171 ff., 328 ff., 449 ff.). Though they are often passive in meaning, the distinction between 'active' and 'passive', lexically convenient as it is, is not formally expressed, and either sense, or both, may be present in forms made from transitives; there are also forms made from intransitives. *T.* 520* ἀμφίπλεκτοι 'intertwining'; ib. 1200 ἀστένακτος κἀδάκρυτος 'not mourning nor weeping'; *OT* 969 ἄψαυστος 'not touching'; *OC* 1031 πιστός 'trusting'; *T.* 446 μεμπτός 'blaming'; *An.* 875* αὐτόγνωτος 'self-determining'; *P.* 716* στατόν (ὕδωρ) 'standing'; *OC* 1598 ῥυτός 'flowing'. Ib. 1220* ἰσοτέλεστος is strictly a possessive compound 'having like end': it is equivalent to a nominal compound ἰσοτελής, for which it makes an ornamental variant (Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1443; Schwyzer 503. 4). Cf. fr. 249 ἀμόρφωτον = ἄμορφον, and Pearson ad loc.: to his examples there add frr. 819 ἀμούσωτος, 825 ἀνημέρωτος, 1014 ἀνόστητος. Where nouns depend upon forms in -τος with non-passive sense, the accusative is not found. Occasionally the dative occurs: *T.* 446 εἰ τὠμῷ τ' ἀνδρὶ ... μεμπτός εἰμι 'if I maintain an attitude of blame towards my husband': dative as with μέμφομαι (e.g. ib. 470); the use of μεμπτός εἰμι instead of the simple verb suggests a persistent attitude of reproach. *OC* 1031 ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὅτῳ σὺ πιστὸς ὢν ἔδρας τάδε 'but when you did these deeds, you had trust in some one' (dative as with πείθομαι). *An.* 500 ἐμοὶ τῶν σῶν λόγων [ἀρεστὸν οὐδέν, μηδ' ἀρεσθείη ποτέ 'none of your words is pleasing to me, and I pray may never please me' (the dative alike with the adjective and with the verb ἀρεσθείη). With the genitive *T.* 108* εὔμναστον ἀνδρὸς δεῖμα φέρουσαν ὁδοῦ 'enduring unforgetting fear for her husband on his journeying': the dependence of the two genitive nouns is not certain, but it is at least possible that εὔμναστον ἀνδρός are to be taken together, 'well mindful of her husband' (gen. as with μέμνημαι). The genitive is above all common with negative compounds (for which see Ch. 5 § 31 for discussion and examples).

§ 11. *Verbal adjectives in -τέος*

Verbal adjectives in -τέος express necessity and are used as predicates only and in two constructions, personal and impersonal (with some cases remaining ambiguous): Schwyzer 1, 810 f. The impersonal use was the more favoured in Classical. The following figures show the extent of the two uses:—Aesch. 2 personal and 1 impersonal; Soph. 5 and 18; Eur. 6

and 43; Aristoph. 6 and 46 (cf. C. E. Bishop, *A.J.P.* 20, 1899, 10 f.). Personal: *P.* 993 ἡ δ' ὁδὸς πορευτέα 'the journey must be made'. *OC* 883, 1360. Impersonal: *E.* 1502 σοὶ βαδιστέον πάρος 'you must go first'. Ib. 340 τῶν κρατούντων ἐστὶ πάντ' ἀκουστέα (v.l. -τέον) 'one should obey those in power in all things'. Some examples with -ον may be either personal or not: ib. 1019 μοι ... δραστέον τοὔργον 'I must do the deed'; *OT* 1443 ... ἐκμαθεῖν τί δραστέον. Notice the plural use in *E.* 340 ἀκουστέα (cf. Ch. 1 § 7); so too *An.* 677 f. ἀμυντέ' ἐστὶ τοῖς κοσμουμένοις, | κοὔτοι γυναικὸς οὐδαμῶς ἡσσητέα, *OC* 1426. Bishop (ibid. 130) would see a more comprehensive command, more universality, in this use. *OT* 628 ἀρκτέον γ' ὅμως: it is needlessly disputed whether this should be taken as active 'I must rule' (Jebb), or passive 'one must be ruled' (Kamerbeek). Rather, it comprehends both: 'there must be rule'. The impersonal adj. may take an object, though this is at first in Classical less frequent than absolute use: in Soph. 12 times absolute, against twice (certainly) with accus.; Eur. 19 against 18; Aristoph. 23 against 10; but contrast Xenophon 29 against 63, Plato 175 against 302 (Bishop, ibid. 14). So *A.* 1140 τόνδ' ἐστὶν οὐχὶ θαπτέον 'he must not be buried', ib. 1250 εἰρκτέον τάδ' ἐστίν 'this must be checked' (but to these, ambiguous cases such as *E.* 1019, *OT* 1443 might be added). At *P.* 116 γίγνομαι is linked with the adj. in -τέος (θηρατέα), a unique example: elsewhere either εἶναι is used, or (more often) there is no verbal adjunct. Soph. does not use the accus. for the agent of the action (Kühner-Gerth 1, 448), as is found first in Ar. *Eq.* 72 (cf. E. *Hipp.* 491).

§ 12. *Comparison*

A comparative adjective (or adverb) is followed by a complement, expressed either by the genitive or by a phrase introduced by ἤ, to indicate an object of comparison. The form in the genitive provides a standard of comparison: so *A.* 119 τούτου τἀνδρὸς προνούστερος 'more prudent than he'. With ἤ the original use occurred where a choice is made between two alternatives, where the meaning of ἤ would be 'instead of' rather than 'by the standard of'; and possibly the source was in questions such as ἆρα οὗτος κρείττων ἢ ἐκεῖνος;, βούλῃ τοῦτο ἢ ἐκεῖνο; (cf. Lasso de la Vega 1, 510). But by the Classical period the two uses had become generally interchangeable, except that ἤ was required where a genitive form was inapplicable (for details, Kühner-Gerth 2, 307 ff.). *An.* 314 τοὺς πλείονας | ἀτωμένους ἴδοις ἂν ἢ σεσωσμένους 'you will see more men ruined than preserved'. *OT* 500* ἀνδρῶν ... μάντις πλέον ἢ 'γὼ φέρεται 'a seer among mortals achieves more than I'. Ib. 55 (γῆς) ξὺν ἀνδράσιν κάλλιον ἢ κενῆς κρατεῖν 'it is better to rule the land peopled with men than deserted'

(κενῆς required in the gen. as governed by κρατεῖν). Ib. 1148, *OC* 791, *A.* 124. With an adverb after ἤ: ib. 276 οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἢ πάρος. With a complementary adj.: ib. 1315 βουλήσει ποτὲ | καὶ δειλὸς εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ 'ν ἐμοὶ θρασύς. With a prepositional phrase: *OC* 598 τί γὰρ τὸ μεῖζον ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον νοσεῖς;. With a complementary infin.: *T.* 1237 κρεῖσσον κἀμέ ... θανεῖν | ἢ τοῖσιν ἐχθίστοισι συνναίειν. With an infin. expressing result: *OT* 1293 τὸ γὰρ νόσημα μεῖζον ἢ φέρειν 'the malady is greater than can be borne' (in prose usage, ἢ ὥστε φέρειν). With a suppressed relative clause in comparison: *An.* 504 πόθεν κλέος γ' ἂν εὐκλεέστερον | κατέσχον ἢ τὸν αὐτάδελφον ἐν τάφῳ | τιθεῖσα; (sc. ὃ κατέσχον) 'from what source could I have won more noble fame than (I have won) by giving burial to my own brother?'

§ 13. *Comparison with a positive adjective?*

Comparison without a comparative form is possible at *A.* 966 ἐμοὶ πικρὸς τέθνηκεν ἢ κείνοις γλυκύς, | αὑτῷ δὲ τερπνός 'his death is painful to me instead of joyful to them, but to himself gives satisfaction'. The Scholiast paraphrases with μᾶλλον πικρός, and so too Jebb speaks of omission of μᾶλλον; the latter's parallels have βούλομαι, with which the absence of a comparative is frequent (Kühner-Gerth 2, 303, with verbs expressing a preference). Theoretically a good case can be made out as by Kamerbeek: 'since the essential function of the suffix -τερο- is to mark a contrast (cf. ἀγρότερος, θηλύτερος), it is easy to understand that the positive of two diametrically opposed words contrasted by ἤ can take the place of the "comparative" in -τερος'. See further Kurylowicz 227: ἡδύτερος is 'the sweet one' as against 'the non-sweet one'. This aspect of the comparative is seen where qualities (especially antithetical ones) of the same subject are opposed by the use of two comparative forms (Kühner-Gerth 2, 312 f.: also in Latin and Sanskrit): Hom. *Od.* 1. 164 ... ἐλαφρότεροι πόδας εἶναι | ἢ ἀφνειότεροι '(all would pray) to be swift of foot instead of rich', Pl. *Rep.* 409d σοφώτερος ἢ ἀμαθέστερος δοκεῖ εἶναι 'he seems to be wise rather than ignorant'. Ar. *Ach.* 1078 ἰὼ στρατηγοὶ πλείονες ἢ βελτίονες 'Ho you generals, notable in number but not in quality' (Schwyzer 185 (g) wrongly takes the comparative of the second adj. as due to attraction, mistaking its ancient and IE basis). In πικρός: γλυκύς at *A.* 966 the contrast is in the positives, and is expressed lexically; to add the morphological expression of it, with a comparative suffix, would involve redundancy (so in *Rep.* 409d). It is true that we could do with the support of more parallels. The best is Theogn. 577 ῥῄδιον ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ θεῖναι κακὸν ἢ 'κ κακοῦ ἐσθλόν (ῥήϊον edd.) 'it is easy to make a good man bad compared with making a bad man good'. Examples in *N. T.* are open to Semitic influence (Funk § 245). But in a final analysis

examples with βούλομαι ἤ, δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἤ, λυσιτελεῖ ἤ, show the same feature, since all imply a contrast. Jebb's quotation therefore of passages with βούλομαι (e.g. *Il.* 1. 117 βούλομ' ἐγὼ λαὸν σῶν ἔμμεναι ἢ ἀπολέσθαι) is apposite (though not as illustrating ellipse of μᾶλλον!). See further M. Wittwer, *Glotta* 47, 1969, 54 ff., on the contrastive function of -τερος generally, and ib. 79, 100 on contrast with two comparatives. But he does not take account of contrast with ἤ and two positives. (Alternative ways of treating *A*. 966: ἤ is taken as = 'or', but with inferior sense; or else it is variously emended (e.g. ᾗ).)

§ 14. *Reinforcement of the superlative*

A superlative adjective is strengthened by the addition of εἷς, in agreement with it (Kühner-Gerth 1, 28). *A.* 1340 ἕν' ἄνδρ' ... ἄριστον Ἀργείων 'the very best man of the Argives'. *P.* 1344. Cf. the use of εἷς ἀνήρ to stress a superlative in the same sentence. *T.* 460 οὐχὶ χἀτέρας [πλείστας ἀνὴρ εἷς ... ἔγημε δή; 'did he not marry other women too, the most of any men?', *OT* 1380 κάλλιστ' ἀνὴρ εἷς ἔν γε ταῖς Θήβαις τραφείς (κάλλ. advb.) 'having the very noblest birth of all in Thebes'.

Strengthening also is produced by a second superlative (advbl.). *OC* 743 πλεῖστον κάκιστος, *P.* 631 πλεῖστον ἐχθίστης (cf. Thesleff § 108).

§ 15. *Elative use of comparative forms*

The use of comparative and superlative to indicate a heightened, more intensive, degree, but without direct comparison, is well known. In the comparative it is seen with adverbs: so θᾶσσον in peremptory order. *OC* 824 χώρει ... ἔξω θᾶσσον, ib. 839, *OT* 430. *An.* 1215 ἴτ' ἆσσον ὠκεῖς. (Probably not in adjectival form at *OT* 247 εἷς ὢν ... εἴτε πλειόνων μέτα 'being on his own, or else with a number': here there is blending of the notions 'he was with others' and 'there were more (than one)'.) More especially in the superlative: *A.* 1381 ἄριστ' Ὀδυσσεῦ, *OT* 1433 ἄριστος ἐλθὼν πρὸς κάκιστον ἄνδρ' ἐμέ. *E.* 758, *An.* 984. Also adverbial: πλεῖστα 'very often' *An.* 476, μάλιστα 'very much' ib. 89 *et saep.* But examples such as ὅσον τάχιστα *An.* 1103, ὅπως τ. *OT.* 1410, ὡς τ. *E.* 1487, ὅτι τ. *OT* 1340*, imply more closely a sense of comparison.

§ 16. *Adverbial form in place of case-form, and as predicate*

Two adverbial uses may be noted here. By an ancient use forms in -θεν made from noun-stems provided an equivalent of an ablatival genitive of the noun, indicating the source, and even of a true genitive: Schwyzer 171 f., Chantraine 1, 242 f. Most commonly this occurs in a few favoured

forms with strong local sense; so οἴκοθεν 'from home' *A*. 1052. But note from a personal noun θεόθεν in *An*. 584* οἷς γὰρ ἂν σεισθῇ θεόθεν δόμος 'those whose house is shaken by action of the gods' (the gods as the source, cf. *Od*. 16. 447 θεόθεν δ' οὐκ ἔστ' ἀλέασθαι 'one cannot avoid (death) coming from the gods'). Also ματρόθεν, *OC* 527* ἦ ματρόθεν ... λέκτρ' ἐπλήσω; 'did you have your mother as partner of your bed?' (lit. 'filled your bed with a mother': for the gen. with verbs of *filling*, cf. Ch. 5 § 20).

An adverb is rarely found acting as a predicate, in place of an adjective. *P*. 26 τοὔργον οὐ μακρὰν λέγεις 'not distant is the task you speak of'. *T*. 962* ἀγχοῦ ... κοὐ μακρὰν προὔκλαιον 'near, not distant, is that which I was lamenting in advance'. *E*. 1191. These may be explained as having ellipse of the participle ὄν.

CHAPTER TEN

VOICE

§ 1. *Formal criteria in middle and passive*

The familiar threefold scheme of voices in Greek—active, middle and passive—arose out of an earlier twofold division. The generally accepted view is that IE had no passive but only active and middle, from the latter of which the passive was developed: so E. Wistrand, *Über das Passivum* (1941); H. Hartmann, *Das Passiv* (1954); F. Parker, *Language* 52, 1976, 449 ff. This process could arise either from an intrans. middle (e.g. λούεται 'washes himself', if given passive sense 'is washed'), or from a transitive one with an object which could equally well be taken as a subject (i.e. if neuter, and so without distinction between nom. and accus.: τὸ ἔγχος φυλάττεται 'he guards against the sword', or 'the sword is guarded against'; so Parker, loc. cit.). Against the general view, but hardly convincingly, it has been argued that it was rather the middle which was derived from the passive (A. Margulies, *K.Z.* 58, 1931, 113 ff.; J. Kurylowicz, *The Inflexional Categories of IE*, 72 ff.). Formally the links between middle and passive are close, with only the aorist tenses showing normally separate forms (aor. mid. -(σ)άμην, pass. -(θ)ην), and even these forms not being entirely restricted to the voice-function indicated. So some aorists in -(θ)ην are used by Soph. with middle sense: the use is ancient (Homeric), but also in line with a tendency which increasingly ousted forms with -άμην in the development of Greek (Schwyzer 1, 756 ff.; Wackernagel 1, 139; Fraenkel on A. *Ag*. 1498). Such are *A*. 294 ἐσσύθη, 425* δέρχθη (cf. fr. 837, 2 δερχθέντες), 910* αἱμάχθης, 967 ἠράσθη, 1117 στραφείην, 1184 μεληθείς. *An*. 500 ἀρεσθείη, 1235 χολωθείς, ἐπενταθείς. *T*. 999* καταδερχθῆναι. *OC* 20 προὐστάλης, 636 σεβισθείς (cf. fr. 164 ἐσέφθην). Fr. 314, 329 δυσφορηθῇς. Note that futures in -σομαι are passive in sense as well as middle: so passive in *An*. 210 τιμήσεται, 637 ἀξιώσεται (*per emend.*), 726 διδαξόμεσθα, *OT* 672 στυγήσεται, *OC* 581 δηλώσεται, 1186 λέξεται, *E*. 230 κεκλήσεται, *P*. 48 φυλάξεται, 303 ξενώσεται. In forms with loss of -σ-: *OT* 272 φθερεῖσθαι, 1500 ὀνειδιεῖσθε, *An*. 93 ἐχθαρῇ, 230 ἀλγυνῇ, *A*. 1155 πημανούμενος. It is true that in most of these futures a durative sense appears (e.g. *An*. 210 ὅστις εὔνους τῇδε τῇ πόλει, θανὼν | καὶ ζῶν ὁμοίως ἐξ ἐμοῦ τιμήσεται), though absent in a few (e.g. *OC* 581, 1186); but it cannot be upheld that there is special association of such function with the forms. The fut. passive in -(θ)ήσομαι

is a relatively late development: exx. at *A*. 1019, *E*. 1210, *T*. 1218. (Cf. Schwyzer 265 f.; Wackernagel 1, 200 ff.).

§ 2. *Active and middle forms: overlapping of function*

There is also overlapping of function between active and middle forms, with the active sometimes used where middle would be expected, and more particularly the middle used with little or no apparent distinction from the active. It should be borne in mind that metrical convenience is a factor to be taken into account (e.g. -μενος, -η, -ον in prest. participle middle often makes a useful iambic line terminator). Verbs with the meaning 'gain, achieve, carry off (a prize)' can use either act. or mid. forms (mid. stressing the sense of 'gain for one's self'). So act. with φέρω: *OC* 6 σμικρὸν μὲν ἐξαιτοῦντα, τοῦ σμικροῦ δ' ἔτι | μεῖον φέροντα 'seeking for little, and obtaining still less than that little'. *An*. 464 κέρδος φέρει. *OT* 590, 764. *E*. 692 ἐνεγκὼν ... τἀπινίκια. Also mid.: *E*. 969 εὐσέβειαν ... οἴσει 'win name for piety'. *P*. 117 δύο φέρει δωρήματα 'you win two prizes'. *An*. 638. With κομίζω: act., *OC* 1411 ἔπαινος ὃν κομίζετον: mid., *OT* 580 πάντ' ἐμοῦ κομίζεται. With αἴρω: act., *P*. 708*: mid., *OC* 460. With ἐπισπάω: act., *A*. 769 ἐπισπάσειν κλέος (cf. A. *Pers*. 477), but regularly middle elsewhere. With εὑρίσκω: act., *T*. 284 ἄζηλον εὑροῦσαι βίον: mid., *A*. 1023.

Other examples of active forms used where middle would usually stand: ἅζω 'revere' *OC* 134* (elsewhere always middle). ἀμύνω 'requite' *P*. 602 ἔργ' ἀμύνουσιν κακά. ἀπονοσφίζω 'reject from one's self' *OT* 480*. ἐντέλλω 'order' fr. 269 (ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐντέλλομαι, Schol.). μηχανῶ 'plan, contrive' *A*. 1037.

§ 3. *Use of the middle voice*

The middle voice underlines the participation or interest of the subject in the action or state described, or its effect on him. Chantraine 175 refers to Benveniste, 'le sujet est senti comme le lieu du procès'. It may be called the subjective voice (so Bechert, *Kratylos* 10, 162-74). See further Stahl 49 ff.; J. Gonda, *Lingua* 9, 30-67, 175-93; Schwyzer 228 ff.; Humbert 73 ff.; Chantraine 175 ff.

The interest of the subject arises in a wide category of uses. *A*. 63 εἰς δόμους κομίζεται 'takes to his home'; *P*. 376 εἰ τἀμὰ ... ὅπλ' ἀφαιρήσοιτό με: the taker's personal interest is indicated. Compare the exx. of middle uses of verbs of *gaining* given above, and the metaphorical use as in *T*. 462 οὔπω τις αὐτῶν ἐκ γ'ἐμοῦ λόγον κακὸν | ἠνέγκατο (here of what one receives for disadvantage). *P*. 1325 ταῦτα ... γράφου φρενῶν ἔσω (of writing it for one's benefit), *T*. 1167. *E*. 993, -4 σῴζομαι 'maintain' (the use of caution, for

one's benefit). *An.* 713 ἐκσῴζομαι (of trees, preserving their twigs). *OC* 1376 ἀνακαλοῦμαι 'invoke' (curses, to fight on one's side); ib. 1385 καλοῦμαι: the curses are Oedipus' own, doing his work (cf. *T.* 910 τὸν αὑτῆς δαίμον' ἀνακαλουμένη). But followed (1389 ff.) by active καλῶ (*ter*), where the powers invoked are external (Tartarus, Eumenides, Ares) and not similarly subservient. *OT* 287 πράσσομαι 'do for one's self' (*hapax*): cf. ἐκπράσσομαι *A.* 45. *OT* 1021 παῖδά μ' ὠνομάζετο 'called me his own son'. Ib. 1143 ὡς ἐμαυτῷ θρέμμα θρεψαίμην 'rear a foster-child'. *P.* 944 φήνασθαι 'show' (one's bow to the Argives): apparently middle as gaining credit for one's self (or, to show as one's own). *OC* 477 χοὰς χέασθαι (of one's own offerings). *An.* 362* ἐπάξεται 'summon to one's help'. *A.* 825 αἰτήσομαι 'pray to, for aid'. Ib. 181* ἐτείσατο 'took vengeance for'. Ib. 32 σημαίνομαι 'make clear (his tracks) to myself'.

Reflexive use shows personal involvement in a special form. Intransitive, of movement: ὁρμᾶται *A.* 197* (εἰσ- *T.* 913, ἐξ- ib. 929); ἐσσύθη *A.* 294; ἑζόμενον ib. 249*. Figuratively, στρέφομαι '(turn towards), care about'. ἁβρύνεται *OC* 1339 'give one's self airs'. διακονεῖσθαι *P.* 287 'serve one's self'. Transitive use, with an external object: *An.* 356* φθέγμα ... ἐδιδάξατο 'taught himself speech' (but elsewhere the mid. form = 'get someone taught'). *A.* 43 ἐν ὑμῖν χεῖρα χραίνεσθαι φόνῳ 'to stain his hands in your blood'. *An.* 1093 ἐξ ὅτου λευκὴν ... ἀμφιβάλλομαι τρίχα 'since I have worn my hair white (since it has been white)'.

Another class indicates emotion and feeling; thought; perception. αἰσχύνομαι *An.* 540; ἐπαιδοῦμαι ib. 510; ὀδύρομαι *A.* 383; φοβοῦμαι *P.* 1250; ὀργίζομαι *OT* 339; τέρπομαι *P.* 460; νοοῦμαι *OT* 1487; ἐννοοῦμαι *P.* 1440; αἰσθάνομαι *A.* 1318. ὁρῶμαι and ὁρῶ are found equally: so in middle *A.* 351* ἴδεσθε, *An.* 594 ὁρῶμαι, *P.* 1113* ἰδοίμαν, ib. 351 εἰδόμην (following the active form: ὅπως ἴδοιμ' ἄθαπτον· οὐ γὰρ εἰδόμην); and middle in compound forms, ἐσ-, εἰσ- *E.* 1059*, *T.* 909; προσ- *OC* 244; κατ- *E.* 892. σκοποῖτο *OT* 964 (cf. *T.* 296).

Verbs of bodily activity (Schwyzer 228): regularly ἕπομαι *OC* 736, οἴχομαι *T.* 733, κεῖμαι ib. 939. *An.* 527 δάκρυ' εἰβομένη. 'Beget' and 'bear': *A.* 1172 ἐγείνατο 'begat', *E.* 261 id. 'bore'. *OC* 618 τεκνοῦται (fig.). *T.* 834* τέκετο (fig.).

An effect which is dynamic (Chantraine) or intensifying (Kamerbeek) appears in some middle uses, stressing the participation of the subject (cf. Stahl 57 f.). With verbs expressing noise: βρυχῶμαι *A.* 322 (of a bull), *T.* 805; κνυζοῦμαι *OC* 1571*; μινύρομαι ib. 671*. *A.* 1376 ἀγγέλλομαι 'proclaim' (of one's free will: usually so with ἐπ-), *OT* 148 ἐξ- 'promise, offer'. *T.* 378 διόμνυμαι 'swear' (but active ib. 255). *A.* 772 αὐδῶμαι. Of

emotion: *T.* 103* ποθοῦμαι (ποθουμένᾳ φρενί: ἅπ. λεγ. in middle), ib. 153 κλαίομαι, ib. 937 γοῶμαι.

Finally, I add here a collection of middle forms (not exhaustive; some already quoted) whose use shows little or no difference from that of the corresponding actives. *A.* 351* ἴδεσθε (cf. *T.* 306, 1003; *E.* 977; *P.* 351, 1113*; with εἰσ- *T.* 151, 909; *E.* 1059*; with καθ- *E.* 892; with προσ- *OC* 244*). *A.* 1310 ὑπερπονουμένῳ. *T.* 21 ἐκλύεται, 103* ποθουμένᾳ, 339 ἐφίστασαι, 378 διώμνυτο, 474 κρύφομαι, 681 προὐδιδάξατο, 1216 πρόσνειμαι. *OT* 580 κομίζεται, 685 προνοουμένῳ, 1487 νοούμενος. *E.* 349 τιμωρουμένης, 969 οἴσει, 1133 ἀνασώσασθαι. *P.* 130 αὐδωμένου, 697* κηκιομέναν. Fr. 314, 275 σχολάζεται, 503, 3 θαμίζεται, 941, 16 συντέμνεται.

§ 4. *Some passive uses*

As has been indicated, formal distinction between middle and passive is generally uncertain, and we must rely on syntactic and semantic criteria. There remain cases where either middle or passive interpretation is possible. *A.* 139 πεφόβημαι: 'I am in a state of fear', or 'I am terrified'. Ib. 549 αὐτὸν ... δεῖ πωλοδαμνεῖν κἀξομοιοῦσθαι φύσιν: if ἐξομ. is taken as passive, αὐτόν must be its subject after being object of πωλοδαμνεῖν; the awkwardness would be removed by making ἐξομ. middle. *An.* 677 τοῖς κοσμουμένοις: 'regulations' (pass.), or 'rulers' (mid.). *P.* 1153 ἐρύκεται: 'is guarded' (pass.), or 'guards against you' (mid.).

Verbs which are intransitive in the active (and, if then taking an 'object', requiring the genitive or dative), occur rarely in the passive, the 'object' now being the subject. *OC* 1098 τὰς κόρας γὰρ εἰσορῶ | ... ὧδε προσπολουμένας 'the maidens ... so escorted': προσπολῶ elsewhere active 'be an attendant' (with dat., E. *Tr.* 264 τύμβῳ προσπολεῖν). *OT* 998 ἡ Κόρινθος ἐξ ἐμοῦ πάλαι | μακρὰν ἀπῳκεῖτο: passive form of τῆς Κορίνθου ἀπῴκουν 'I dwelt at a distance from Corinth'. *A.* 164 ὑπὸ τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν θορυβῇ 'a clamour is raised against you ...'. Distinguish *An.* 500 ὡς ἐμοὶ τῶν σῶν λόγων | ἀρεστὸν οὐδέν, μηδ' ἀρεσθείη ποτε '... nor may it ever please me'. For dative with active, cf. *An.* 211 σοὶ ταῦτ' ἀρέσκει. There is also use with accus. object, *A.* 584 οὐ γάρ μ' ἀρέσκει γλῶσσά σου, and so the passive sense of ἀρέσκομαι in Attic is 'be pleased' (so in present and imperfect): if ἀρεσθείη is kept in *An.* 500 (as supported by unanimity of codd.) we must look for a parallel to middle use in Herodotus (so Hdt. 9, 79, 2 τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκεται 'those who approve this').

Impersonal use of the passive is found both with finite forms of the verb (3rd. pers. sing.), and with infinite forms (mostly participial/adjectival). It is sometimes difficult to decide between impersonal and personal status.

The use dates from 500 B.C. c. (Schwyzer 239 f.; Stahl 68 f.; Kühner-Gerth 1, 125, n. 2). With verbs of *saying*: *P*. 199* (χρόνος) ᾧ λέγεται χρῆναί σφ' ... δαμῆναι. *An*. 725 εἴρηται. *OT* 292 θανεῖν ἐλέχθη πρός τινων ὁδοιπόρων (or could be personal: in either case the subject to be supplied, of θανεῖν or of ἐλέχθη, is not in the immediate context). Further, infin. ἐκκεκηρῦχθαι at *An*. 27 and 203; part. ib. 447 ᾔδησθα κηρυχθέντα μὴ πράσσειν τάδε (ᾔδησθα *per emend.*, ᾔδεις τά codd.). More widely, ib. 576 δεδογμέν' ... τήνδε κατθανεῖν. *OC* 661 κείνοις ... εἰ δείν' ἐπερρώσθη λέγειν 'if courage has come to them to say ...'. Ib. 1628 τἀπὸ σοῦ βραδύνεται 'there is delay on your part' (τἀπὸ σοῦ taken as adverbial). *P*. 1421 (and *E*. 1173) τοῦτ' ὀφείλεται παθεῖν (if τοῦτο is not subject). *P*. 1401 ἅλις ... τεθρήνηται. *E*. 1070* τὰ μὲν ἐκ δόμων νοσεῖται (s.v.l.): τὰ ἐκ δόμων best adverbial, as is ib. 1071* τὰ πρός τέκνων.

Note also the adjectival forms in -τέον, -τέα, expressing necessity. *OC* 1426 ἡμῖν δ' οὐχὶ συγχωρητέα. *An*. 677 ἀμυντέ' ἐστί, 678 ἡσσητέα, 1106 δυσμαχητέον. *OT* 408 ἐξισωτέον (τὸ ... ἀντιλέξαι being epexegetic, or governed by ἐξισ.), 628 ἀρκτέον. Also in -τός, of possibility: *OC* 495 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐχ ὁδωτά 'I cannot go'.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE TENSES

§ 1. *Introduction*

The tenses are the exponents of two systems of description of actions and events, relating to time of occurrence and to aspect: when the tenses are used in the indicative, these two functions are expressed simultaneously, but in non-indicative use the aspectual function predominates and time-indication is only very rarely present (except in the future tense, where it is universal).

The time of occurrence of the action etc. is a notion familiar in our own language, and is expressed under the three heads of past, present and future. It is either absolute (i.e. having reference to the time of utterance) or relative (having reference to the time expressed by another verb).

Aspect represents the manner in which the action etc. is envisaged as occurring by the speaker. This 'way of looking at the action' is itself basically temporal, showing not *when*, but *how* the action occurs in relation to time. Three aspects are presented. (a) Perfective: seen in the perfect, pluperfect, future perfect. This aspect has reference to a state which results from a preceding, and completed, action. (b) Durative (imperfective, linear): seen in the present and imperfect. There is stress on continuance or development of the action, which is viewed in its extent. (c) Aoristic (confective, punctual): seen in the aorist. Much difficulty has been encountered in defining its scope: it may best be defined negatively, as not showing the special features of the other two aspects. So the aorist refers to a completed, past action, without regard to its duration or continuing result. It may show the negative of duration in a punctual sense, either inceptive (referring to the start of an action) or terminative (referring to its finish). A past action so described may have occupied a long period of time; the issue of duration in such cases is not of interest to the subject, or to the author (complexive use, of the type ἐβασίλευσε τριάκοντα ἔτη). Such use, showing the action pure and simple, represents the unmarked, neutral term of the present: aorist opposition. Also probably neutral is the gnomic aorist.

The future tense stands apart, being indifferent with regard to the aspectual oppositions of the other tenses.

To view the structure of the aspects as a whole, there is the closest opposition between durative and aoristic; then both of these are seen opposed to the perfective.

Schwyzer 246 ff.; Chantraine 183 ff.; Humbert 133 ff.; Ruipérez and Adrados *passim*; Ruijgh 227 ff.

A. *Tenses in the indicative*

§ 2. *Present: of present time, or timeless*

Used of a particular action or state belonging to the present time. Duration may exist, but it can also be neutralised so that the present indicative takes an aoristic aspect. Non-durative: *An.* 443 καὶ φημὶ δρᾶσαι κοὐκ ἀπαρνοῦμαι τὸ μή. *E.* 317 καὶ δή σ' ἐρωτῶ, τοῦ κασιγνήτου τί φῄς; Durative: *An.* 508 σὺ τοῦτο μούνη τῶνδε Καδμείων ὁρᾷς. *A.* 291 νῦν γε πᾶς εὕδει στρατός. Ib. 503 ('see her') οἵας λατρείας ἀνθ' ὅσου ζήλου τρέφει. A durative present verb is joined with an adverb referring to past time, used of an action which has been and still is proceeding: *A.* 20 ἰχνεύω πάλαι 'I have long been tracking him'; *OT* 450, *P.* 589.

Also of what is true over an extended period, or at all times. *OT* 596 νῦν πᾶσι χαίρω, νῦν με πᾶς ἀσπάζεται (Creon, describing his way of life). Ib. 733 Φωκὶς μὲν ἡ γῆ κλῄζεται, σχιστὴ δ' ὁδὸς [ἐς ταὐτὸ ... ἄγει. *T.* 752 ἀκτή τις ... Εὐβοίας ἄκρον [Κήναιον ἔστιν. Of repeated actions: *E.* 280 (on the anniversary of that day) ταύτῃ χοροὺς ἵστησι καὶ μηλοσφαγεῖ. In a general sense, of actions of the gods which are typical of them: such use is really timeless (as in the gnomic use following), and explained by Ruipérez 165 as arising in the neutral use of present (and also in the aorist). *T.* 497* μέγα τι σθένος ἁ Κύπρις ἐκφέρεται νίκας ἀεί. *An.* 782* Ἔρως, ὃς ἐν κτήμασι πίπτεις, ὃς ... ἐννυχεύεις, φοιτᾷς δ' .... Of general truths: *T.* 1173 τοῖς θανοῦσι μόχθος οὐ προσγίγνεται. *An.* 297 τοῦτο (i.e. money) καὶ πόλεις [πορθεῖ, τόδ' ἄνδρας ἐξανίστησιν δόμων (followed by two more presents, but the whole preceded and followed by gnomic aorists ἔβλαστε (296), ἔδειξεν (300). *P.* 447 οὐδέν πω κακόν γ' ἀπώλετο, [ἀλλ' εὖ περιστέλλουσιν αὐτὰ δαίμονες 'nothing evil has ever passed away, but the gods take good care of such'. See further below (§ 17) on the gnomic aorist, for possible distinction of aspect in gnomic use. In the examples here there is plainly punctual sense in ἔβλαστε (*An.* 296 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν οἷον ἄργυρος [κακὸν νόμισμ' ἔβλαστε 'nothing has gained evil currency among men like money') and ἀπώλετο (both negatived), contrasted with the durative sense of the presents. *An.* 326, 493, *P.* 437, *OT* 296, *A.* 1252.

Conative, of attempted action (the absence of termination in the action is stressed): this meaning is more common in the imperfect (Kühner-

Gerth 1, 140; Ruipérez 110). *E.* 350 ἐμοῦ δὲ πατρὶ πάντα τιμωρουμένης [οὔτε ξυνέρδεις τήν τε δρῶσαν ἐκτρέπεις '... you do not assist me, but you try to divert the one who is taking action'. Fr. 932. 1 ὅρκοισι γάρ τοι καὶ γυνὴ φεύγει πικρὰν [ὠδῖνα παίδων 'a woman seeks to escape the pain of child-birth with the support of oaths'. *P.* 1341 δίδωσ' ἑκὼν [κτείνειν ἑαυτόν 'he offers his life as forfeit'. *OC* 867 ἐξοίχει 'you seek to go': cf. ib. 894 οἴχεται.

§ 3. *Present: of past time - introduction*

The present tense referring to the past has been classed under three different uses (differing, that is, at the descriptive level). (1) Historical present—supposedly expressive use, of dramatic and vivid description (Schwyzer 271; Ruipérez 147). (2) Ditto—inexpressive use (annalistic, *praesens tabulare*), with plain narration of past events (Schwyzer 272; Ruipérez 148). (3) *Praesens pro perfecto*, where the reference is to a past action with emphasis on its still persisting effect or interest (Schwyzer 274; Ruipérez 46). Difficulty is sometimes experienced in distinguishing between them, and especially between uses (2) and (3): thus Ruipérez quotes ἥκω (148: E. *Ba.* 1 ἥκω Διὸς παῖς τήνδε Θηβαίων χθόνα) and πέμπω (148: X. *An.* 1, 1-4 μεταπέμπεται ... ἀποπέμπει; also 149, πέμπω is said to be regularly of the inexpressive type) as examples of (2), but Schwyzer 274 quotes both verbs as typical of use (3). So far as Sophoclean usage goes, we can probably dispense with use (2): it is in any event more suitable for bald record of events in historians, or on inscriptions, than in drama, and I find that alleged examples of this use in the plays can be dealt with under use (3).

§ 4. *Praesens pro perfecto*

The use of *praesens pro perfecto* is generally found in verbs belonging to certain marked groups, among which are prominent those of *saying*, *hearing* (examples in Bruhn 58 f.), *learning*, *informing*; *giving birth to*, *being born*; *sending*; and some verbs of motion. What these have in common is the continuance of the effect of the action after its performance. *OT* 437 τίς δέ μ' ἐκφύει βροτῶν; 'who is my father?'. This syntagm appears in a past form in the imperfect ἔτικτον: so *OC* 982 ἔτικτε γάρ μ' ἔτικτεν. We can therefore rule out an historic interpretation of *OT* 437 ἐκφύει (but it is so taken by Schwyzer 272, who misses the continuing effect). *T.* 347 ἁνὴρ ὅδ' οὐδὲν ὧν ἔλεξεν ἀρτίως [φωνεῖ δίκης ἐς ὀρθόν 'in what he said just now, he says nothing in conformity with honesty': φωνεῖ present, as indicating the present judgement about what was spoken (contrasted with aorist ἔλεξεν). *P.* 1290 ὦ φίλτατ' εἰπών, εἰ λέγεις ἐτήτυμα. *E.* 347 ἥτις λέγεις μὲν ἀρτίως ὡς

.... *T.* 103* πυνθάνομαι ... (cf. Bruhn 58 on such use of verbs of *hearing*). *OT* 305 εἰ καὶ μὴ κλύεις 'if indeed you have not heard'. Ib. 118 θνῄσκουσι 'they are dead'. *An.* 1174 τίς φονεύει; 'who is the killer?'. *A.* 1128 ἐκσῴζει με 'is my deliverer'. *E.* 406 με πέμπει 'has sent me'; cf. too in the imperfect ἔπεμπον (*infra*), used when the mission is still not accomplished. *E.* 57 τοὐμὸν ὡς ἔρρει δέμας [φλογιστόν '(we shall report) that my body has perished, consumed by fire'. *T.* 754 ἀκτή τις ... [... ἔστιν, ἔνθα πατρῴῳ Διὶ [βωμοὺς ὁρίζει τεμενίαν τε φυλλάδα (the original dedication in ὁρίζει belongs to the past, but the effect remains). Ib. 21 ὁ κλεινὸς ἦλθε Ζηνὸς Ἀλκμήνης τε παῖς, [ὅς ... [ἐκλύεταί με. *An.* 54 λωβᾶται βίον (of Iocasta's suicide).

§ 5. *Historical present*

The historical present, first found in early historians, was also especially favoured in tragedy. Schwyzer 271 f.; Wackernagel 1, 163 ff.; Ruipérez 147 ff.; K. von Fritz, *Word* 5, 1949, 186 ff.; H. Koller, *Mus. Helv.* 8, 1951, 63 ff.; S. Lilja, *On the style of the earliest Greek prose*: (1968) 101 ff.; P. Kiparsky, 'Tense and mood in IE syntax', *Foundations of Language* 4, 1968, 30 ff. The use is also seen in modern Greek: H. Seiler, *L'aspect et le temps dans le verbe neo-grec* (1952) 97.

The tense most often replaces a narrative aorist, but in some examples stands for an imperfect (though durative use is denied by some: cf. Ruipérez 150). True use in subordinates is rare; apparent cases, in temporal clauses with verbs of *seeing* etc., are probably to be explained otherwise (see below). It is also rare with negatives (I have not noted a case in Soph.): this agrees with the 'vivid' interpretation, since a non-existent action could rarely be regarded in such a light. The 'vivid' theory has ancient support: 'Longinus' *de sublim.* 25 explains that, by representing past events as present, οὐ διήγησιν ἔτι τὸν λόγον ἀλλ' ἐναγώνιον πρᾶγμα ποιήσεις 'you express not narrative but something vividly real'. Let us first see whether Sophoclean usage bears this out: I begin with examination of passages of ῥῆσις, where the tense is much in evidence.

E. 709-56 presents the account of Orestes' supposed accident, with the following tenses: aor. ἔπηλαν (710), then four more aorists - impf. φορεῖτο (715), followed by five more such (the graphic 'eye-witness use') - plupf. ἕστασαν (723), serving to introduce the first mishap, which is expressed by prest. φέρουσιν (725), συμπαίουσι (727) - impf. ἔθραυε, ἀνέπιπτε, ἐπίμπλατο (729) - prest. παρασπᾷ, ἀνοκωχεύει (732) - impf. ἤλαυνε (734), ὁρᾷ (736), in subordinate), διώκει (738) - impf. ἠλαυνέτην (739), ὠρθοῦτο (742) - prest.

λανθάνει (744) - aor. ἔθραυσε (745), ὤλισθε (746) - prest. ἑλίσσεται (746) - aor. διεσπάρησαν (748) - prest. ὁρᾷ (749, again in subord.) - aor. ἀνωλόλυξε (750), ἔλυσαν (755). In this passage the use of presents alternates with that of past tenses, and especially with imperfects. The climax of the passage is the supposed accident of Orestes, and this is introduced by a present (744 λανθάνει στήλην ἄκραν παίσας). Aspectual distinction can be seen in the use of the aorists, which are all punctual, opposed to the imperfects which are imperfective (of what was going on, but with a difference in 729 ἔθραυε κἀνέπιπτε which refers to a succession of accidents, one after another, while 745 aor. ἔθραυσε is of Orestes' accident only). What then of the aspect of the presents? They could be divided between imperfective (φέρουσιν, ἀνοχωχεύει, διώκει, ἑλίσσεται) and punctual (συμπαίουσι, παρασπᾷ, λανθάνει (παίσας)), and so could have been replaced by imperfects or aorists in roughly equal proportions. Does the apparent presence of opposed aspects indicate that in fact the historic present is *not* an exponent of aspect? Thus Ruipérez 154 proposes that aspect is neutral in this use; the context may suggest an appropriate aspect (usually punctual), but this would not strictly be inherent in the form. On the other hand Brunel (*L'aspect verbal et l'emploi des préverbes en grec* 271) claims that the historic present is always made from verbs which refer to punctual action, and would therefore alter *OT* 1255 φοιτᾷ to imperf. φοίτα (with Roussel, Dain): but the claim cannot be upheld, as shown by the examples just given. It is, however, possible that there is *more* affinity of the hist. prest. with the aorist than with the imperfect: it is so argued by Brunel 260 ff. on the ground of apparent preference of the two former for the use of preverbs to make compound forms (with which punctual aspect is sometimes associated).

Some other passages of ῥῆσις may be added. (1) *An.* 407-36, the guard reports on the action of Antigone which led to her arrest. The first present is 419 πίμπλησι (after four pasts), of the coming of the dust storm. Next are 423 ὁρᾶται and ἀνακωκύει, of the moment when first the hidden watchers catch sight of Antigone by the body: after this come pasts, then a pair of presents (429 φέρει, 431 στέφει) at the climax, the act of honouring her dead brother which represented Antigone's offence. Two more presents (432 ἱέμεσθα, 433 θηρώμεθα), then closing with two imperfects. Again we find a 'sandwich' of tenses, with pasts beginning and ending the section, and presents appearing at specially dramatic moments. In aspect the presents are punctual, with the exception of 429 φέρει (in the light of what has been said above, this should be read with the proviso 'if aspect is in fact to be understood'). (2) *OT* 794-813, Oedipus' account of how he met and killed Laius. It starts with 796 impf. ἔφευγον, then 798 prest. ἱκνοῦμαι. Two

imperfects, then the first blow is struck, 807 παίω. After ὁρᾷ (again in subordinate), two aorists: then the climax 812 ἐκκυλίνδεται (Laius thrown out of his chariot), 813 κτείνω (δὲ τοὺς ξύμπαντας). The 'sandwich' differs here in ending with presents (Oedipus continues, but with reflections on his position). These presents are all punctual in aspect (if they have aspect). (3) *OC* 1587-1655, the Messenger's report on Oedipus' end. There is a sequence of aorists and imperfects (broken only by 1610 ὁ δ' ὡς ἀκούει) until 1626 καλεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν πολλὰ πολλαχῇ θεός (preceded by 'a voice suddenly called to him, so that the hair of all stood up through fear'), and then Oedipus speaks, 1630 αὐδᾷ. Then aorists, 1639 λέγει, then aorists and imperfects, and lastly 1654 ὁρῶμεν (of the spectators seeing Theseus, who alone observes the passing of Oedipus). Here the climactic points are at 1626 and 1654: the use of the present for the two verbs of *speaking* (1630, 1639) is of a different order, being the perfective use familiar with such verbs. The end of the purely narrative part has a present (1654) here too: what follows until the end of the speech represents the speaker's comments. For similar use of presents for lively effect in description by Aeschylus, cf. *Ag.* 1383-90, *Pers.* 191-210.

It will have been noticed that in the passages just examined there have been examples of presents in temporal subord. clauses (*E.* 736 ὅπως ὁρᾷ (ὡς v.l.), ib. 749 ὅπως ὁρᾷ, *OT* 807 ὡς ὁρᾷ, *OC* 1610 ὡς ἀκούει). These are linked with aorists in the principal (but with prest. in *E.* 736): so too *An.* 426 (ὡς ὁρᾷ), *A.* 307 (ὡς διοπτεύει), *T.* 531 (ἦμος ... θροεῖ) (Bruhn 60). Similarly with imperfects in the principal: *An.* 254 ὅπως ... δείκνυσι, *E.* 425 ἡνίκα ... δείκνυσι (Bruhn 59). The semantic similarity of the verbs should be noted (verbs of *seeing*, *hearing*, *declaring*, *showing*): I would regard all these as examples of *praesens pro perfecto*.

There are also instances of vivid effect in more isolated passages. *OT* 113 πότερα δ' ἐν οἴκοις ἢ 'ν ἀγροῖς ὁ Λάϊος | ... τῷδε συμπίπτει φόνῳ; (punctual: Jebb refers to 'the alertness of a mind roused to close inquiry'). So too in agitated question ib. 1025 σὺ δ' ἐμπολήσας, ἢ τυχών μ' αὐτῷ δίδως; 'was it after purchase, or a chance find, that you gave me to him?' (δίδωμι is also a verb suitable for the perfective use, but that is less appropriate here, since Polybus (= αὐτῷ) is now known to be dead): further examples of presents in this passage, 1031 λαμβάνεις, 1034 λύω, 1040 ἐκδίδωσι. Also interrogative, *T.* 748, *E.* 679. *T.* 565 ψαύει (of the sudden attack of Nessus on Deianeira, which caused Heracles to kill him). *E.* 99* (of Agamemnon) ὃν κατὰ μὲν βάρβαρον αἶαν φοίνιος Ἄρης οὐκ ἐξένισεν, μήτηρ δ' ἡμὴ χὠ ... Αἴγισθος ... σχίζουσι κάρα φονίῳ πελέκει (note the change to the present for the violent action, as also for the positive statement).

But the 'vivid' theory does not account for all cases, and there are some in which no special effect seems likely: so *A*. 42 ἐπεμπίπτει, ib. 47 ὁρμᾶται, 51 ἀπείργω, 53 ἐκτρέπω, 1301 ἴσχει. *P*. 371 ὁ δ' εἶπ' 'Οδυσσεύς, πλησίον γὰρ ὢν κυρεῖ, | ναί, παῖ, δεδώκασ' ...: κυρεῖ is in parenthesis (emended to ἦν κυρῶν, Brunck). Notice too passages where historical present and past tenses are combined without difference of aspect (Bruhn 59): *An*. 406 καὶ πῶς ὁρᾶται κἀπίληπτος ᾑρέθη; *T*. 364 κτείνει τ' ἄνακτα πατέρα τῆσδε καὶ πόλιν | ἔπερσε. *A*. 31 καί μοί τις ὀπτὴρ ... φράζει τε κἀδήλωσεν.

Among recent students of the matter Koller finds the explanation of hist. prest. in verbal aspect, seeing its use proper only to verbs with inceptive value; but it is not readily apparent why this should be so rather than the reverse (present tense for durative verbs, with stress on continuance?). However, the observation that inceptive aspect is favoured may provide support for the 'vivid' theory, since it is just verbs with such aspect which will normally be used to describe peak moments of action. Lilja has a fruitful field of study for the hist. prest. in the language of early prose writers, especially Pherecydes of Athens. Basically he supports the 'vivid' interpretation, with the present occurring at crucial points of the story; but he grants that an author with frequent use could reduce its value, the originally emphatic then becoming habitual. One can add that in Sophocles metrical convenience, as well as stylistic variation, can be additional factors.

The most novel approach is that of Kiparsky. He admits a 'vivid' force for hist. prest. in modern IE, but denies it for earlier stages, including ancient Greek. The combination of hist. prests. with other, past tenses is seen by him as an example of 'conjunctional reduction': the ancient use of the hist. prest. would have no semantic value, but would be purely syntactical, showing the reduction of a past tense, when used in combination with other pasts, to a neutral present (which he sees further as a replacement of an earlier injunctive). The 'sandwiching' feature (alternation of pasts and presents) which is notable specially in longer passages of ῥῆσις could find a parallel in the alternation of vocative and nominative in address (Ch. 3 § 6).

It is possible to accept Kiparsky's version of the *origin* of the construction, while combining with it the view that in the Classical period the construction was put to a new use, that is, of vivid effect.

§ 6. *Present: of future time*

The present tense can also refer to the future. εἶμι 'go' is used by Sophocles without exception with future sense, as is regular in Attic: the

common explanation ascribes this to its aoristic (punctual) aspect (Wackernagel 1, 161; Schwyzer 265; but denied by Ruipérez 93). So *A*. 654 ἀλλ' εἶμι πρός τε λουτρά ..., *OT* 637 οὐκ εἶ σύ τ' οἴκους ...;. It is also usual that the exponent of the present indic. meaning is ἔρχομαι and so too in Soph. (e.g. *An*. 235, 360*, *OT* 62). But future use of ἔρχομαι also occurs: *OC* 1421 τί σοι [πάτραν κατασκάψαντι κέρδος ἔρχεται; 'what advantage will come to you after bringing down your fatherland?'. *A*. 1138 τοῦτ' εἰς ἀνίαν τοὔπος ἔρχεται τινί 'that speech will bring sorrow to one I know of': but the threatening tone here may make this an equivalent of the prophetic use (Schwyzer 273).

P. 113 αἱρεῖ τὰ τόξα ταῦτα τὴν Τροίαν μόνα 'only that bow will capture Troy': this is not strictly oracular, but the implication is 'so it is fated' (cf. 346 with its reference to θέμις, and 610 ff. of the prophesy of Helenus; also 69 οὐκ ἔστι πέρσαι, commented on below). The present is used here to picture vividly, as if it were happening, what belongs to the future, and so makes a more confident assertion (Wackernagel 1, 161; Funk 168).

In conditional apodosis, again to emphasise the assertion. *OT* 1159 πολλῷ γε μᾶλλον, ἢν φράσω, διόλλυμαι 'much more shall I be (am I) brought to ruin, if I speak'. (Cf. the perfect ib. 1166 ὄλωλας.) *P*. 69 εἰ γὰρ τὰ τοῦδε τόξα μὴ ληφθήσεται, [οὐκ ἔστι πέρσαι σοι τὸ Δαρδάνου πέδον 'if his bow is not (shall not be) taken, it will not be possible for you to bring down the land of Dardanus'. It is unnecessary (with Jebb) to give a present sense to the protasis, as if to mean 'if it is (now) settled that the bow is not to be taken': the reference is as much future as in the preceding lines 66 f. εἰ δ' ἐργάσει [μὴ ταῦτα, λύπην πᾶσιν Ἀργείοις βαλεῖς. Further, ib. 117 ὡς τοῦτό γ' ἔρξας δύο φέρει δωρήματα 'know that, if you do this (ἔρξας with conditional sense), you will win two prizes'.

§ 7. *Imperfect: of continuous, habitual etc. past action*

The imperfect tense is the representation, in the past, of the durative present. So it is used of a continuous, habitual, or repeated past state or action: *A*. 1134 (με) μισοῦντ' ἐμίσει. *P*. 288 (Philoctetes describes his way of life) γαστρὶ μὲν τὰ σύμφορα [τόξον τόδ' ἐξηύρισκε, τὰς ὑποπτέρους [βάλλον πελείας (continued with impf. plus ἄν). *OT* 1125 (the herdsman, on his way of life) ποίμναις τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ βίου συνειπόμην 'for most of my life I shepherded flocks': so too the same speaker, ib. 1136 ἐπλησίαζον, 1139 ἤλαυνον. *T*. 560 ποταμὸν ... βροτοὺς ... 'πόρευε 'used to carry men over the river' (his occupation). Ib. 317 οὐκ οἶδα· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἀνιστόρουν μακράν 'it was my habit to make no close inquiry'; ib. 319 σιγῇ τοὐμὸν ἔργον ἤνυτον 'I used to do my work in silence' (Lichas, claiming it as his set practice to ask

nothing, and so to know nothing). In the iterative form in -σχον: *An*. 949* Ζηνὸς ταμιεύεσκε γονάς 'she held in her keeping the seed of Zeus'.

Also coupled with ἄν. This use first appears in Classical, especially in Herodotus (17 times), then in Aristophanes (over 50), etc. Goodwin § 162; Smyth §§ 1790-1, 2341. In Attic possibly colloquial (Stevens, *C.Q.* 1945, 103). The examples in Soph. are all in *Phil.* Developed from a potential, it indicates not just what would have occurred in certain circumstances, but what (repeatedly) did. The main clause is linked with a relative clause of indefinite frequency with optative: *P.* 291 πρὸς δὲ τοῦθ', ὅ μοι βάλοι [... ἄτρακτος, αὐτὸς ἂν τάλας [εἰλυόμην 'towards whatever my arrow struck I would myself crawl': this is continued with a general condition, 292 ff. εἴ τ' ἔδει τι καὶ ποτὸν λαβεῖν [... ταῦτ' ἂν ἐξέρπων τάλας [ἐμηχανώμην (see Ch. 16 § 4 (b)). Ib. 701* εἷρπε δ' ἄλλοτ' ἀλλαχᾷ τότ' ἂν εἰλυόμενος ... ὅθεν εὐμάρει' ὑπάρχοι πόρου (ἕρπει γάρ codd.). No example in Aesch.: in Eur., *Ph.* 401 ποτὲ μὲν ἐπ' ἦμαρ εἶχον, εἶτ' οὐκ εἶχον ἄν 'at one time I would have (food) for the day, then (at another) I would not'. Cf. the similar use with the aorist (§ 13 below).

§ 8. *Imperfect: 'Eye-witness' use*

The imperfect can portray the action as going on, stressing its progress: this is especially seen in a graphic use, that of the 'eye-witness', with vivid presentation of the event. *T.* 372 ταῦτα πολλοὶ πρὸς μέσῃ Τραχινίων [ἀγορᾷ συνεξήκουον ὡσαύτως ἐμοί 'there were many people in the open market-place of the T., listening to this as I did' (an aorist would equally well have stated the fact of hearing, but the imperf. recalls the scene and the development of the action). *An.* 231 τοιαῦθ' ἑλίσσων ἤνυτον σχολῇ βραδύς 'turning this over in my mind I was slowly making my way along' (followed by the aor. ἐνίκησεν, of reaching a decision about what to do). *A.* 298 ηὐχένιζε, and four following impfs. (account of Ajax' slaughter of the cattle). *P.* 354 ff. (Neoptolemus' story given to Philoctetes): ἦν δ' ἦμαρ ἤδη δεύτερον πλέοντί μοι, [κἀγὼ πικρὸν Σίγειον ... [κατηγόμην (sets the scene)—καί μ' εὐθὺς ἐν κύκλῳ στρατὸς [ἐκβάντα πᾶς ἠσπάζετο—('I went to the Atreidae') τά θ' ὅπλ' ἀπῄτουν τοῦ πατρός. This series is brought to an end by the cruel refusal (aorist) of the arms by the Atreidae, introduced by οἱ δ' εἶπον, οἴμοι, τλημονέστατον λόγον. Compare too the passages of ῥῆσις quoted above for the historical present, with their inclusion of impfs., and especially *E.* 715 ff. (φορεῖτο etc.), and *OT* 804 f. (ξυνηντίαζον, ἠλαυνέτην), with the impfs. setting the scene for the main action (§ 5).

The picturing effect can also be found in an imaginary situation. *An.* 285 πότερον ὑπερτιμῶντες ὡς εὐεργέτην [ἔκρυπτον αὐτὸν ...; 'in burying him,

were they (i.e. the gods) paying high honour to him as their benefactor ...?'. In fact, Creon hotly repudiates the idea that the gods buried Polyneices, but the Chorus had made this suggestion. Note that the part. ὑπερτιμ. is the principal predicate; as Jebb points out, the alternative questions are, did they think him *good*, and so honour him, or *bad*, and yet honour him? (For an alternative explanation, see § 9.)

§ 9. *Imperfect: conative use, etc.*

Conative use arises by anticipation, the seeking to perform an action being regarded as part (the beginning) of its performance (which may, or may not, be completed): in a linear model of the aspect the conative use is at the start of the line. *T.* 240 ὅθ' ᾕρει ... χώραν 'when he was seeking to conquer the land' (as in fact he went on to do). *OT* 1454 ἐκείνων οἵ μ' ἀπωλλύτην 'those who aimed to kill me' (not fulfilled): cf. *OC* 274 ἀπωλλύμην, ib. 394 ὤλλυσαν. Ib. 1009 ἐχειροῦ 'aimed to seize'. So πείθω in the sense 'advise, try to persuade': *OT* 555 ἔπειθες ἢ οὐκ ἔπειθες ...; In the form in -σκον: *An.* 963* παύεσκε ... ἐνθέους γυναῖκας 'sought to restrain the divinely inspired women'. *OT* 1391 ἰὼ Κιθαιρών, τί μ' ἐδέχου; : here willingness is expressed, 'why were you ready to take me?' Unwillingness appears in the negative form: *An.* 1007 ἐκ δὲ θυμάτων [Ἥφαιστος οὐκ ἔλαμπεν 'the fire would not blaze from my offerings'. Also of inability: *T.* 359 ἡνίκ' οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν φυτοσπόρον [τὴν παῖδα δοῦναι 'when he was unable to persuade the father to give him his daughter'.

By extension from the sense of something about to happen, the imperfect could be used for what was likely to happen (even if it did not). Kühner-Gerth 1, 215. So E. *HF* 537 τἄμ' ἔθνῃσκε τέκν', ἀπωλλύμην δ' ἐγώ 'my children were likely to die, and I to perish'. This could provide an alternative explanation of *An.* 285 (§ 8 above): ὑπερτιμῶντες ... ἔκρυπτον would then mean 'were they likely to pay him high honour and bury him ...?'. Another, much discussed passage is *E.* 914 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὲν δὴ μητρὸς οὔθ' ὁ νοῦς φιλεῖ [τοιαῦτα πράσσειν οὔτε δρῶσ' ἐλάνθανεν 'neither does our mother's heart tend to this kind of act, nor was she likely to be unobserved in its performance'. So Schneidewin, ἐλάνθανεν = *in occulto erat mansura.* Critics have claimed that ἄν is required to give the sense of an unreal apodosis (ἔληθεν ἄν, ἐλάνθαν' ἄν): last discussion by Fitton Brown, *C.Q.* 1956, 38 f., who prefers ἔληθεν ἄν. He argues that a prospective impf. can only be used where the prospect of the action operated (or would have done, if the action were realised) on the mind of the subject of the action: so in E. *Ba.* 612 τίς μοι φύλαξ ἦν, εἰ σὺ συμφορᾶς τύχοις; 'who (I thought) was going to be my guardian, if you met with mischance?'. This is not the case

in *E*. 914, where Clytaemnestra, if she had performed the deed, would not have been concerned to consider whether she was being observed. But Wyse, on Is. 1, 44 σκέψασθε ποτέρων ἐκεῖνος ἐγίγνετο κληρονόμος, shows that it is possible to dispense with the requirement.

§ 10. *Imperfect: of consecutive action*

Allied to the foregoing is the use denoting consecutive action (entering upon the next action, in a sequence, which is further on in the line). *An*. 1005 (Teiresias has heard ill-omened sounds of birds) εὐθὺς δὲ δείσας ἐμπύρων ἐγευόμην 'at once taking fright I proceeded to make trial of burnt offerings'. Ib. 1202 ὃ δὴ 'λέλειπτο συγκατῄθομεν 'we went on to burn what remained': also ib. 1205 εἰσεβαίνομεν, 1220 ἠθροῦμεν. *T*. 47 τοιαύτην ἐμοὶ | δέλτον λιπὼν ἔστειχε 'he left such a letter with me and then went' (i.e. 'such was the letter he left when he went'). *OC* 94 παρηγγύα 'he went on to warn me'.

§ 11. *Imperfect: 'open-ended' use*

Certain verbs, especially of *ordering*, *advising*, take an imperfect instead of an aorist when referring to a past, non-durative occurrence, apparently because they initiate an action which needs to be carried out by another: the impf. will then refer to the mere giving of the order etc., leaving it open whether the order was later carried out. (Schwyzer 277; Funk 169 f.; N. E. Collinge, *Archiv. Ling.* 12, 1960, 83 ff.). The impf. in such a case is open-ended, whereas an aorist would be closed (implying completion). The use is analogous to that of some cases of the present treated above under *praesens pro perfecto* (§ 4): so πέμπω and τίκτω notably appear under both heads. *OT* 1055 νοεῖς ἐκεῖνον ὅντιν' ἀρτίως | μολεῖν ἐφιέμεσθα; 'do you know the man whom I ordered to come?' (order not yet fulfilled). But *OC* 1605 οὐκ ἦν ἔτ' ἀργὸν οὐδὲν ὧν ἐφίετο 'nothing was left undone of what he ordered': here the orders have been fulfilled, as in *T*. 759 ὡς σὺ προὐξεφίεσο. Aorist ἐκέλευσα at *P*. 544 (order fulfilled). Ib. 764 ('take this bow') ὥσπερ ᾔτου μ' ἀρτίως: the request for the bow had remained unmet until now. *An*. 1313 ἐπεσκήπτου 'you were charged' (and remain responsible).

The case of πέμπω, στέλλω, is closely similar: until the mission has been executed, the impf. is appropriate to denote its setting afoot. *E*. 680 κἀπεμπόμην πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πᾶν φράσω 'that is what I was sent for ...' (the purpose of his coming, to deliver a report, is only now to be realised). *An*. 19 σε ... τοῦδ' οὕνεκ' ἐξέπεμπον, ὡς μόνη κλύοις 'this is why I brought you out, that you might listen to me alone' (the purpose of Antigone's action,

in bringing Ismene out of the house, still waits for fulfilment). *P.* 495 ἔστελλον αὐτὸν ἱκεσίους πέμπων λιτάς, [αὐτόστολον πέμψαντά μ' ἐκσῶσαι δόμους (δόμοις codd. plur.) 'I summoned him with beseeching prayers to send for me with his own ship and bring me safely home' (but in fact he may be dead, or never received the message). Notice the contrast between the two participles: πέμπων repeats the aspect of the finite ἔστελλον (and this plea was never answered), while aorist πέμψαντα (with ἐκσῶσαι) refers to what the speaker of course desires, a sending which has a successful termination.

λείπω in the impf. can be used where the consequence of the act persists, and so is durative. *T.* 76 ἔλειπέ μοι [μαντεῖα πιστά 'he left with me sure prophesies' ('and I still have them'). Jebb (Appendix ad loc.) doubts this interpretation, seeing metrical convenience in the use of impf. instead of aor., with the additional notion that the tense is more vivid (the further proposal, that it may denote the next act in a series, will not fit here). It is, of course, possible to use the aorist also where the consequence persists, as ib. 47 τοιαύτην ἐμοὶ [δέλτον λιπὼν ἔστειχε (with aor. part.): that is, attention is not drawn to the consequence. Notice further ib. 234 ἔγωγέ τοι σφ' ἔλειπον ἰσχύοντά τε [καὶ ζῶντα καὶ θάλλοντα κοὐ νόσῳ βαρύν 'I declare when I left him he was in vigorous health ...'. Here we may see an *attractio temporis*: the durative aspect of the past state of Heracles' health (expressed in the participles) passes over into ἔλειπον. Cf. *Od.* 11, 86 (of Anticleia, now dead) τὴν ζωὴν κατέλειπον ἰὼν ἐς Ἴλιον ἱρήν.

With a verb of *naming* there is a possible example (of the single act with lasting result) at *P. Teb.* 692, 18 (? Soph. *Inachus*): Page, *Lit. Pap.* 24, 7. Lloyd-Jones (*C.R.* 1965, 242) suggests reading πολὺ πολυιδρίδας [ὅτις ὅδε προτέρων [ὄνομ' εὖ σ' ἐθρόει (ed. pr. σε θροεῖ) 'very, very knowing was he amongst those of the past who rightly called you by your name'. Cf. A. *Ag.* 681 ὠνόμαζεν (-αξεν v.l.), E. fr. 2 id., Corinna, fr. 11 D ὠνούμηνεν.

Finally, τίκτω shows the same use: *OC* 982 ἔτικτε γάρ μ' ἔτικτεν ... [οὐκ εἰδότ' οὐκ εἰδυῖα 'she was my mother, though neither of us knew it'; also *OT* 870*, 1098. It is the state of parenthood which is described, not the act of bearing (or procreating).

§ 12. *Imperfect: of truth just recognized*

With ἄρα the impf. is used of what is now recognized as being the truth (which was previously misconceived). *P.* 978 ὅδ' ἦν ἄρα [ὁ ξυλλαβών με 'he then it was who seized me'. *OC* 1697*. Fr. 577, 2 ὡς ἄρα ... κενὴν [ἐτερπόμην ... τέρψιν, ib. 4 ἡ δ' ἄρα ... ἔσαιν' Ἐρινύς. Fr. 686, 1 ἔζης ἄρ' οὐδὲ γῆς ἔνερθ' ᾤχου θανών;, here interrogative, 'you are alive, then, and

did not die ...?'. In this passage ἔζης is attracted into the past, since it is to that time that the misapprehension belongs ('I thought you were not alive'). With ἄρα: fr. 931 ἦ δεινὸν ἄρ' ἦν, ἡνίκ' ἄν τις ἐσθλὸς ὢν [αὑτῷ συνειδῇ 'it is, it seems, a wonderful power, to have a good conscience' (not clear whether the misapprehension was the speaker's, or a general one). Attraction again in *OC* 117* τίς ἄρ' ἦν; ποῦ ναίει; 'who is he, then? where is he lodged?' (ἦν used, because the Chorus think back to the time when they were informed of Oedipus' arrival: Schwyzer 279).

§ 13. *Aorist: of action in the past, without specification*

The aorist refers to the occurrence of an action in the past, without any further specification (as to duration, or lasting effect). *An.* 385 τήνδ' εἵλομεν θάπτουσαν. Ib. 134* ἐπὶ γᾷ πέσε. *E.* 535 τοῦ χάριν [ἔθυσεν αὐτήν; ib. 567 ἐξεκίνησεν ποδοῖν ... ἔλαφον. *OT* 53 ὄρνιθι γὰρ καὶ τὴν τότ' αἰσίῳ τύχην [παρέσχες ἡμῖν. In such use it refers to a single occurrence; and so it is appropriate with a negative to refer to what never happened at all. *P.* 715* ὃς μηδ' οἰνοχύτου πώματος ἥσθη δεκέτει χρόνῳ, λεύσσων δ' εἴ που (ὅπου codd.) γνοίη, στατὸν εἰς ὕδωρ αἰεὶ προσενώμα (aor. ἥσθη, but impf. προσενώμα of the positive habitual action). *OC* 692* οὐδὲ Μουσᾶν χοροί νιν ἀπεστύγησαν (at the end of a series of five presents, all describing the regular sequence of events at Colonus. Of these one is itself negatived, 686* μινύθουσιν: but this verb lacks an aorist form.).

As a narrative tense it occurs linked with the historic present. Examples of this in ῥῆσις have been given above (§ 5). This also occurs in more isolated passages, without any distinction being made by the change of tense. *T.* 365 κτείνει τ' ἄνακτα πατέρα τῆσδε καὶ πόλιν [ἔπερσε. *A.* 31 φράζει τε κἀδήλωσεν. *An.* 406 ὁρᾶται ... ᾑρέθη.

The action may in fact be one that had long duration, or consisted of repeated acts: the aorist could none the less be used in such cases (complexive use). *A.* 502 ... Αἴαντος, ὃς μέγιστον ἴσχυσε στρατοῦ 'of Ajax, who was the mightiest of the host': the previous condition of Ajax, which could have been expressed by an imperfect, is summed up and so dismissed by the aorist (the speaker has no interest in the aspect of duration, and the aorist expresses termination more plainly than the imperfect, which would only imply it). *E.* 1144 (τροφῆς) τὴν ἐγὼ θάμ' ἀμφὶ σοὶ [πόνῳ γλυκεῖ παρέσχον 'nurture which I often provided for you with labour that I loved': here Electra sums up the repetition of many acts. Notice how she then goes on to use imperfects when she wishes to dwell on the former state with remembrance: οὔτε γάρ ποτε [μητρὸς σύ γ' ἦσθα μᾶλλον ἢ κἀμοῦ φίλος, [οὔθ' οἱ κατ' οἶκον ἦσαν ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τροφός· [ἐγὼ δ' ἀδελφὴ σοὶ προσηυδώμην ἀεί.

Compare ib. 1378 (Electra to Apollo) ... ἐμοῦ ... ἥ σε πολλὰ δὴ [ἀφ' ὧν ἔχοιμι λιπαρεῖ προὔστην χερί.

The aorist with ἄν can refer to repeated action in the past, when linked with a relative clause of indefinite frequency with verb in the optative. Goodwin §§ 162, 249. See § 7 above on the parallel use of the impf. *P.* 443 Θερσίτης τις ἦν, [ὃς οὐκ ἂν εἵλετ' εἰσάπαξ εἰπεῖν, ὅπου [μηδεὶς ἐῴη 'there was one Thersites, who would not choose (= used not to choose) to speak once only, every time when all men were against his speaking'. The presence of the ὅπου-clause points to repeated action for ἂν εἵλετο (without it the obvious meaning would have been 'T. would not have chosen to speak once, would not have spoken at all'). The aorist in εἵλετο refers to the punctual aspect of the choice, as made on each occasion.

§ 14. *Inceptive and terminative uses*

Inceptive and terminative uses can be treated together, being equally aspects of the punctual (the negative aspect of the present/aorist opposition). The difference between them arises on semantic grounds. Verbs called by Ruipérez 'non-transformative' are those which exclude the idea of a change of state in the subject or object (e.g. νοσεῖν, βασιλεύειν) and in these the initiation of the action is prominent, so giving inceptive sense. Other verbs are 'transformative', where the action causes a change of state in the subject or object (e.g. θνῄσκειν, πείθειν); here the aorist will be terminative, stressing the achievement (Ruipérez 53). *An.* 1229 τίνα νοῦν ἔσχες; 'what purpose have you formed?'. *A.* 950 οὐκ ἂν τάδ' ἔστη τῇδε 'matters would not have come to this state'. *OT* 1023 ἔστερξεν 'came to love'. *P.* 1259 ἐσωφρόνησας 'you have come to your senses'. Ib. 297 ἀλλ' ἐν πέτροισι πέτρον ἐκτρίβων, μόλις [ἔφην' ἄφαντον φῶς 'I brought to life the hidden spark with difficulty, rubbing stone on stone'. This follows a series of imperfects, describing Philoctetes' habitual way of life, but that tense would not suit the sudden creation of fire; on the other hand the present part. ἐκτρίβων is apt for the slow process of rubbing the stones. So too in the aorist part.: *E* 905 χερσὶ βαστάσασα 'taking into my hands', but ib. 1129 βαστάζω χεροῖν 'I hold in my hands'. Subjunctive: ib. 1299 ὅταν εὐτυχήσωμεν 'when we achieve success'.

§ 15. *Aorist in perfective contexts*

It is found not infrequently that an English perfect tense with 'have' is required as a translation of the aorist (Goodwin § 58; Smith, *Greek Grammar* §§ 1930, 1940): in other words, the present result of the action is operative. The aorist, as being neutral, can be applied in such contexts

where it does not *exclude* the notion of perfectivity, but at the same time does not specifically express it. It must also be remembered that the use of the resultative perfect (normally in the active) was still in the early stages of development in Sophocles' time, so that such forms may not then have been available, or their use not preferred: while some verbs never made such a perfect at all (Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec*, 123 ff., 139).

T. 153 πάθη ... πόλλ' ἔγωγ' ἐκλαυσάμην· | ἓν δ', οἷον οὔπω πρόσθεν, αὐτίκ' ἐξερῶ 'I have bewailed many misfortunes; but one, without parallel, I shall straightway declare'. Ib. 201 ὦ Ζεῦ ... ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ... χαράν 'you have given us joy'. Ib. 1135 δεινοῦ λόγου κατῆρξας 'strange is the tale you have begun'. *P.* 620 ἤκουσας πάντα (immediately after the account itself); cf. *An.* 9, 12. *OT* 1474 Κρέων | ἔπεμψέ μοι τὰ φίλτατ' ἐκγόνοιν ἐμοῖν; 'has Creon sent to me the dearest of my offspring?'. *A.* 663, 706*, 1142, 1158 (μῶν ἠνιξάμην; spoken at the end of a speech: cf. the present in *An.* 405 ἆρ' ἔνδηλα ... λέγω;), *An.* 924, *P.* 1019 (with πολλάκις: so also at fr. 583, 2; *E.* 62). Coupled with a perfect: *P.* 928 οἷά μ' εἰργάσω, | οἷ' ἠπάτηκας, ib. 666 ὅς γ' ... δέδωκας, ὃς ... μ' ... ἀνέστησας, ib. 676 λόγῳ μὲν ἐξῄκουσ', ὄπωπα δ' οὐ μάλα. Also *A.* 1142 ἤδη ποτ' εἶδον ἄνδρ' ἐγώ ..., which is echoed by ib. 1150 ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἄνδρ' ὄπωπα.

§ 16. *Aorist: immediate and contemporary use*

In some contexts (particularly in dialogue), among which expressions of *feeling* or of *understanding* are prominent, the aorist refers to actions which have been variously interpreted as either having just taken place, or as contemporary (Kühner-Gerth 1, 163 ff.; Wackernagel 1, 175 ff.; Chantraine 184; Humbert 144 f.; Schwyzer 281 f., 285. 10; Ruipérez 107). Though sometimes called *aoristus tragicus*, the use is not confined to tragedy, nor even to Greek (Schwyzer 282). It may best be explained as arising from the punctual aspect, and as bringing to the fore the instantaneous nature of the occurrence: hence it is suitable for a sudden feeling, or act of comprehension, especially as expressed in quick repartee. The substitution of a present tense (with its durative emphasis) in such cases would be inappropriate aspectually. So far as the time of the occurrence is concerned, it should be taken as contemporary; an attempt to refer all examples to the past, even the most immediate, cannot succeed. Use in the first person is the most common, and examples occur especially in the opening sentence of a speech, and at the start of the sentence.

Of emotion: *A.* 693* ἔφριξ' ἔρωτι, περιχαρὴς δ' ἀνεπτάμαν 'I tremble with rapture, I take wing possessed with joy'. *An.* 1307* ἀνέπταν φόβῳ. *OC* 1466* ἔπτηξα θυμόν. *P.* 1314 ἥσθην πατέρα τὸν ἀμὸν εὐλογοῦντά σε. Of sudden

comprehension, or other mental reaction to what has preceded: *E.* 78 ἔδοξα ... αἰσθέσθαι 'I think I hear someone'. Ib. 668 ἐδεξάμην τὸ ῥηθέν 'I welcome what you say'. *A.* 99, 536. *E.* 1322 σιγᾶν ἐπῄνεσα 'I advise silence' (spoken by Orestes, interrupting Electra, when he hears someone approaching).

P. 1289 ἀπώμοσ' ἁγνοῦ Ζηνὸς ὕψιστον σέβας 'I swear by the sacred majesty of Zeus most high' (Neoptolemus takes the oath with alacrity, after his good faith has been questioned).

In a question showing impatience or surprise, introduced by τί οὐ (cf. Chantraine 184): *An.* 1309* τί μ' οὐκ ἀνταίαν ἔπαισέν τις ... ξίφει 'why does no one (immediately) strike me ...?' (following ἀνέπταν already quoted). *OT* 1003 τί δῆτ' ἐγὼ οὐχὶ τοῦδε τοῦ φόβου σ', ἄναξ, [... ἐξελυσάμην; 'why don't I (at once) deliver you from fear?': not possible to attribute a future sense, as suggested by Goodwin § 62. *E.* 388 τίν', ὦ τάλαινα, τόνδ' ἐπηράσω λόγον; 'what dire prayer is this you utter, unhappy one?', without the negative form of question: this is followed by final clauses with the subjunctive, the only examples of this after a historic principal verb in Sophocles.

OC 1456* ἔκτυπεν αἰθήρ, ὦ Ζεῦ: spoken on hearing a sudden peal of thunder (but this may refer to the immediate past). *E.* 677 ἀπωλόμην δύστηνος, on hearing bad news.

There are also a number of examples of verbs (especially of *saying*) in the second person, referring to immediately preceding remarks. *E.* 407, *T.* 744, *P.* 414 πῶς εἶπας;, *A.* 221* ἐδήλωσας, ib. 270 πῶς τοῦτ' ἔλεξας; (followed by a present in οὐ κάτοιδ' ὅπως λέγεις). *T.* 1220 (in answer to τὴν Εὐρυτείαν οἶσθα δῆτα παρθένον;) Ἰόλην ἔλεξας ..., then the reply to this, 1221 ἔγνως. *OT* 280 δίκαι' ἔλεξας. Ib. 337 ὀργὴν ἐμέμψω τὴν ἐμήν, τὴν σὴν δ' ὁμοῦ [ναίουσαν οὐ κατεῖδες, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ ψέγεις (change to present in ψέγεις, as in *A.* 270 above). In these cases it is probable that the aorist has (immediate) past reference, and they should therefore not be explained in the same way as those preceding.

§ 17. *Aorist: gnomic use*

The gnomic aorist is found in proverbial expressions; allied to it is the 'typical' use in description of what regularly takes place (e.g. the rhythm of Nature in the succession of the seasons). A particular use of the 'typical' aorist is found in simile. Cf. Chantraine 185 f. for Epic examples. All these uses are non-temporal, arising from the neutral value of the tense (Ruipérez 99 f.). Occurrence with the negative is a notable feature (see below).

An. 222 ὑπ' ἐλπίδων | ἄνδρας τὸ κέρδος πολλάκις διώλεσεν 'the hope of gain often causes men's ruin'. *OC* 659 πολλαὶ δ' ἀπειλαὶ πολλὰ δὴ μάτην ἔπη | θυμῷ κατηπείλησαν. *E.* 416 πολλά τοι σμικροὶ λόγοι | ἔσφηλαν ἤδη καὶ κατώρθωσαν βροτούς. *An.* 709, *P.* 638.

The aorist also occurs linked with other tenses, usually the present. *E.* 26 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἵππος εὐγενής, κἂν ᾖ γέρων, | ἐν τοῖσι δεινοῖς θυμὸν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν, | ἀλλ' ὀρθὸν οὖς ἵστησιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ σὺ | ἡμᾶς τ' ὀτρύνεις ... (simile). Note that the aorist is negatived, as appears to be a favoured usage. Is it possible that the neutral, gnomic aorist has here picked up secondarily a use appropriate to the punctual aorist (which is not neutral, but the negative term in the present/aorist opposition)? A punctual aspect is specially suitable for description of what never occurs at all (so θυμὸν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν would be 'not at any moment does he lose his courage'). Cf. Gildersleeve 1, 106 f. for negative with punctual aorists. *OC* 692* (in a description of Colonus, and of what is typical there), five presents, beginning with 671* μινύρεται, are followed by one aorist, negatived: οὐδὲ Μουσᾶν χοροί νιν ἀπεστύγησαν. One of these presents is itself negatived (686* οὐδ' ... κρῆναι μινύθουσιν), but the verb here used occurs only in the present stem. Other examples of negatived aorists: *An.* 296 ff. (on the effect of money), in a series there are one aorist (neg.), then four presents, then another aorist (300 ἔδειξεν) (all these positive); *P.* 446 οὐδέν πω κακόν γ' ἀπώλετο, followed by three presents (positive).

A. 670 ff. (of the succession of seasons), three presents, one aorist, two presents. *An.* 1348* (gnomic, the epilogue of the chorus), two presents, one aorist. *OT* 877* and *OC* 1535 have similar association of aorist and present.

Less often other tenses intervene. *An.* 356* (typical, of the actions of man): after a series of presents (from 333*) one aorist at 356*, followed by one present and one future (both neg.), then one perfect. *OC* 1214* ff.: future, aor. (1216), aor. opt., prest., aor. (1231), perf. (subord. clauses omitted; nominal clauses also intervene).

§ 18. *Perfect*

The perfect tense basically had reference to the present state of the subject, which results from a previous, completed action or experience. So regularly τέθνηκε (*An.* 1282 etc.), ὄλωλε (ib. 195), ἕστηκα (*A.* 102), πέφυκα (*E.* 608), οἶδα (*OT* 59). *E.* 1101 Αἴγισθον ἔνθ' ᾤκηκεν ἱστορῶ 'I inquire where A. has his abode'. *P.* 857* ἀνὴρ ... ἐκτέταται νύχιος 'he is stretched out in darkness'. *OC* 1304 ὅσοιπερ Ἀπίας | πρῶτοι καλοῦνται καὶ τετίμηνται δορί 'who are called the first of the Apian land, and enjoy an honoured status

for prowess with the spear' (note coupling with a prest. tense): cf. *E.* 64 ἐκτετίμηνται. *A.* 896 οἴχωκ', ὄλωλα, διαπεπόρθημαι: the three synonymous perfects stress the immutable nature of the state. *E.* 947 ἄκουε ... ᾗ βεβούλευμαι ποιεῖν 'hear on what action my mind is made up'. Fr. 799, 2 φυγὰς πατρῴας ἐξελήλασαι χθονός 'you are an exile, banished from your native land'.

The perfect βέβηκα is used as a stronger equivalent of εἰμί 'be', emphasising the stability of the state reached: there is no reflection on the passage to that state which another tense of the verb would describe. *OC* 52 τίς ἔσθ' ὁ χῶρος δῆτ' ἐν ᾧ βεβήκαμεν; 'what is the place in which we are at rest?' (not 'that we have entered', as Jebb). Ib. 613 πνεῦμα ταὐτὸν οὔποτ' οὔτ' ἐν ἀνδράσιν ... βέβηκεν ... 'does not remain, persist, among men'. *E.* 1057 ὅταν ἐν κακοῖς | ἤδη βεβήκῃς 'when you are in a state of misfortune'. Compare participial use, ib. 979 τοῖσιν ἐχθροῖς εὖ βεβηκόσιν 'their foes when securely established' *An.* 67, 996. Contrast *T.* 134* μένει γὰρ ... οὔτε πλοῦτος, ἀλλ' ἄφαρ | βέβακε '... neither does wealth remain, but of a sudden it is gone': here the completion of the act leads to the present *absence* of the subject. Cf. *E.* 1436 καὶ δὴ βέβηκα 'see, I am (as good as) gone'. *An.* 1091.

§ 19. *Perfect: 'intensive' use*

A use of the perfect sometimes called 'intensive' is found especially with verbs denoting emotion or perception; also of sound. (Brugmann 550 f.; Schwyzer 263 f.; Wackernagel 1, 166; Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec* 146 ff.; Ruipérez 49 ff.). In some at least of these the sense of a resultant state is apparently absent, and a present action (feeling etc.) is described: note the occasional coupling with a present tense. *P.* 1021 σὺ μὲν γέγηθας ζῶν, ἐγὼ δ' ἀλγύνομαι 'you delight in living, but I feel pain (at my kind of life)': cf. *Od.* 6, 106 γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ. Ib. 259 ἡ δ' ἐμὴ νόσος | ἀεὶ τέθηλε κἀπὶ μεῖζον ἔρχεται 'my sickness is always active ...'. *T.* 982* ἐμμέμονεν φρήν 'my heart is possessed with eagerness' (?): cf. Epic μέμονα, ἐμμεμαώς, E. *IT* 655. *An.* 790* ὁ δ' ἔχων μέμηνεν 'he who possesses (Love) is out of his mind'. *A.* 139 μέγαν ὄκνον ἔχω καὶ πεφόβημαι '... and I am possessed with fear'. *An.* 1246 χαὐτὸς τεθάμβηκα 'I too am full of wonder'. *E.* 283 κλαίω, τέτηκα, κἀπικωκύω 'I weep, pine, and lament'. *OT* 413 σὺ καὶ δέδορκας κοὐ βλέπεις ἵν' εἶ κακοῦ 'you have sight, yet do not see what plight you are in'. *OC* 894 Κρέων ὅδ', ὃν δέδορκας ... 'Creon here, whom you see before you'. Ib. 1523 ... μήθ' οὗ κέκευθε μήτ' ἐν οἷς κεῖται τόποις '(do not tell any one) where it is hidden, nor where it lies'. *A.* 1236 ποίου κέκραγας ἀνδρὸς ὧδ' ὑπέρφρονα; 'about what sort of man do you boast so excessively?'.

The questions arise whether there is here a separate and distinctive use of the perfect (as Wackernagel proposes); or, if not, what relation it bears to that previously discussed (which may be called the normal use). It is suggested (so by Brugmann) that the 'intensive' use is only a special form of the normal, with particular stress on the present: thus for γέγηθα the meaning would be 'I have entered a joyful state, and am now joyful'. But in fact the present γηθῶ does not mean 'become joyful' but equally with the perfect describes the state of being so. A similar attempt by J. Holt, *Études d'aspect* 29, finds a punctual sense in the present tense of γέγηθε, as of βέβρυχε, κέκραγε, so that the perfect would be required to describe a continuous action: but again it appears impossible to accept the meaning assumed for the present. Ruipérez 49-65 provides a new solution, based on his distinction between verbs which semantically are transformative (causing a change of state in the subject or object), and those which are not (causing no such change). In the former the perfect is of the type I have called normal: the operation of a verb such as θνῄσκω involves a change of state in the subject, and the perfect τέθνηκε describes the state arrived at after that change. But by the operation of a non-transformative verb such as γηθῶ no change is brought about, it has no 'aftermath': the perfect made from this kind of verb cannot therefore indicate a state resulting from a change. Instead, the past notion which is implicit in the perfect refers to the beginning of the action (cf. the inceptive aspect associated with non-transformative verbs in the aorist, § 14 above), and the 'present state' refers to its continuing, indicating a set course of action. It may then readily be appreciated how a more 'intensive' force can appear in such a perfect than in the corresponding present.

§ 20. *Resultative perfect*

The resultative perfect refers, not to the state of the subject, but to the continuing effect upon the object: the use is relatively late, being first fully developed in Attic in the fifth century B.C. (Wackernagel, *Studien zum griech. Perfektum*, also *Kleine Schriften* 2, 1000 ff.; Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec*, 119 ff.).

E. 73 εἴρηκα μέν νυν ταῦτα 'those are my words' (sc. 'and no more'), i.e. 'I have no more to say': cf. *T.* 487 βούλου λόγους | οὓς εἶπας ἐς τήνδ' ἐμπέδως εἰρηκέναι 'be willing that your words about her remain firm and binding'. *P.* 372 δεδώκασ' ἐνδίκως οὗτοι τάδε 'their award is just'. *An.* 442 φῄς, ἢ καταρνῇ μὴ δεδρακέναι τάδε; 'do you admit or deny that you are a perpetrator of the deed?' (answered by φημὶ δρᾶσαι 'I did it'): ib. 536 δέδρακα τοὔργον (and so the speaker, Ismene, remains a perpetrator of it);

also *A*. 22 νυκτὸς ... τῆσδε πρᾶγος ἄσκοπον | ἔχει περάνας, εἴπερ εἴργασται τάδε (note equivalence of the periphrastic form ἔχει περάνας: the verb περαίνω provides no resultative perfect from itself). *T*. 537 κόρην ... παρεισδέδεγμαι 'I have taken her into my house' (and there she is). *OT* 546 βαρύν σ' ηὕρηκ' ἐμοί 'I have found you stern to me' (as you still are). *OC* 376 Πολυνείκη ... ἐξελήλακεν πάτρας 'has made P. an exile'.

The use is more common in Sophocles than is regularly stated. Wackernagel lists 10 verbs (with one doubtful) as making this type of perfect in his plays, but admits that more examples might be found: his figures for Aeschylus and Euripides are 9 and 11 uses respectively. Chantraine (op. cit. 127 f.) increases the total to 17 verbs (but these can be supplemented by other forms listed by him previously, ibid. 123 ff.). My own reckoning would make this figure 29, with two of them open to doubt. These forms are as follows (excluding the seven already illustrated): ἀκήκοα *A*. 480 etc., ἐκβέβληκα *P*. 600 etc., βεβούλευκα *OT* 701, βέβρωκα *T*. 1054 etc., δέδορκα *OC* 894 etc., ἔγνωκα ib. 96 etc., εἴληφα *OT* 643 etc., εἴληχα *A*. 1058 etc., ἀπεστέρηκα *P*. 931 etc., διέφθορα *E*. 306, ἔψευσμαι *OT* 461, παρῆκα *T*. 682, ἠπάτηκα *P*. 929, κέχονα fr. 1058, ἐπιλέλογχα *OC* 1235* (taken as transitive), λέλοιπα *T*. 327, ὄπωπα *An*. 6 etc., πέπωκα *T*. 1056, ἀνατέτροφα (-τρέπω) ib. 1008*, τέτροφα (τρέφω) *OC* 186*: less certain, but possible, are ἦρμαι *E*. 54 (ἠρμένοι, if not passive), ἐξήρπασμαι *OC* 1016 (-ασμένοι s.v.l.).

§ 21. *Gnomic and general use*

The perfect occasionally appears in gnomic use or general description. *OC* 1235* τό τε κατάμεμπτον ἐπιλέλογχε ... γῆρας 'disparaged old age falls to his lot' (probably transitive, with object understood: cf. Pind. *O*. 1, 53 ἀκέρδεια λέλογχεν θαμινὰ κακαγόρος): in this passage, starting at 1214*, the other tenses used are future, aorist and present. Fr. 255, 4 (of the miraculous, and repeated, growth of a vine) πρῶτα μὲν λαμπρᾶς ἕω | κεκλημάτωται χλωρὸν οἰνάνθης δέμας 'first in the bright dawn the green vine-shoot is furnished with tendrils' (verb passive, or middle): the other tenses with it are present. *E*. 64. *An*. 1126*. Such use on the one hand shows the special value of the perfect (the state achieved), and on the other consorts readily with the very frequent use of the present as a gnomic or general tense: temporally the two tenses are not distinguished (cf. Ruipérez 165 f.).

§ 22. *Apparent approximation of perfect to aorist use*

Chantraine (op. cit. 184 ff.) finds some passages in Classical, both in verse and in prose, where the sense of the perfect is hard to separate from

that of the aorist; and among these are examples from Sophocles. *OC* 825 οὔτε γὰρ τὰ νῦν [δίκαια πράσσεις οὔθ' ἃ πρόσθεν εἴργασαι 'your present actions are unlawful, as also your previous deeds': with this contrast the aorist ib. 854 οὔτε νῦν καλὰ [δρᾷς οὔτε πρόσθεν εἰργάσω βίᾳ φίλων. Similar are *P.* 924 τί μ', ὦ ξένε, [δέδρακας;, and ib. 940 οἷ' ἔργ' ὁ παῖς μ' ἔδρασεν. He compares also the coupling ib. 928 οἷα μ' εἰργάσω, [οἷ' ἠπάτηκας, and ib. 1172 τί μ' ὤλεσας; τί μ' εἴργασαι; Note too ib. 664 δέδωκας, followed by 666 ἀνέστησας; ib. 676* λόγῳ μὲν ἐξήκουσ', ὄπωπα δ'οὐ μάλα .... But such evidence does not lead to the conclusion that the perfect is equated with the aorist in Soph. (as it was to be in Post-Classical: Schwyzer 287 fin., Funk 177). In all these cases the perfect seems to have its proper value: a repetition of the verb with a change to the aorist (stylistic variation?) only shows, as was said above (§ 15), that the aorist, while not expressing the idea of perfectivity, does not therefore rule it out of court.

§ 23. *Reference to future in apodosis*

In conditional apodosis relating to the future, the perfect expresses a result with certainty (Goodwin § 51). *P.* 76 εἴ με ... αἰσθήσεται, [ὄλωλα, καὶ σὲ προσδιαφθερῶ (note coupling with the future) 'if he observes me, I am a dead man, and shall destroy you along with myself'. *OT* 1166 ὄλωλας, εἴ σε ταῦτ' ἐρήσομαι πάλιν.

§ 24. *Pluperfect*

The pluperfect puts into a past context the tense and aspect realised by the perfect in the present. *E.* 723 καὶ πρὶν μὲν ὀρθοὶ πάντες ἕστασαν δίφροι 'previously all the chariots had stayed upright'. Some uses come close to the aorist, but it is possible to detect special nuances. *T.* 610 οὕτω γὰρ ηὔγμην ... 'for such was my vow ...': though an aorist would have been possible, the use of the perfect stem shows the continuing effect of the vow. *OC* 1590 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφῖκτο τὸν ... ὀδὸν [... ἔστη 'when he was arrived at the threshold, he stood ...': ἀφῖκτο has a sense of finality which the aorist would lack, this was the end of Oedipus' wandering. Ib. 1622 ὡς δὲ πρὸς τέλος [γόων ἀφίκοντ' οὐδ' ἔτ' ὠρώρει βοή, [ἦν μὲν σιωπή ... 'when they came to the end of wailing and the sound rose no more ...'. Cf. A. *Ag.* 653 ὠρώρει κακά 'troubles arose', and Epic use such as *Il.* 11, 500 βοὴ δ' ἄσβεστος ὀρώρει. It has been suggested that this is an Epic type of pluperfect, to denote continuation of narrative (cf. Fraenkel on *Ag.* 653), but there is no need to suppose the existence of such a use at all (Wackernagel 1, 186). In the present tense ὄρνυμαι = 'bestir oneself', hence perf. ὄρωρα = 'I arise' (as the result of such action): the plupf. is nothing other

than the past of such a perfect, 'arose'. *T*. 988 ἆρ' ἐξῄδησθ' ὅσον ἦν κέρδος ...; (-δης codd., ἐξῄδησ' edd.) 'did you fully understand how much better it was (not to wake him)?', with the implication that it was not so understood. This will be the usual past sense appropriate to the past of οἶδα. The meaning is not 'had not I clearly told you?' (Paley ap. Jebb), 'ne t'avais-je pas dit'? (Mazon): what is questioned is the *depth* of Hyllus' appreciation of the situation (note the preverb ἐξ-).

§ 25. *Future perfect*

The future perfect puts into the future the perfective notion, just as the pluperfect puts it into the past. *A*. 577 τὰ δ' ἄλλα τεύχη κοίν' ἐμοὶ τεθάψεται 'the rest of my arms shall share my burial' (i.e. be buried and stay so). Ib. 1141 ἀλλ' ἀνταχούσῃ τοῦτον ὡς τεθάψεται 'my answer is this, that burial *shall* be his lot': here the effect is different, a forceful or emphatic future is achieved by speaking of the act as already accomplished in the future. Cf. *OC* 861 τοῦτο νῦν πεπράξεται (spoken as a threat). *An*. 91, also *T*. 587 πεπαύσομαι 'I shall have done, I shall do no more' (the speaker will desist, and remain inactive): note (with Kamerbeek) the use of perfects alongside in *Trach*. (586 μεμηχάνηται, 589 βεβουλεῦσθαι), conveying the idea of irrevocability. *P*. 1276 μάτην γὰρ ἂν εἴπῃς γε πάντ' εἰρήσεται 'everything that you may say will have been said in vain': as in the last example, accompanied by perfects (1274, -76 δέδοκται, -80 πέπαυμαι). *OT* 411 οὐ Κρέοντος προστάτου γεγράψομαι 'I shall not stand registered under Creon as patron'.

§ 26. *Future: prospective (including gnomic) use*

The prospective use of the future anticipates a future occurrence. *E*. 672 προσφιλεῖς λέξεις λόγους 'your words will be welcome'. *OT* 84 τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα, ib. 108 ποῦ τόδ' εὑρεθήσεται | ἴχνος; *An*. 93 εἰ ταῦτα λέξεις, ἐχθαρῇ μὲν ἐξ ἐμοῦ .... *T*. 713 μόνη γὰρ αὐτόν, εἴ τι μὴ ψευσθήσομαι | γνώμης, ἐγὼ δύστηνος ἐξαποφθερῶ (of what may be destined to happen). *An*. 726 διδαξόμεσθα 'are we to be taught (by such as he)?' (i.e. 'must we ...?'). *P*. 1424 (in prophesy). In deliberative questions (equivalent to the subjunctive, with which it may be coupled): *T*. 973 τί πάθω; τί δὲ μήσομαι; *P*. 969 οἴμοι, τί δράσω; (cf. 963 τί δρῶμεν;). *An*. 377 πῶς ... ἀντιλογήσω; (if not aor. subj.); similarly *OC* 310 τί λέξω;

In gnomic use, where a time distinction is involved (Kühner-Gerth 1, 171). *An*. 662 ἐν τοῖς γὰρ οἰκείοισιν ὅστις ἔστ' ἀνὴρ | χρηστός, φανεῖται κἀν πόλει δίκαιος ὤν 'the man who does what is right among his own family, will be found doing his duty also in the state': the main clause is presented as a confident prediction (and it is suggested that he enters the arena of public

life after showing his quality in private). Ib. 362* ἄπορος ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἔρχεται τὸ μέλλον (sc. περιφραδὴς ἀνήρ). Ἅιδα μόνον φεῦξιν οὐκ ἐπάξεται: death inevitably comes *later*, to close his career (in addition to presents, this passage also has aor. ἐδιδάξατο (356) and perf. ξυμπέφρασται (364). Fr. 677 οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ἄνδρα γενναῖον φρένας | τέρπειν, ὅπου γε μὴ δίκαια τέρψεται: the result of his enjoying such pleasures is foreseen ('in cases where his pleasure will be found to be in what is improper').

§ 27. *Future: voluntative use*

In the voluntative use intention or will are expressed. *P.* 439 ἀναξίου μὲν φωτὸς ἐξερήσομαι 'I wish to ask you about a base man'. Ib. 1231 τί χρῆμα δράσεις; 'what do you wish to do?'. Ib. 441 ποίου δὲ τούτου πλήν γ' Ὀδυσσέως ἐρεῖς; 'of whom do you intend to speak, if not of Odysseus?' (the speaking has now occurred: 442 οὐ τοῦτον εἶπον). Similarly *OC* 596 ἐρεῖς, *E.* 560 λέξω. *A.* 825 αἰτήσομαι δέ σε ... 'I wish to ask you ...'. *OT* 1446 σοί γ' ἐπισκήπτω τε καὶ προστρέψομαι 'I lay this charge on you, and wish to entreat you ...'. Also in conditional protasis: *T.* 732 εἰ μή τι λέξεις 'unless you desire to speak', *OC* 166* λόγον εἴ τιν' οἴσεις (ἔχεις v.l.). *OT* 54 εἴπερ ἄρξεις τῆσδε γῆς 'if it is your desire to rule this land' (or else prospective, 'if you are going to rule', i.e. it is so fated). In indirect question: *An.* 41 εἰ ξυμπονήσεις καὶ ξυνεργάσῃ σκόπει 'consider whether you wish to collaborate and aid the deed'.

βούλομαι may be drawn into the future itself by blending of the two alternative means of expressing will (the lexical and the syntactic) (Kühner-Gerth 1, 172; Bruhn § 106). *OC* 1289 ταῦτα ... βουλήσομαι ... κυρεῖν ἐμοί 'I wish that I may have the benefit of these matters'. Less certain is *OT* 1077 τοὐμὸν δ' ἐγὼ ... σπέρμ' ἰδεῖν βουλήσομαι 'I wish to find out about my birth'; the alternative is possible, 'I shall maintain my wish, come what may'. Also *A.* 681, where βουλ. probably indicates the future intention of Ajax.

§ 28. *Future: use in command*

The future can express a weak or polite form of command (concessive): *OC* 956 πράξεις οἷον ἂν θέλῃς 'do (= you may do) what you will'. *OT* 1517 λέξεις, καὶ τότ' εἴσομαι κλύων. The will of the first person seems here to be applied to the second: so, 'it is *my* will that *you* do this'.

In a negatived interrogative sentence the future expresses an order in a forceful tone. *OT* 637 οὐκ εἶ σύ τ' οἴκους σύ τε, Κρέον, κατὰ στέγας, | καὶ μὴ τὸ μηδὲν ἄλγος εἰς μέγ' οἴσετε; (spoken with impatience): the continuation with μή is a prohibition, 'go ... and do not you (pl.) make a mountain out of a mole-hill' (see further Ch. 23 § 11 on οὐ μή, and οὐ ... μή with the future in prohibition and denial). *OC* 834 οὐκ ἀφήσεις; 'let her go' (threatening). Ib.

897 οὔκουν τις ... προσπόλων ... πάντ' ἀναγκάσει λεὼν ... σπεύδειν; 'one of you attendants must make all the people hasten ...' (order given in haste). *OT* 431, 1146, *A*. 75, *T*. 1183, etc. Coupled with a following imperative: *An*. 885 οὐκ ἄξεθ' ὡς τάχιστα καὶ ... ἄφετε μόνην ....

§ 29. *Periphrastic forms of the verb*

Periphrastic forms are made with participles linked to auxiliaries, especially to εἶναι and ἔχειν. Bruhn 61 f.; G. Björck, ΗΝ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΩΝ (1940); J. Pouilloux (on ἔχω and aor. part.), *Mélanges Merlier*, 3, 117 ff. (Athens, 1957); H. B. Rosén, *Mus. Helv.* 1957, 133 ff.; J. Gonda, *Mnemosyne* 1959, 97 ff.; W. J. Aerts, *Periphrastica* (1965); L. Rydbeck, *Glotta*, 1969, 186 ff.; W. Dietrich, *Glotta*, 1973, 188 ff.

(a) εἶναι with prest. part. As shown by Aerts (8 ff.), it is necessary to distinguish cases which are not strictly a substitute for a unitary verb form. So especially where the part. takes the place of a predicative adjective. *A*. 534 πρέπον ἂν ἦν, *OT* 274 τάδ' ἔστ' ἀρέσκοντα, ib. 126 δοκοῦντα ταῦτ' ἦν, ib. 747 βλέπων ᾖ, *OC* 653 ἔσται μέλον. Or, the participle (articular) may be the equivalent of a noun: *OT* 139 ὅστις ἦν ὁ κτανών, ib. 754 τίς ἦν ... ὁ λέξας ...;. With substantive εἶναι (and adjectival part.): *E*. 1178 τόδ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖνο καὶ μάλ' ἀθλίως ἔχον, *OT* 708 ἔστι σοι | βρότειον οὐδὲν μαντικῆς ἔχον τέχνης 'know that there is nothing mortal which possesses ...', ib. 801 ἡ κελεύθου τῆσδ' ὁδοιπορῶν πέλας, ib. 991, *P*. 643. But distinction of an adjectival part. is not always easy: *A*. 1062 οὔτις ἔστ' ἀνὴρ σθένων | τοσοῦτον ὥστε ..., there is little or nothing to choose between a substantive use of εἶναι ('no man exists with such might') or a periphrastic (= σθένει).

In true periphrasis the value is often that of describing a state, of setting a situation (so Gonda and Aerts): such a situation may serve as the background or framework of another action. The form of expression, which is closer to the nominal, and less purely verbal (whence the adjectival use), suits portrayal of a situation rather than of an event. *A*. 1324 ἤκουσεν αἰσχρά · δρῶν γὰρ ἦν τοιαῦτά με (his actions towards me were vile, and so in that situation he was reviled): cf. ib. 1320 οὐ γὰρ κλύοντές ἐσμεν αἰσχίστους λόγους (if not aor. κλυόντες, with Kamerbeek). *T*. 22 ὅστις ἦν | θακῶν ἀταρβὴς τῆς θέας, ὅδ' ἂν λέγοι 'if any one sat there (i.e. while the fight was going on) not made afraid by the sight, he might tell of it'. *P*. 420 μέγα | θάλλοντές εἰσι νῦν ἐν 'Αργείων στρατῷ. Ib. 412 οὐκ ἦν ἔτι ζῶν (Αἴας) (i.e. when Neoptolemus was robbed of the arms of Achilles).

Other views, that the verbal idea is emphasised (Kühner-Gerth 1, 38), or alternatively that emphasis falls on some element in the sentence other than the verb (Rosén), do not seem to find solid justification.

(b) εἶναι with aor. part. The aspectual force of the participle is to be noted: so in an adjectival use, *OT* 90 οὔτε γὰρ θρασὺς [οὔτ' οὖν προδείσας εἰμὶ τῷ γε νῦν λόγῳ 'I am neither bold, nor at once thrown into fear by anticipation' (note coupling with θρασύς: Goodwin § 830, Aerts 34): the aorist of the sudden reaction. Ib. 970 οὕτω δ' ἂν θανὼν εἴη 'ξ ἐμοῦ 'in that case his death would be found due to me' (not equivalent to ἂν θάνοι, but rather to ἂν ἔθανε: the death has in fact occurred). Other examples show the future of εἰμί: ib. 1146 οὐ σιωπήσας ἔσῃ;, *An.* 1067 ἀντιδοὺς ἔσῃ, *OC* 816 λυπηθεὶς ἔσῃ. Jebb compares these to future perfects, but it is hardly possible to justify this. The force of the participles in themselves is aoristic (σιωπήσας 'becoming silent'; ἀντιδούς and λυπηθείς also punctual, of the immediate reaction in suffering, spoken of in threat), and the addition of ἔσῃ can only add futurity. The purpose of the tense is to provide a future tense with aoristic aspect.

T. 1 λόγος μὲν ἔστ' ἀρχαῖος ἀνθρώπων φανείς: this cannot be periphrastic (as if = perf. πέφανται), φανείς is attributive and primarily linked with ἀρχαῖος, 'which arose of old'.

With γίγνεσθαι. In prohibition, *A.* 588 μὴ προδοὺς ἡμᾶς γένῃ 'do not become one that betrays us'. *P.* 773 μὴ σαυτόν θ' ἅμα [κἄμ' ... κτείνας γένῃ 'do not be the killer at once of yourself and of me'. In command, *OT* 957 αὐτός μοι σὺ σημήνας γενοῦ (v.l. σημάντωρ) 'be the reporter of it yourself'. In all these the participle is used substantivally (the variant σημάντωρ may be seen as originating in a gloss, taking the same view: μηνυτής is in turn found as a gloss on it). It is inadvisable to give a past meaning to the participle, as for *A.* 588 'do not make yourself guilty of having betrayed us' (as would Jebb on *OT* 957): it would in any case be impossible for *OT* 957. The fuller form of expression is perhaps more impressive.

(c) εἶναι with the perfect part. It is noted by Aerts 36 ff. that medio-passive partt. predominate generally; for Sophocles he gives the figures 5 medio-passive, 4 active (of which none is resultative). *T.* 941 κλαίων ὀθούνεκ' ἐκ δυοῖν ἔσοιθ' ... ὠρφανισμένος 'crying that he would be bereaved by both', ὠρφ. describing the resulting and permanent state to be arrived at: the word order (the placing of ἐκ δυοῖν) tells against the version 'he would live bereaved by both', with substantive εἰμί. But ib. 578 δόμοις γὰρ ἦν [... ἐγκεκλῃμένον is probably not periphrastic. Ib. 247 ἦ κἀπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει τὸν ἄσκοπον [χρόνον βεβὼς ἦν; 'was it really at that city that he stayed for that time beyond expectation?': as βέβηκε can have the meaning 'be, be at rest (in a place)' (see § 18 above), so βεβώς is used here (and not as equivalent to οἰχόμενος, as Campbell on *T.* 41), with special emphasis on the fixed state. *P.* 550 ἤκουσα τοὺς ναύτας ὅτι [σοὶ πάντες εἶεν συνναυστοληκότες (οἱ

νεναυ- codd.): the awkwardness of the unitary form leads to the use of the periphrastic, as is common in the perf. subjunctive and optative. *An.* 320 ἐμπεφυκὸς εἶ, *OT* 262 ἦν ἂν ἐκπεφυκότα: little or no distinction from the unitary form (again perhaps metrical convenience in the plupf.).

(d) The principal use of ἔχω as an auxiliary is with the aor. part. (σχῆμα Ἀττικόν, Σοφόκλειον), providing an equivalent of a transitive, resultative perfect, and often being suppletive for a non-existent, or rare, unitary form of the perfect (Bruhn 62; Kühner-Gerth 2, 61 f.; Aerts 159). The use is especially favoured in tragedy, and by Soph.: Aerts lists 1 example in Aesch. (*Th.* 947* can be taken with *part. coniunctum*, but fr. 304, 2 is a sure case), 28 in Soph., 24 in Eur.; Pouilloux quotes no example for Aesch., 24 for Soph., 4 (!) for Eur. In Soph. notice the concentration of 10 cases in *An.* alone. On the liking of Soph. for the construction, see too Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec* 251. The aor. part. here seems to add a past notion to the continuing effect of ἔχω. Pouilloux's explanation (linking with arbitrary, illegitimate acts) must be rejected. There may be metrical advantage in the use: out of 20 cases in Soph. in iambic lines, 17 have a form of ἔχω as the end of the line.

E. 590 τοὺς δὲ πρόσθεν ... ἐκβαλοῦσ' ἔχεις 'you have cast out your children born before'. *An.* 22 τὼ κασιγνήτω ... τὸν μὲν προτίσας, τὸν δ' ἀτιμάσας ἔχει (perf. of ἀτιμάω not before Plato): cf. ib. 77 τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔντιμ' ἀτιμάσασ' ἔχε (unitary form of imper. not in use: ἀτιμ. ἔχε 'keep in dishonour'). *OT* 577 ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐμὴν γήμας ἔχεις; (an example of what was probably the original type, with ἔχειν open to construction not as an auxiliary and with *part. coniunctum*). Cf. *A.* 676 οὐδ' ἀεὶ (ὁ ὕπνος) λαβὼν ἔχει, where periphrasis is out of the question: 'and sleep does not always keep hold on men after taking possession of them'. *An.* 1058 ἐξ ἐμοῦ γὰρ τήνδ' ἔχεις σώσας πόλιν 'it is through my aid that you have saved this city': here it is more tempting to see a blending of the other possible construction 'you are master of this city, having saved it', in view of the less common word order with ἔχεις before the part. But *A.* 22 ἔχει περάνας (no perf. act. form), *An.* 794* ἔχεις ταράξας, have the same order without that possibility. *T.* 403 εἰς τί δή με τοῦτ' ἐρωτήσας ἔχεις; 'with what purpose have you asked me this?': here the action is one just performed, and so too *An.* 192 καὶ νῦν ... κηρύξας ἔχω, *OC* 817 ἀπειλήσας ἔχεις (the threat remains in force), ib. 1474 συμβαλὼν ἔχεις, *A.* 22 (Roussel on *OT* 577); also *P.* 1362 θαυμάσας ἔχω *OC* 1140 id. But it does not seem justified to find an aoristic sense, as Pearson (on fr. 892) proposes e.g. for *P.* 1362 καὶ σοῦ δ' ἔγωγε θαυμάσας ἔχω τόδε: in this use, as in *OC* 1140, the perfective value is seen in the feeling that is strongly held.

The use is rarer with intrans. verbs (Aerts 136 f.). *T.* 37 νῦν δ' ἡνίκ'

... [ἐνταῦθα δὴ μάλιστα ταρβήσασ' ἔχω 'but now, when ..., at this very time I am most filled with fear', *OT* 731 οὐδέ πω λήξαντ' ἔχει 'not yet has it (the rumour) ceased, it is not stopped' (λήγω lacks a perfect). In such a use, if not simply an extension of the transitive form, ἔχω may have its own intrans. value indicating a state (as with adverbs, πῶς ἔχεις;, εὖ ἔχειν, etc.). Also fr. 41 εἰ μικρὸς ὢν τὰ φαῦλα νικήσας ἔχω (τὰ φ. probably internal accus.).

(e) There is also rare use of ἔχω with perf. part., with the same meaning as the aor. part. *OT* 701 οἷά μοι βεβουλευκὼς ἔχει (following 699 στήσας ἔχεις). *P.* 600 εἶχον ἐκβεβληκότες (equivalent of pluperf.).

ἔχω with prest. part. is not certain, since it is possible to explain *T.* 647* otherwise: ὃν ἀπόπτολιν εἴχομεν παντᾶ (or πάντα, as codd.) δυοκαιδεκάμηνον ἀμμένουσαι χρόνον. If ἀμμένουσαι is *part. coniunctum*, the phrase ὃν ἀπόπτολιν εἴχομεν is strained for 'we suffered his absence from our land': with εἴχομεν it would have been expected that the reference was to presence or proximity, not to absence. It is at least equally possible that εἴχομεν ... ἀμμένουσαι makes a rare periphrasis 'for whom we kept on waiting', with the meaning of duration stressed and the setting provided for another action, as seen in (a) above with εἶναι and prest. part.: this other action follows (ἁ δέ οἱ φίλα δάμαρ ... αἰὲν ὤλλυτο). It is inadequate to dismiss periphrasis as 'inadmissible' (Jebb): there is a parallel in E. *Tr.* 317* τὸν θανόντα πατέρα πατρίδα τε φίλαν καταστένουσ' ἔχεις.

(f) ἰέναι with the prest. part. emphasises the continuance of an act. *P.* 1199* μ' εἶσι φλογίζων 'proceeds with my destruction by fire' (carries on with it).

With the fut. part. it indicates intention. Ib. 1366 τοῖσδε σὺ [εἶ ξυμμαχήσων; 'are you going to be their ally?'. *OC* 503 εἶμ' ἐγὼ τελοῦσα 'I shall go to perform the rite'. But the literal sense of *going* is also present.

B. *Tenses outside the indicative*

§ 30. *Imperative, subjunctive, optative*

For tense usage in the imperative, subjunctive and optative moods, see Ch. 12 (on modal use).

§ 31. *Infinitive*

The infinitive is capable of expressing principally either aspect or time relations; broadly speaking, the division is between use in indirect speech and some related constructions (time) and elsewhere (aspect). But there is some overlap. Goodwin §§ 96-101, 117 ff.; Humbert 161-9; Burguière, *Histoire de l'infinitif en grec*, 57-73.

(a) The aspectual use is found dependent on verbs of *ordering*, *advising*, *wishing*, *allowing*, *being able*; as complement of δοκεῖ 'seems good', δεῖ, δίκαιόν ἐστι, etc. *T*. 989 ... ὅσον ἦν κέρδος σιγῇ κεύθειν καὶ μὴ σκεδάσαι τῷδ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς βλεφάρων θ' ὕπνον (prest. κεύθειν, of the continuous act of maintaining silence, aor. σκεδάσαι momentary, of dispelling sleep). *P*. 496 ('I kept on beseeching him') αὐτόστολον πέμψαντα μ' ἐκσῶσαι. Ib. 998 Τροίαν σ' ἑλεῖν δεῖ καὶ κατασκάψαι βίᾳ. Ib. 619 τούτων κάρα [τέμνειν ἐφεῖτο τῷ θέλοντι μὴ τυχών: the present here (in place of a possible aorist) seems to signify 'to proceed to cut my head off' (in certain events), it is not a simple order 'cut my head off'. *An*. 96 ἔα με ... παθεῖν τὸ δεινὸν τοῦτο. *E*. 697 δύναιτ' ἂν οὐδ' ἂν ἰσχύων φυγεῖν. Ib. 285 οὐδὲ γὰρ κλαῦσαι πάρα [τοσόνδε ...: the aorist implying completion of grief (Jebb). *An*. 1102 δοκεῖ παρεικαθεῖν; (δοκεῖ *per emend.*, -εῖς codd.) 'does it seem right (to you) that I should yield?'. (The difficulty with δοκεῖς is that the personal use meaning 'think to do, intend' is used of action intended by the subject himself.) Ib. 1173 τεθνᾶσιν· οἱ δὲ ζῶντες αἴτιοι θανεῖν: the aorist does not refer explicitly to the past. *E*. 1338 ἀπηλλάχθαι δ' ἀκμή (sc. μακρῶν λόγων) 'to have done with' (finally).

(b) Temporal meaning (relative to the time of the governing verb) occurs after verbs of *saying* and *thinking*. Aspect is of course also present at the same time, just as it would be in the indicative uses for which this infin. is a substitute (and similarly is absent from the future). The prest. infin. can have past reference as well as present, as equivalent to an imperfect: *A*. 1097 ἦ σὺ φῂς ἄγειν [τόνδ' ἄνδρα ...; 'do you say that you brought him?'. *OT* 745 ἔοιχ' ... οὐκ εἰδέναι 'it seems that I was not aware' (Goodwin § 119). The aorist also refers to the past: ib. 39 λέγῃ νομίζῃ θ' ἡμὶν ὀρθῶσαι βίον 'it is said and believed that you restored us'. *An*. 1094 ἐπιστάμεσθα ... μή πώποτ' αὐτὸν ψεῦδος ... λακεῖν. *T*. 878 τίνι τρόπῳ θανεῖν σφε φῄς; Ib. 171 τὴν ... φηγὸν αὐδῆσαί ποτε ... ἔφη. *E*. 558 πατέρα φῂς κτεῖναι.

Perfect. *T*. 745 ἄζηλον οὕτως ἔργον εἰργάσθαι με φῄς; Ib. 487 βούλου λόγους [οὓς εἶπας ἐς τήνδ' ἐμπέδως εἰρηκέναι 'consent that what you have said touching her are words unalterable'.

Future. Ib. 1171 ἔφασκε μόχθων ... [λύσιν τελεῖσθαι· κἀδόκουν πράξειν καλῶς. Future also with verbs of *hoping*, *promising*: *An*. 898 ἐν ἐλπίσιν τρέφω [φίλη μὲν ἥξειν πατρί. *P*. 616 ὑπέσχετο [τὸν ἄνδρ' Ἀχαιοῖς τόνδε δηλώσειν.

Exceptionally, verbs of *being able* may take a fut. infin. as complement, instead of a prest. or aor., in reference to the future (Goodwin § 113; Schwyzer 295 α 1; Kühner-Gerth 1, 185). *P*. 1394 τί δῆτ' ἂν ἡμεῖς δρῷμεν, εἰ σέ γ' ἐν λόγοις [πείσειν δυνησόμεσθα μηδὲν ὧν λέγω; (πείθειν, πεῖσαι edd.). Cf. Jebb ad loc. (App.).

δοκῶ 'seem', ἔοικα 'id.', take the same use of the infin. as verbs of *thinking*. *OT* 347 ἴσθι γὰρ δοκῶν ἐμοὶ | καὶ ξυμφυτεῦσαι τοὖργον εἰργάσθαι θ' 'I tell you that I think you both joined in plotting the deed, and executed it'. Ib. 402 κλαίων δοκεῖς μοι ... ἀγηλατήσειν 'I think you will rue your act of purification'. *E.* 805 ἆρ' ὑμὶν ... δεινῶς δακρῦσαι ... δοκεῖ; 'do you think she wept fearfully?'. *A.* 1239 πικροὺς ἔοιγμεν ... ἀγῶνας κηρῦξαι τότε 'I think that the contest we then proclaimed is cause for regret'. Apparently against the general rule is *E.* 443 σκέψαι γὰρ εἴ σοι προσφιλῶς αὐτῇ δοκεῖ | γέρα τάδ' οὑν τάφοισι δέξασθαι νέκυς (δέξεσθαι edd. plurimi, or δέξασθ' ἄν). The sense required for δεξ. is future, and such an aor. infin. would be against Soph.'s usage with δοκῶ elsewhere. But apart from Homer, where aor. infin. would be acceptable, there is a number of possible parallels for it with verbs of *saying* and *thinking* (Kühner-Gerth 1, 196; Goodwin §§ 127, 136; Jebb ad loc., with Appdx.) so especially S. fr. 339 ἦ φῄς ἐπομνὺς ἀνθυπουργῆσαι χάριν; (on which see Pearson), A. *Th.* 429 φησὶ ... σχεθεῖν, E. *Or.* 1527 δοκεῖς ... τλῆναι. Dawe remarks (*Gnomon*, 1976, 231) that the most convincing examples have *strong* aorists: but should that be decisive (presumably more 'convincing' on the ground that emendation is formally harder, or impossible)?

With μέλλω 'be about to, delay to, be fated to' both prest. and fut. infinn. are used equally (Goodwin §§ 73 ff.; Stahl 195 f.; Jebb on *OT* 967). *OT* 678 τί μέλλεις κομίζειν δόμων τόνδ' ἔσω; *P.* 1084* σ' οὐκ ἔμελλον ... λείψειν οὐδέποτε. The aor. is rare, but some certain examples occur in tragedy (A. *Pr.* 625, and three times in Eur.); and there is strong MSS support for aor. at *OT* 967 κτανεῖν ἔμελλον πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν 'I was fated to kill my father' (κτενεῖν (fut.) v.l.). The sense of μέλλω is the same at A. *Pr.* 625 ὅπερ μέλλω παθεῖν 'the fate which I have to suffer', E. *Ion* 760 θανεῖν μέλλω (cf. Groeneboom on *Pr.* 625). However, Soph. has fut. with this sense of μέλλω at *P.* 1084*, *A.* 926*, 1027.

OT 269 ff. εὔχομαι θεοὺς | μήτ' ἄροτον αὐτοῖς γῆς ἀνιέναι τινὰ | ..., ἀλλὰ τῷ πότμῳ | τῷ νῦν φθερεῖσθαι κἄτι τοῦδ' ἐχθίονι 'I pray the gods to send them neither fruit of the earth ..., but vow that they will be wasted by their present fate or one still more bitter'. It is possible here to link the use of the two tenses of the infin. with different senses of εὔχομαι: (i) 'to pray that something may happen' (prest. ἀνιέναι), (ii) 'to vow that something will happen' (fut. φθερεῖσθαι): so Stahl 200, and the blending of the two uses would suit Sophoclean usage. Oedipus would pass from a prayer to a confident prophesy of disaster. Alternatively, the future is explained like that after δύναμαι (*P.* 1394 above): such a use might be favoured, in order to contrast with the present reference of τῷ πότμῳ τῷ νῦν.

§ 32. *Participle: introduction*

The participle is concerned especially with the expression of aspect; but temporal use (referring to relative time) may also occur. These two features reflect the participle's dual nature, as both a nominal and a verbal element; where time is thus indicated, the participle can be seen as substituting for a finite form. In essence, the participle is indifferent to time, but for contextual reasons the prest. and perf. participles are found especially associated with (relative) contemporary time, and the aorist with past time (Schwyzer 298 f.; A. Oguse, *Recherches sur le participe circonstanciel en grec ancien* (1962)).

§ 33. *Present participle*

OC 428 οἵ γε τὸν φύσαντ' ἐμὲ [... πατρίδος ἐξωθούμενον [οὐκ ἔσχον 'they did not check me, their father, when I was being expelled from my country': the part. ἐξωθ is used of the (contemporary past) condition that Oedipus was in, when they refused to intervene. Ib. 484 τρὶς ἐννέ' αὐτῇ κλῶνας ... τιθεὶς ἐλαίας τάσδ' ἐπεύχεσθαι λιτάς 'put on it three times nine branches of olive, and with it make this prayer': τιθείς used instead of θείς because the acts are to be carried out together. *E.* 1003 ὅρα κακῶς πράσσοντε μὴ μείζω κακὰ [κτησώμεθα 'take care that we, in an evil plight as we are, do not incur worse evil'. *OT* 480* φοιτᾷ ... τὰ μεσόμφαλα γᾶς ἀπονοσφίζων μαντεῖα 'he roams ... seeking to put aside the oracles': conative use. *P.* 495 πολλὰ γὰρ ... ἔστελλον αὐτὸν ἱκεσίους πέμπων λιτάς, [αὐτόστολον πέμψαντά μ' ἐκσῶσαι: iterative πέμπων, followed by the punctual πέμψαντα. *E.* 567 παίζων κατ' ἄλσος ἐξεκίνησεν ... ἔλαφον: παίζων sets the context ('he was having sport') for the punctual ἐξεκ. 'he disturbed'. Ib. 30 ὀξεῖαν ἀκοὴν τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις διδούς, [εἰ μή τι καιροῦ τυγχάνω, μεθάρμοσον 'listen carefully ... correct me': the time is not contemporary in διδούς, its aspect is appropriate to a continuous listening.

An. 1192 παρὼν ἐρῶ 'I, who was present, will speak': π. representing imperf. παρῆν (so here the time is past, both relatively and absolutely): cf. *OC* 1587 σύ που παρὼν ἔξοισθα. *T.* 380 πατρὸς μὲν οὖσα γένεσιν Εὐρύτου ποτὲ [Ἰόλη 'καλεῖτο, τῆς ἐκεῖνος οὐδαμὰ [βλάστας ἐφώνει δῆθεν οὐδὲν ἱστορῶν 'she was born daughter of Eurytus (οὖσα = ἦν), and called Iole: he never spoke of her birth, because he had been asking no questions': ἱστορῶν of relatively earlier time, with which compare the previous imperf. in 317 οὐδ' ἀνιστόρουν μακράν. *P.* 960, *OT* 835, *OC* 362, 760.

E. 1344 τελουμένων εἴποιμ' ἄν 'I shall say when the deed is done' (when the situation is τέλεον, relative past). A perfect, or aorist, might have been

expected. Jebb suggests that the circumstance is purposely vague, rightly rejecting the interpretation 'when the deed is being done': he compares the use of τελουμένων in E. *Andr.* 998 ἣν πάρος μὲν οὐκ ἐρῶ, | τελουμένων δὲ Δελφὶς εἴσεται πέτρα. It is possible in both passages to think of the part. as equivalent to the use of *praesens pro perfecto* in the indicative (on which see § 4 above): cf. Campbell's finding of a 'quasi-perfect sense'. As has been shown, the indic. use occurs where the effect of the action of the verb continues after its performance. So here then, 'when the deed (of taking vengeance) has been done and the issue is settled'. Familiar is the use in such cases as *An.* 325 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ | φανεῖτέ μοι τοὺς δρῶντας 'if you do not reveal to me the doers of this deed', *E.* 342 τῆς τικτούσης 'your mother', ib. 533, *OT* 1247 id. (Soph. uses more often aor. ἡ τεκοῦσα (and οἱ τεκόντες), with ὁ φύσας and ὁ φυτεύσας and their plurals. In *E.* 342 and *OT* 1247 the aor. is ruled out metrically, but would be possible at *E.* 533). *A.* 1248 εἰ τοὺς δίκῃ νικῶντας ἐξωθήσομεν 'if we push aside the rightful victors'. These however show a substantival form, with the article.

§ 34. *Perfect participle*

The perfect participle represents the fulfilment of the action in the past, with stress on its continuing effect. *A.* 454 ἐπεγγελῶσιν ἐκπεφευγότες 'they gloat, having made good their escape' (the result of their escape cannot now be reversed). Ib. 692 τάχ' ἄν με ... πύθοισθε ... σεσωσμένον 'hear of me that I have attained deliverance'. *OT* 1490 κεκλαυμέναι πρὸς οἶκον ἵξεσθε 'you will come home bathed in tears'. *An.* 926 παθόντες ἂν ξυγγνοῖμεν ἡμαρτηκότες 'when I have suffered, I shall be aware that I am responsible for wrong-doing' (the perfect stresses responsibility for the former action). *T.* 15 τοιόνδ' ἐγὼ μνηστῆρα προσδεδεγμένη 'in the (fearful) anticipation of such a suitor'. The use is of the 'intensive' perfect with present sense, as found in the indicative (see § 19 above), without any reference to the past: it is therefore equivalent to the prest. part. of 525* τὸν ὃν προσμένουσ' ἀκοίταν (cf. Epic ποτιδέγμενος, as at *Od.* 2, 186). So also *E.* 66 δεδορκότα 'living': cf. in the indic. *OT* 413 δέδορκας 'you have sight'.

§ 35. *Future participle*

The future participle always refers to a relatively future event (or possibility). *An.* 1065 εὖ κάτισθι μὴ πολλοὺς ... τρόχους ... ἡλίου τελῶν 'know that you will not live through many courses of the sun'. Ib. 1063 ὡς μὴ 'μπολήσων ἴσθι τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα. Frequently there is the idea of purpose, especially associated with verbs of motion: *T.* 1122 τῆς μητρὸς ἥκω τῆς ἐμῆς φράσων ..., *OC* 576 δώσων ἱκάνω, *An.* 286 πυρώσων ἦλθε.

The future also indicates power, or will, to perform an act. *E.* 1025 ὡς οὐχὶ συνδράσουσα νουθετεῖς τάδε 'your advice shows no will to share in the act'. *An.* 260 οὐδ' ὁ κωλύσων παρῆν 'nor was any one there with the will (or, power) to prevent us'.

§ 36. *Aorist participle*

In the aorist participle aspectual use is primary, as is seen most clearly in the 'coincident' use: in this the finite leading verb is itself usually aorist and of any mood, while semantically the part. and the leading verb are contemporaneous, and refer to the same action or to different parts of one total action (P. Schäfer, *Das Particip des Aoristes bei den Tragikern* (1894, Diss.) 3 ff.; Schwyzer 300 f.; Funk 175; Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 290). With aor. indic.: *T.* 255 ὅρκον αὐτῷ προσβαλὼν διώμοσεν ... 'he bound himself with an oath and swore ...'. Ib. 580 χιτῶνα τόνδ' ἔβαψα προσβαλοῦσ' ὅσα ... εἶπε 'I anointed the tunic, applying what he had told me'. With aor. imper.: *P.* 226 μή μ' ὄκνῳ [δείσαντες ἐκπλαγῆτ' ἀπηγριωμένον, ib. 1262 ἔξελθ', ἀμείψας τάσδε ... στέγας, *OT* 649 πιθοῦ θελήσας φρονήσας τε 'consent, show readiness and good sense'. With aor. subj.: *E.* 59 τί γάρ με λυπεῖ τοῦθ', ὅταν λόγῳ θανὼν [ἔργοισι σωθῶ;. With aor. opt.: *T.* 1251 οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε [κακὸς φανείην σοί γε πιστεύσας. With aor. infin.: *E.* 74 σοὶ δ' ἤδη, γέρον, [τὸ σὸν μελέσθω βάντι φρουρῆσαι χρέος. With fut. indic.: *E.* 974 λόγων ... εὔκλειαν ... σαυτῇ τε κἀμοὶ προσβαλεῖς πεισθεῖσ' ἐμοί. With prest. imper.: *T.* 1265 αἴρετ' ὀπαδοί, ... θέμενοι συγγνωμοσύνην. The use is well seen with verbs indicating *haste* (ingressive): *OT* 861 πέμψω ταχύνασα, *A.* 1164 ταχύνας σπεῦσον, *OT* 1074 βέβηκεν ... ᾄξασα.

With this compare the use of the supplementary part. with λανθάνω, τυγχάνω, κυρῶ: when these leading verbs are in tenses other than prest. and imperf., and principally in the aorist or historic prest., the attached aor. part. is coincident in time (Goodwin §§ 144, -6). *E.* 1403 φρουρήσουσ' ὅπως [Αἴγισθος ἡμᾶς μὴ λάθῃ μολὼν ἔσω. Ib. 745 λανθάνει (historic) στήλην ἄκραν [παίσας. *OT* 1479 καί σε ... [δαίμων ἄμεινον ἢ 'μὲ φρουρήσας τύχοι. *T.* 695 τυγχάνω (historic) ῥίψασα. (Contrast *OC* 1349 εἰ ... μὴ 'τύγχαν' αὐτὸν δεῦρο προσπέμψας ἐμοὶ [Θησεύς ... 'if it were not (now) the case that Theseus sent him to me ...'. Ib. 119* ποῦ κυρεῖ ἐκτόπιος συθείς; 'where is it that he has rushed?'. *E.* 1176, *P.* 30).

Purely aspectual use of the aor. part. has also been seen above in the periphrastic verb forms εἰμί, γίγνομαι plus aor. part. (§ 29 (b)).

But it would be going too far to claim that the circumstantial aor. part. always indicates nothing but the aspectual nuance. Where two consecutive actions are described, it is regularly the first (the earlier) which is expres-

sed by the aor. part., and the second by the finite verb (and usually with the part. preceding); and it is only to be expected that the part. acquired a relative temporal sense from this association (cf. Funk 174 f.). Note the series of events at *A*. 237* ff.: κριοὺς ἀνελὼν τοῦ μὲν κεφαλὴν ... ῥιπτεῖ θερίσας, τὸν δ' ... δήσας ... ῥυτῆρα λαβὼν παίει ... κακὰ δεννάζων ῥήματα. Hence two types of use can be seen. (a) Temporal sense absent, or weak (majority of cases): *P*. 619 τούτων κάρα | τέμνειν ἐφεῖτο τῷ θέλοντι μὴ τυχών 'he bade any of them who wished, to cut off his head, if he should fail' (= εἰ μὴ τύχοι). *E*. 295 βοᾷ παραστᾶσα: π. inceptive. Ib. 570 μηνίσασα ... κατεῖχ' Ἀχαιούς: μ. inceptive. Ib. 737 ὀξὺν δι' ὤτων κέλαδον ἐνσείσας θοαῖς | πώλοις διώκει: ἐνσ. punctual, of the sudden shout, contrasted with διώκει (durative). *A*. 1109 τόνδε ... εἰς ταφὰς ἐγὼ | θήσω δικαίως, οὐ τὸ σὸν δείσας στόμα: δείσας inceptive, 'not admitting any fear'. Ib. 1410 πατρὸς ... θιγὼν πλευρὰς σὺν ἐμοὶ τάσδ' ἐπικούφιζε: θιγὼν punctual 'lay your hands on him', ἐπικούφιζε durative 'support'. (b) Temporal sense in evidence (cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag*. 395* διώκει παῖς ὄρνιν, πόλει πρόστριμμα θείς, and ib. 785). *E*. 628 πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐκφέρει, μεθεῖσά μοι | λέγειν ἃ χρῄζοιμι 'you are possessed with anger, though you granted to me to say what I wished': the opt. χρῄζοιμι requires μεθεῖσα to be taken as a historic tense (Goodwin § 190). *A*. 1183 ἀρήγετ', ἔστ' ἐγὼ μόλω | τάφου μεληθεὶς τῷδε 'give aid until I return after seeing to his burial'. *An*. 1031 εὖ σοι φρονήσας εὖ λέγω 'because I have formed kindly thoughts towards you, I speak for your good'. *A*. 676 ὕπνος | λύει πεδήσας, οὐδ' ἀεὶ λαβὼν ἔχει 'sleep sets loose after shackling, and does not always keep possession after taking it'. Ib. 390 πῶς ἂν τὸν αἱμυλώτατον ... ὀλέσσας ... τέλος θάνοιμι καὐτός; 'would that I might kill the crafty one ... before finally dying myself': the force of the predication falls on the part., not on the finite verb, and it is the *priority* of ὀλέσσας for which the prayer is made. Similarly *OC* 1509 θέλω πόλιν ... μὴ ψεύσας θανεῖν 'I wish not to deceive the city before I die'; ib. 1347, *P*. 541. The resultant ambiguity of the aor. part. need not cause surprise. Just as this part., when temporal, sometimes refers to (relative) present time and sometimes to earlier time, so the prest. part. can refer both to present and to earlier time (the latter when equivalent to imperf. indic.): see § 33 above.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE MOODS

A. *The Indicative*

§ 1. *Introduction*

In general the indicative, when not modified by ἄν, is the mood used in assertion of what is factual, or in question anticipating such assertion: it is *Modus der Wirklichkeit* (Schwyzer 307). It is unmarked, lacking the specialization and subjective modifications found in the other moods. None the less, even without ἄν there are uses which come near to, or overstep, the border of actuality.

§ 2. *Special uses not modified by ἄν*

(i) The imperfect of verbs of *necessity*, *propriety*, *possibility*, etc. is used in relation to an action which did not occur, or is not occurring: thus ἔδει σε παρεῖναι 'you ought to have been present (but were not)'. The state of necessity etc. is in this way expressed without regard to the unreality of the action itself. *P.* 418 τούσδε γὰρ μὴ ζῆν ἔδει 'they ought not to be alive'. *OT* 1368 κρείσσων γὰρ ἦσθα μηκέτ' ὢν ἢ ζῶν τυφλός 'it would be better for you to be dead than alive and blind'. *OC* 342 οὓς μὲν εἰκὸς ἦν πονεῖν τάδε, [κατ' οἶκον οἰκουροῦσιν. *P.* 1062, 1363, *OT* 256. Goodwin §§ 415 ff.; Schwyzer 308; Kühner-Gerth 2, 202 ff.

With verbs of *wishing*, of what one wishes were now the situation, with regret that it is not so. *A.* 1400 ἀλλ' ἤθελον μέν· εἰ δὲ μὴ 'στί σοι φίλον [πράσσειν τάδ' ἡμᾶς, εἶμι ... 'I wish (that I could have been allowed to share in the burial); but if it is not agreeable to you that I should participate, I shall go'. Contrast with use of ἄν, *P.* 1239 ἀρχὴν κλύειν ἂν οὐδ' ἅπαξ ἐβουλόμην 'it would have been my wish not to hear these words at all, not even once' (implies 'that would have been my wish, if I had had the choice'); cf. ib. 427 ἂν ἠθέλησα, 1278 ἤθελον ἄν. Goodwin §§ 424 ff.

(ii) Unfulfilled wishes, relating to the past or present, are expressed in a number of ways. Goodwin §§ 732 ff.; Schwyzer 345 f.

(a) With εἴθε alone: *OT* 1217* εἴθε σ' εἴθε <σε> μήποτ' εἰδόμαν.

(b) With εἴθ' ὤφελον: *E.* 1021 εἴθ' ὤφελες τοιάδε τὴν γνώμην πατρὸς [θνῄσκοντος εἶναι (ὤφελες passing from the sense 'this ought to have happened' to 'would that it had happened').

(c) With ὡς ὤφελον: *E.* 1131 ὡς ὤφελον πάροιθεν ἐκλιπεῖν βίον, [πρὶν ....

(d) With ὤφελον alone: *OT* 1157 ὀλέσθαι δ' ὤφελον τῇδ' ἡμέρᾳ. Alternatively, as expression of regret 'I ought to have died...'.

(e) Negatived, with μὴ ὤφελον (the use of μή showing that ὤφελον is itself regarded as part of what is wished): *P.* 969 μήποτ' ὤφελον λιπεῖν [τὴν Σκῦρον. *T.* 997 ἣν μήποτ' ἐγὼ προσιδεῖν ὁ τάλας ὤφελον (anap.: rel. clause). Cf. E. *Alc.* 880 μήποτε γήμας ὤφελον οἰκεῖν μετὰ τῆσδε δόμους (anap.), *Med.* 1413 (anap.: rel. clause).

There are two dubious and unparalleled cases which have neither εἴθε nor ὤφελον. *OC* 1713* ἰὼ μὴ γᾶς ἐπὶ ξένας θανεῖν ἔχρῃζες (ἰὼ μή codd.: ὤμοι edd.). Ib. 540* ἐδεξάμην δῶρον, ὃ μήποτ' ἐγὼ ταλακάρδιος ἐπωφέλησα πόλεος ἐξελέσθαι. But in the former a statement ('it was your desire', with ὤμοι) fits better in the context; and on the latter see Ch. 13 § 8 (where again an interpretation as statement is preferable).

§ 3. *The indicative with ἄν: past tenses*

Past tenses of the indicative (aor. and impf.), when modified by ἄν, acquire a potential sense: so ἐποίησεν ἄν in the sense of 'could have, would have done'. This use appears in three different contexts: (i) the purely potential, of what may have happened, without implying either that it did or did not; (ii) the unreal, where what might have happened, did not; and (iii) the iterative, where what might have happened, did so more than once.

(i) Potential. The clearest examples in Soph. with ἄν by itself so used are interrogative. *An.* 502 πόθεν κλέος γ' ἂν εὐκλεέστερον [κατέσχον; 'whence could I have won more honourable glory?'. *A.* 430 τίς ἂν ποτ' ᾤετο ...; 'who could have thought ...?'. Cf. E. *IA* 1582 πληγῆς κτύπον γὰρ πᾶς τις ᾔσθετ' ἂν σαφῶς: a special category of use is with verbs of *thinking*, *perceiving* (Schwyzer 347, 3). *A.* 120 τίς ἂν ... ηὑρέθη; *P.* 572 πρὸς ποῖον ἂν τόνδ' αὐτὸς οὑδυσσεὺς ἔπλει; (ἄν codd.: αὖ edd.) 'who was this man to whom Odysseus might have been sailing?'. It does not seem necessary to alter ἄν: as Schneidewin says, Neoptolemus is sceptical about the story, hence he does not state ἔπλει as a fact. This is less bold than to link ἄν with πρὸς ποῖον τόνδε, as if 'who would this man be?'.

Two examples involve τάχα. *OT* 523 ἀλλ' ἦλθε μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοὔνειδος τάχ' ἂν [ὀργῇ βιασθέν 'but this taunt came perhaps under the pressure of anger'. *OC* 964 θεοῖς γὰρ ἦν οὕτω φίλον, [τάχ' ἄν τι μηνίουσιν εἰς γένος πάλαι 'for so was it to the liking of the gods, perhaps bearing anger against my family from time of old'. It seems best in both passages to take τάχ' ἄν with the following participle, and not with the finite verb. But we must then ask

whether τάχ' ἂν βιασθέν implies τάχ' ἂν ἐβιάσθη, and that should be our conclusion. So too suppose τάχ' ἂν ἐμήνιον. Cf. Dem. 36, 55 τάχ' ἂν ἠδίκει 'he might have injured, given the chance'. See Jebb on these passages (including *OC* pp. 283 ff.); Goodwin § 244.

(ii) The unreal use occurs regularly in association with an εἰ- protasis, but a protasis need not be so expressed. With aor. indic. (past reference): *E.* 1320 ὡς ἐγὼ μόνη [οὐκ ἂν δυοῖν ἥμαρτον (protasis contained in μόνη, equal to 'if I had been alone'). *P.* 412 οὐ γὰρ ἄν πότε ζωντός γ' ἐκείνου ταῦτ' ἐσυλήθην ἐγώ (protasis in gen. absolute). *T.* 708 πόθεν γὰρ ἄν ποτ', ἀντὶ τοῦ θνῄσκων ὁ θὴρ [ἐμοὶ παρέσχ' εὔνοιαν ...; With impf. indic. (prest. or past reference): *E.* 1507 τὸ γὰρ πανοῦργον οὐκ ἂν ἦν πολύ 'villainy would not then be rampant' (sc. 'if all evil-doing were so punished'). *OC* 146* οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὧδ' ... εἷρπον 'I would not be walking like this' (sc. 'if I were not marked by misfortune'). *A.* 1230 ἦ που τραφεὶς ἂν μητρὸς εὐγενοῦς ἄπο [ὑψήλ' ἐφώνεις: possibly past unreal, 'you would have talked proudly'.

(iii) For iterative use, see Ch. 11 §§ 7, 13.

§ 4. *Future indicative with ἄν*

The association of ἄν with the future has been the subject of some recent study, and it is possible now to detect a greater readiness to admit the construction to Classical Greek (cf. R. Kannicht on E. *Hel.* 448). Goodwin § 197; Schwyzer 352; A. C. Moorhouse, 'ἄν with the future', *C.Q.* 40, 1946, 1-10; H. Raeder, *Ein Problem in griech. Syntax: Die Verbindung der Partikel ἄν mit Futurum* (1953).

Starting from an Epic use of κε with the future, where the meaning is one of ironic understatement (e.g. *Il.* 8, 404 f.; 1, 139), we can find in the Classical passages generally a meaning of emphatic statement, which is achieved by the combination of a modal expression with an ironic undertone. Further, the tone may be thought colloquial. These features are seen in the one example from Soph., *An.* 390 σχολῇ ποθ' ἥξειν δεῦρ' ἂν ἐξηύχουν ἐγώ (ἥξειν ἄν, infin. replacing indic.): 'I vowed that I should not be in a hurry to come here'. ἄν should not be taken with ἐξηύχουν (as by Jebb and others): G. Müller rightly argues that the references to oaths in 388 and 394 oblige us to take ἐξηύχουν as an unmodified indic. Compare too the guard's earlier remark in 329, that he would not be seen returning. There is evidence of other colloquial features in the scene in the guard's language (268 οὐδὲν πλέον, 276 οἶδ' ὅτι, 315 οὕτως, as well as 390 σχολῇ: on these as colloquialisms see P. T. Stevens, *C.Q.* 39, 1945, 99-104).

OC 1076* τάχ' ἂν δώσειν is corrupt.

There are no examples of the construction in Aesch. In Eur. there is *Hel.* 448 πικρῶς ἂν οἶμαί γ' ἀγγελεῖν τοὺς σοὺς λόγους (spoken by an old female attendant). *El.* 484 is uncertain.

B. *The Imperative*

§ 5. *Positive Commands*

The tenses most in use are present and aorist. The difference between them is at base aspectual, and to be linked with the presence or absence (or negation, according to Ruipérez) of duration, but there has been much discussion of its nature. A range of meanings can be claimed under each head. See bibliography and criticism in G. Calboli, *Lustrum* 11, 1966, 256 ff.

Present. Duration appears in the order of actions which are to be begun and continued, or are merely to be continued. *T.* 486 καὶ στέργε τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ βούλου λόγους ... ἐμπέδως εἰρηκέναι (begin, and make these actions your continuing practice in the future). *A.* 1180 ἔχ' αὐτόν ... φύλασσε ... ἔχου (linked with aorist in μηδέ σε κινησάτω τις, forbidding *any* occurrence). Ib. 1107 ἀλλ' ὧνπερ ἄρχεις ἄρχε ... κόλαζε (concessive, with dismissive tone: carry on with what you are doing). *An.* 1037 κερδαίνετ', ἐμπολᾶτε ... (Creon assumes that the actions are already being performed). Ib. 1168 πλούτει τε γὰρ κατ' οἶκον, εἰ βούλῃ, μέγα, [καὶ ζῆ τύραννον σχῆμ' ἔχων (person indefinite, and describing a state: 'you may have great riches and live like a king—but that is worthless without pleasure'). *T.* 819 ἀλλ' ἑρπέτω χαίρουσα 'let her go on her way, and good riddance': no definite limit to the action is envisaged. *E.* 632 ἐῶ, κελεύω, θῦε: Electra dismissively, 'you can proceed with the offering'.

Aorist. Appropriate for specific actions which are to be begun, and with the termination also envisaged. *E.* 436 κρύψον νιν. *A.* 1171 πρόσελθε. *T.* 404 τόλμησον εἰπεῖν, 340 σταθεῖσ' ἄκουσον. *P.* 748* πάταξον ... ἀπάμησον, 801 ἔμπρησον 'burn me up' (terminative). *T.* 1120 εἰπὼν ὃ χρῄζεις λῆξον. *OT* 47 εὐλαβήθητι 'take guard' (inceptive).

However, difference of tense may be of little or no significance. οἰκτίρω thus occurs without apparent distinction twice in prest. imper. (*E.* 1411, *P.* 756), and twice in aor. (*T.* 1070, *OC* 242): this is to omit *OC* 109 (aor.), in an address to deities, on which category see below. Metrical convenience can appear as a factor. Thus both δίδασκε and δίδαξον ('tell me, inform me', seeking information) occur freely, but δίδασκε in every case is found where the aorist would be metrically unsuitable (*OT* 554, 1009, *E.* 1289, 1450, *OC* 480, 560, 575, 594, 654, 1154): δίδαξον on the other hand,

the tense more to be expected, has six uses where it could not metrically be replaced by the present (*OC* 969, *E.* 352, 585, *T.* 233, 394, 671), but there are three where it could (*OT* 698, *E.* 534, *T.* 64). Notice further *OC* 518 στέρξον, but 520 πείθου in identical context.

Perfect. *E.* 50 ὡδ' ὁ μῦθος ἑστάτω (i.e. 'let it remain established').

Notice should be taken of the work of W. F. Bakker, *The Greek Imperative* (1966), which centres on the observation that aor. imper. regularly predominates in a wide range of authors in prayers addressed by men to gods, but prest. in requests and orders from men to men. This is borne out by the following statistics, quoted (here so in the first place, but subject to some amendment) by Bakker 12, after E. Kieckers, *I.F.* 24, 1909, 10 ff.

(a) *Men to gods* (as Kieckers)

	prest. imper.	*aor. imper.*
Soph. (all plays)	6	37
Aesch.	21	46
Eur.	17	72

On amendment, I would make the figures for uses in Soph. (1) prest., 9. Passages are *A.* 74 κάλει, 91 χαῖρε, 843 ἴτε, 844 γεύεσθε, ib. φείδεσθε, *E.* 643 ἄκουε, 792 id., *P.* 832 ἴθι (*bis*), *OC* 106 f. ἴτε (*bis*). But it must be noted that χαῖρε (a formulaic use) and ἴθι, ἴτε have no alternative aorist form available, and their exclusion would reduce the number of uses to 5. (2) aorist, 29 (to which might be added two negative exx. with aor. subj., *OC* 86, *E.* 649).

(b) *Men to men* (as Kieckers)

	prest. imper.	*aor. imper.*
Soph. (*OC*)	72	47
Aesch. (*Ch.*)	23	17
Eur. (*Med.*)	59	30

I would amend the figures for S. *OC* as follows. (1) prest., 97 (of which 13 are negatived). 8 exx. have forms of εἰμί and οἶδα, with no corresponding aorist: removal of these reduces the figure to 89. (2) aorist, 48 (to which might be added 14 negative exx., with aor. subj.).

Bakker's explanation (126 f.) is that principally the present contains an element of continuation, of close link with the context or situation: it would refer to an action which is expected, also to one which is required to begin at once, but not to one which can be performed at any time and left to the discretion of the addressee. The reverse of this requires the aorist: here what is ordered would be less immediately bound up with the present

circumstances, and so not ordered to be at once performed; or, there would be no pressure on the person addressed, to whom the decision is left when to perform the action. If this is so, it is plain that the aorist is more suitable in general for an imper. spoken to a deity. We may compare the findings of earlier workers. J. A. Scott, *Class. Phil.* 11, 1907, 324 ff., had found the aorist used where supplication is made with appeal to the gods, in the interest of the speaker, and the present in advice or warning. For L. A. Post, in 'Dramatic Uses of the Greek Imperative', *A.J.P.* 59, 1938, 31 ff., the aorist occurs where the one receiving the order must himself act or decide, and the present normally in advising or urging, and where the speaker is assumed to be in control. *An.* 86 οἴμοι, καταύδα 'go and denounce the deed' says Antigone, concessively and defiantly: it is of a single act and non-durative, but closely arising out of the revelation of Ismene's attitude. *OC* 21 κάθιζέ νύν με (νῦν L): the preceding invitation κῶλα κάμψον leads us to expect it (again, non-durative). The concessive passages above (*A.* 1107, *An.* 1037, 1168, *T.* 819, *E.* 632) fit in well here.

The exceptional instances of present imper. in address by humans to gods occur in four passages (to omit uses of χαῖρε and ἴθι, ἴτε) for which explanation can be found in the light of Bakker's work. (i) *A.* 74 (to Athena) τί δρᾷς, 'Αθάνα; μηδαμῶς σφ' ἔξω κάλει. An urgent and impassioned request by the alarmed Odysseus, anxious not to confront Ajax whom Athena is summoning. (ii) Ib. 844 (to the Furies) ἴτε ... γεύεσθε, μὴ φείδεσθε πανδήμου στρατοῦ. The Furies are summoned immediately to come and attack the host— this is not what may be done at any time at their discretion. ἴτε, urging their presence, gives the note of urgency. (iii) *E.* 643 (to Phoebus) ὧδ' ἄκουε. The god must *listen* to the prayer here and now. In contrast, the actions prayed for are all expressed in the aorist: 646 ff. δός ... μέθες ... μὴ ἐφῇς ... δός. (iv) Ib. 792 (to Nemesis) ἄκουε again.

The following are some examples of the aorist which is usual in address to gods and supra-human entities. *A.* 848 ἄγγειλον, 854 ἐπίσκεψαι, *E* 68 δέξασθε, 115 ἀρήξατε, τείσασθε, 1380 γενοῦ ... ἀρωγός, *OT* 163* προφάνητε, 202* φθίσον, *T.* 1041* εὔνασον, 1085 δέξαι, *P.* 1041 τείσασθε.

§ 6. *Prohibition*

The contrast of present and aorist stems appears here in the use of the forms prest. imper. (μὴ ποίει) and aor. subj. (μὴ ποιήσῃς). In Soph. the figures of usage are: type μὴ ποίει 49 times, μὴ ποιήσῃς 61. This shows a striking increase in the subj. use compared with Homer, where the prest. imper. is ten times more frequent (70: 7 or 8); but it appears typical of Classical usage. See Calboli, *Lustrum* 11, 1966, 291-308.

Present. Used of stopping an action already begun: *E*. 1474 μηκέτ' ἄλλοσε σκόπει 'no longer look elsewhere'. *An*. 83 μὴ 'μοῦ προτάρβει. *OC* 223* δέος ἴσχετε μηδὲν ὅσ' αὐδῶ. Ib. 731 ὃν μήτ' ὀκνεῖτε μήτ' ἀφῆτ' ἔπος κακόν (the aor. subj. bans the action from starting). *OT* 1370 μή μ' ἐκδίδασκε 'stop teaching me'; or conative, 'don't try to teach me', as in *E*. 395 (answered by οὐ διδάσκω 'but I am not'). Or, the action has not begun but is viewed as durative in the future, or the prohibition itself is so viewed (cf. N. Collinge, *Archiv. Ling.*, 1960, 82 n.): *T*. 1275 λείπου μηδὲ σύ (the order is, not to start and then go on lingering). *A*. 68 θαρσῶν δὲ μίμνε μηδὲ συμφορὰν δέχου [τὸν ἄνδρα '... never look to his coming as a calamity'. *T*. 367 μηδὲ προσδόκα τόδε 'don't ever expect that'. *OC* 1522 τοῦτον δὲ φράζε μή ποτ' ἀνθρώπων τινί.

Aorist. The aor. subj. stops an action from occurring: it can refer to a single contemplated, or possible, act, or be a total ban. *E*. 71 μή μ' ... ἀποστείλητε. *An*. 84 προμηνύσῃς γε τοῦτο μηδενὶ [τοὔργον, κρυφῇ δὲ κεῦθε (πρ. of what is not to happen at all, κ. durative). *P*. 757 μή με ταρβήσας προδῷς. *OT* 1414 πίθεσθε (πείθεσθε codd., as good), μὴ δείσητε. *An*. 546 μή μοι θάνῃς σὺ κοινά, μηδ' ἃ μὴ 'θιγες [ποιοῦ σεαυτῆς (ποιοῦ conative; or, this second prohibition is more general).

J. P. Louw, *Acta Classica*, 1959, 43 ff., rightly notes that in some cases either prest. imper. or aor. subj. may be used, since the speaker may think of duration of the action, or may put that out of mind. He also points out that aor. subj. can be used to stop what is already occurring by reference to its consummation. The examples in question are *P*. 332, 576, 1275, 1286, *T*. 1205. *P*. 332 φράσῃς μοι μὴ πέρα, πρὶν ἂν μάθω ...: this is 'don't say a word further (πέρα), until I am told ...', rather than 'don't go on telling me'. Ib. 576 μή νύν μ' ἔρῃ τὰ πλείονα 'don't ask me more (but go)': the presence of τὰ πλείονα rules out 'stop asking me', which would imply that τὰ πλ. had already been the subject of inquiry. In fact each of the passages has πέρα, or ἔτι, or τὰ πλείονα, and it is this which shows that the ban prohibits continuation of an act. It can of course be assumed that the act is already in progress: none the less, the prohibition is not the same as a plain stoppage of that act. Thus in *P*. 576 the implication is not so much 'stop asking me questions', as 'you have asked enough, do not waste time by asking more but leave'. Ib. 1275 παῦε, μὴ λέξῃς πέρα: the preceding prest. imper. παῦε has durative sense (negatived, of course, by the word-sense), 'no more of that', followed by the plain injunction (Bakker 38, 42 n.; Post, *A.J.P.* 59, 1938, 42, finds a tone of rebuke in the prest. imper. when followed by a reinforcing injunction in the aorist, the former being more emotive because it stresses the connection with what has preceded).

Two examples of urgent pleas show the difference between the two constructions. *OT* 1165 μὴ πρὸς θεῶν, μή, δέσποθ', ἱστόρει πλέον; the shepherd begs Oedipus to stop his insistent asking for further information. *OC* 210 μὴ μὴ μή μ' ἀνέρῃ τίς εἰμι: also an urgent plea, but the Chorus have not been pressing Oedipus in the same way.

Third person prohibitions use the imperative, either aorist or present. Aorist: *A*. 1181 μηδέ σε κινησάτω τις. Also ib. 1334, *OT* 1449. Present: *OT* 231 μὴ σιωπάτω 'let him not keep silence'. *OC* 1207 μηδεὶς κρατείτω τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ποτε: present for the alarmed and urgent request of Oedipus, sensing danger.

Second person aorist imper. in prohibition is a striking rarity. Fr. 493 μὴ φεῦσον, ὦ Ζεῦ, then continuing with normal μή μ' ἕλῃς ἄνευ δορός (parodied in Ar. *Th*. 870 μὴ φεῦσον, ὦ Ζεῦ, τῆς ἐπιούσης ἐλπίδος). It has Homeric precedents (*Il*. 4, 410 μὴ ... ἔνθεο: Chantraine 230), and is possibly *metri gratia*. Distinguish cases such as *An*. 446 εἰπέ μοι μὴ μῆκος, ἀλλὰ συντόμως, where μή is better taken as a special negative with μῆκος (cf. Thuc. 4, 17, 3 λάβετε δὲ αὐτοὺς μὴ πολεμίως ...).

Perfect. *A*. 1183 μὴ ... παρέστατε.

§ 7. *Use in subordinate clauses*

(a) After οἶσθ' ὡς: *OT* 543 οἶσθ' ὡς ποίησον; 'do you know how you must act?'. Negatived in *OC* 75 οἶσθ' ... ὡς νῦν μὴ σφαλῇς; '... how you must avoid disaster?' (i.e. how to act in order not to come to grief). Euripides, Aristophanes and Menander have similar examples, all introduced by οἶσθα with ὡς or a relative pronoun: e.g. E. *Hec*. 225 οἶσθ' οὖν ὃ δρᾶσον;, Ar. *Av*. 54 ἀλλ' οἶσθ' ὃ δρᾶσον;. The spread of use suggests colloquialism. We should probably see the source in substitution of ποίησον for δει ποιῆσαι: so E. A. Hahn, *Subjunctive and Optative*, 1, n. 2, arguing that in principle the imperative in IE does not belong in subordinates (though Hahn is wrong in proposing indirect quotation for *OT* 543).

(b) Other types have weakened subordination. So with relative pron. in a connective role (*OC* 473 κρατῆρές εἰσιν ... ὧν κρᾶτ' ἔρεψον; similarly Ib. 731, *E*. 1309, *OT* 724); or with conjunctions, ἐπεί (= γάρ) *OT* 390, *OC* 969, *E*. 352; ὥστε (= οὖν) *E*. 1172.

§ 8. *Alternative means of ordering*

Other ways of expressing an order are discussed elsewhere. So under the heads of future indic. (in statement, as *OC* 956; with οὐ in question, as *OT* 637: see Ch. 11 § 28); subjunctive (mainly in first pers., in exhortation, as *An*. 153*: § 10 below); optative (with ἄν in statement, as *P*. 674: § 14

below); infinitive (as *OT* 462: Ch. 13 § 7). These alternatives are discussed by H. Zilliacus, *Eranos* 44, 1946, 266 ff.: he notes the range as especially wide in Epic and Drama. In general, the more polite forms have the optative, while the future (interrog.) is more despotic.

C. *The Subjunctive*

§ 9. *Introduction*

The subjunctive has two inherited uses, clearly seen in Homer. The voluntative expresses will (so in resolution concerning the speaker himself, or in self-exhortation; or in an order affecting others); the prospective, what is expected or likely in the future. So it approximates to the imperative on the one side, and to the future indicative on the other, while having links with the optative in both uses (optative of wish, and potential). A passage can illustrate the links of the voluntative subj.: *An.* 150* ἐκ μὲν δὴ πολέμων τῶν νῦν θέσθαι (imperatival infin.: v.l. θέσθε) λησμοσύναν, θεῶν δὲ ναοὺς ... ἐπέλθωμεν, ὁ Θήβας δ' ἐλελίχθων Βάκχιος ἄρχοι. Here the opt. ἄρχοι is the least forceful of the verbs. The two subj. uses have different negatives in principal clauses: μή for the voluntative, οὐ for the prospective. ἄν accompanies the prospective only. Speculation as to which branch of meaning was the earlier has not been conclusive. Indeed, they cannot always be kept apart: in a given situation a speaker may employ either use. E. A. Hahn, *Subjunctive and Optative: Their Origin as Futures*; J. Gonda, *The Character of the IE Moods*; G. Calboli, *Lustrum* 11, 1966, 237-9 (prospective), 250-4 (voluntative), 291-308 (prohibitive).

By the time of Soph. the prospective use was notably restricted. In Homer it could be used of future expectation, chiefly in first and third persons, both with and without ἄν (κε), and it was a regular alternative for the future. Apart from the use in dependent clauses, all that remains of this in Classical Attic is seen in deliberative question of the type τί πάθω;, and even here the voluntative has also been an influence. The future indic. has largely replaced it.

§ 10. *Voluntative Uses*

(i) The use of second person aorist subj. in prohibition has been discussed above (§ 6).

(ii) First sg. and pl. subj. (prest. and aor.) are hortatory, or (in the singular) it requests another to permit something to the speaker. *An.* 153* θεῶν δὲ ναοὺς ... ἐπέλθωμεν. *A.* 811 χωρῶμεν, ἐγκονῶμεν. *P.* 802 με ... πόρθμευσον ... μηδ' αὐτοῦ θάνω '... and do not let me die here'. *OC* 174 μὴ δῆτ' ἀδικηθῶ. *P.* 1452 φέρε νυν ... χαλέσω: either a request 'let me address';

or self-exhortation 'come, I must address'. In this note introduction by φέρε: this or similar introduction (ἄγε, δεῦρο) is general in Classical with first person singular positive.

(iii) Second sg. aorist subj. is attested in a positive order in *P.* 300 φέρ', ὦ τέκνον, νῦν καὶ τὸ τῆς νήσου μάθῃς 'learn, you must learn ...'. The use would probably be unique in Classical literature and much discussed (Kühner-Gerth 1, 220 f.; Goodwin § 258; Wackernagel 1, 234; Schwyzer 316; most recently, E. Fraenkel, *Due Seminari* ... 51). There is objection to accepting the obvious reading μάθε, as Schwyzer prefers; if right, how would μάθῃς have taken its place? Can φέρε μάθῃς be due to analogy, with the models positive φέρε μάθω on the one hand, and negative μὴ μάθῃς on the other? Other alternatives are, to emend (κἂν ... μάθοις (Seyffert) with prescriptive optative being the best suggestion); or, to regard the use as an ancient inherited one, with Kühner-Gerth and Slotty (*Konj. und Opt.* 22 ff.). This last proposal would be attractive from the comparative viewpoint, since Indo-Iranian has the jussive use in second and third pers. subj., and this is what Slotty proposes for Greek. Unfortunately, good support from contemporary native sources is lacking. Slotty refers to the following. (a) *T.* 1254: but ὡς ... θῇς is clearly a final clause. (b) *P.* 1094* ἕλωσι: *locus desperatus*. Jackson's ἅλωσιν (which Dain adopts) would replace ἕλωσι. (c) E. *Hel.* 263: Slotty prefers the reading εἴθε ... λάβω, but Porson's ἀντὶ τοῦ καλοῦ ῎λαβον is best. This is a wish, and λάβω would be first person, so not in any case closely parallel. (d) E. *Supp.* 1028* εἴθε ... φανῶσι: an uncertain passage with evident corruption, again apparently a wish. Slotty supposes a subj. of *wish* as well as of *will*, and would not sharply distinguish between the subjunctive and optative uses. See too Hahn, *Subjunctive and Optative*, 103 ff., concluding that the subj. in Epic could be used on a limited scale in both senses. Slotty adduces only one possible example from Homer: *Il.* 21, 61 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ δουρὸς ἀκωκῆς ἡμετέροιο [γεύσεται, but the verb can of course be future, as Slotty admits. It must be disappointing for those who see in *P.* 300 the survival of an ancient usage that it is not better represented in Epic. Inscriptional evidence from C. Vth. is dubious (see Schwyzer, loc. cit.), and the examples from Elean of late C. IIIrd. (τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα ... ἀνατεθᾶι ἐν τὸ ἰαρὸν τῶ Διόρ: also ποιήαται = ποιήσηται) can be linked with Hellenistic usage. So, if we accept φέρε ... μάθῃς, it will best be put down to analogy.

§ 11. *Deliberative Use*

This use is found in questions, usually in first person present or aorist (singular or plural), and occurs in a range of situations between a genuine

appeal to another or a real self-question, and a private expression of doubt or helplessness.

It seems likely that the source was two-fold, both the old prospective and the voluntative. The latter is most obvious when another person is involved and a verb of *wishing* is coupled in parataxis: *P.* 761 βούλει λάβωμαι ... καὶ θίγω ...; *OT* 651* τί σοι θέλεις δῆτ' εἰκάθω; *E.* 81, *P.* 761. The subj. stands alone in *OT* 364 εἴπω τι δῆτα κἄλλ', ἵν' ὀργίζῃ πλέον;, but the implication is clear. In *T.* 342 πότερον ἐκείνους ... καλῶμεν, ἢ 'μοὶ ... ἐξειπεῖν θέλεις;: the verb of *wishing* occurs in the second, parallel clause. The presence of μή would *prima facie* indicate a voluntative use: *E.* 1276* τί μὴ ποήσω;, and *A.* 668 τί μή; (sc. ὑπείκωμεν). A contrary view is advanced, that the use of μή here is not decisive but shows an extension to the prospective field (see Calboli, *Lustrum* 11, 239). Latin uses *non*, not *ne*, in similar questions.McWhorter, *T.A.P.A.* 41, 1910, 159, claims two cases in Soph. of questions with οὐ and subj., and such would have to be prospective; but he does not give references, and my own examination has not brought any such use to light. On the other hand, if another person is not involved and the question solely concerns the subject of the verb, the subj. can be prospective: so in the common formula τί πάθω;. This is coupled with τί μήσομαι (future!) in *T.* 973. A double question is a feature of the deliberative form: so *OC* 310 ὦ Ζεῦ, τί λέξω; ποῖ φρενῶν ἔλθω, πάτερ;.

A third person use employs τις as an equivalent of 'I', or may also include the person addressed. *A.* 403* ποῖ τις οὖν φύγῃ;, which continues with first pers. ποῖ μολὼν μενῶ; *OC* 170* ποῖ τις φροντίδος ἔλθῃ; (-ῃ A: -οι L, on which see § 14 below).

Some questions are introduced by πῶς, and are claimed usually to have aorist subj. (cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 785). The Sophoclean exx. are (a) aor. subj., *A.* 1024 πῶς σ' ἀποσπάσω;, *P.* 1350 ἀπιστήσω, *An.* 377* ἀντιλογήσω; (b) prest. subj., *A.* 214 λέγω, fr. 196 μάχωμαι, which gives only a possible 3:2 preponderance to aor. But the exx. quoted here as aor. subj. could also be fut. indic. On the problem of classification between subj. and future in deliberatives generally, see McWhorter, loc. cit. He gives these figures:

	Prest. subj.	*Aor. subj.*	*Fut. indic.*	*Ambiguous* (aor. subj. or fut.)
Soph.	11	26	13	19
Aesch.	15	35	7	8
Eur.	38	114	50	63

Certain subjunctives well outnumber certain futures. His suggestion on the strength of these figures is to prefer to see ambiguous cases as subj., 'other things equal'. Perhaps it is more satisfactory where possible to be

guided by the context, and view as subj. if there is a modal sense such as τί λέξω; 'what ought I to say?'; if this is absent, we can hardly decide.

A probable use of prest. indic. in self-questioning may be noted here: *OT* 1471, *T.* 865 τί φημί; 'what do I say it is?', used in each case of speculation about the meaning of a sound. Cf. *OC* 315 τί φῶ; 'what am I to say?', in context of speculation on the identity of one approaching (Schwyzer 307, 2; cf. Latin use of indic. in self-questioning, *quid ago*?, etc., Hofmann-Szantyr 308; Ernout, *Synt. Lat.* 205). See Ch. 8 § 27 on the alternative explanation of *OT* 1471, *T.* 865 with indefinite τι, 'do I speak sense?'

§ 12. *Use in Dependent Clauses*

The following summary shows where Soph. uses the dependent subj., distinguishing the two basic senses as seems most likely. The prospective subj. here plays a much more active role. Negative μή throughout, though οὐ would have been expected with prospective uses (cf. Schwyzer 312, 594 on the extension of μή); ἄν only with prospective.

Type of clause	*Without ἄν*	*With ἄν*
Prospective Subj.		
Relative	Yes	Yes
Adverbial, time and place	Yes	Yes
Final	?	Yes
Object clauses ('take care')	Yes	?
Dependent question	Yes	No
Conditional protasis	Yes	Yes
Voluntative Subj.		
Final	Yes	No
Clauses with 'fear'	Yes	No
Dependent question	Yes	No

(i) ***Relative clauses.*** The prospective subj., both aorist and present, is used with ὅς with and without ἄν, as in Homer; and also the pure subj. with ὅστις. Nearly always the leading verb is primary. The meaning is generalising or indefinite, the reference not being to any particular person or thing, but to any, or all, to whom the description applies. It is therefore at home in gnomic utterance, or to describe a class, or a member of one; also, of what is repeated. Normally it is not implied by the use of the subj. that there is doubt whether the action described by the verb will occur; it is only in some clauses which are equivalent to conditions that this meaning arises secondarily. It is a common mistake and over-simplification to regard the whole class as conditional (as is suggested among others by Goodwin's classification of 'Conditional Relative Sentences', §§ 524 ff.).

The fact that one can sometimes find a context where a conditional protasis can stand as an equivalent is strictly irrelevant, since it is not a general situation. Thus *OT* 281 ἀναγκάσαι θεοὺς [ἂν μὴ θέλωσιν οὐδ' ἂν εἷς δύναιτ' ἀνήρ may be taken as conditional; but not *A*. 1085 μὴ δοκῶμεν δρῶντες ἂν ἡδώμεθα [οὐκ ἀντιτείσειν ... ἂν λυπώμεθα. The time reference is future, or present (or open, in gnomic and generalising contexts). *P*. 574 ἂν λέγῃς δὲ μὴ φώνει μέγα (ἅν codd.) 'whatever you say, speak quietly'. Ib. 1431 ἃ δ' ἂν λάβῃς σὺ σκῦλα ... μνημεῖα ... κόμιζε. *T*. 399, 1009*, *E*. 943.

Gnomic. An. 584* οἷς γὰρ ἂν σεισθῇ θεόθεν δόμος, ἄτας οὐδὲν ἐλλείπει: it is true of any and all who are so struck. *T*. 251 τοῦ λόγου δ' οὐ χρὴ φθόνον ... προσεῖναι, Ζεὺς ὅτου πράκτωρ φανῇ. *OT* 1231 τῶν δὲ πημονῶν [μάλιστα λυποῦσ' αἳ φανῶσ' αὐθαίρετοι: a defining relative, 'among sorrows, any which are seen to be self-chosen hurt the most'. Similarly *A*. 761: (the prophet declared that such men are struck with heavy misfortune) ὅστις ... μὴ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φρονῇ (-ει v.l.). *A*. 1160 αἰσχρόν, εἰ πύθοιτό τις [λόγοις κολάζειν, ᾧ βιάζεσθαι παρῇ (πάρα v.l.): Fraenkel, *Due Seminari* ..., 37, supports subj. παρῇ, following Turyn in seeing πάρα as a late conjecture. There is no objection on grounds of meaning to either παρῇ with its generalising aspect, or the particular sense offered by πάρα. *OC* 395, *E*. 771 (with ὅς). Fr. 808, 841 (ὅστις).

Fr. 659, 4 πώλου δίκην, ἥτις ... θέρος θερισθῇ ξανθὸν αὐχένων ἄπο. This is in simile, hence of general reference: the construction is regular in Homer in such clauses (Monro, *Hom. Gramm.*, § 283a).

A. 496 ῇ (Bothe: εἰ L, ἣν A) γὰρ θάνῃς σὺ ..., ταύτῃ νόμιζε χἀμὲ τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρᾳ ... δουλίαν ἕξειν τροφήν: ῇ is perhaps more effective than εἰ, as preparation for the following demonstrative, 'on whatever day you die ... be aware that on that very day ...'; but clearly εἰ cannot be ruled out (Goodwin § 454, with εἰ: cf. *OC* 1443). *An*. 35 ('it has been proclaimed') ὃς ἂν τούτων τι δρᾷ, φόνον προκεῖσθαι: conditional, and leaving it uncertain (being impossible to forecast) whether anyone will do so. *T*. 1009* ἀνατέτροφας ὅ τι καὶ μύσῃ 'whatever pain is asleep' (necessarily implied that there is such). *E*. 943 (κελεύω) τλῆναί σε δρῶσαν ἂν ἐγὼ παραινέσω '... all that I order' (and the instructions follow).

(ii) *Adverbial clauses of place and time*. The great majority of the conjunctions used here are of relative origin, and the classes of use are similar to the relative.

Place. *OT* 317 φρονεῖν ὡς δεινὸν ἔνθα μὴ τέλη [λύῃ (-ει v.l.) φρονοῦντι '... in any situation where it does not profit the wise man'. *A*. 1081 ὅπου δ' ὑβρίζειν δρᾶν θ' ἃ βούλεται παρῇ, [ταύτην νόμιζε τὴν πόλιν ... πεσεῖν: a city of the sort in which these things are possible. Ib. 810 εἶμι ... κεῖσ' ὅποιπερ ἂν σθένω. *OT* 1461, *A*. 657.

Time. An. 1025 ἐπεὶ δ' ἁμάρτῃ, κεῖνος οὐκέτ' ἔστ' ἀνὴρ [ἄβουλος ... ὅστις ... ἀκεῖται μηδ' ἀκίνητος πέλει (subj. πέλῃ is a variant: in the ὅστις -clauses subjunctives would of course be possible syntactically, and would give uniformity with ἁμάρτῃ). *E.* 91* πολλὰς δ' ἀντήρεις ᾔσθου στέρνων πλαγὰς ... ὁπόταν δνοφερὰ νὺξ ὑπολειφθῇ: the reference is not past in ὑπολειφθῇ so much as repetition, 'at any time when night ends': aor. ᾔσθου implies 'and you can still hear' (Jebb). *OC* 1225* τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ φανῇ, βῆναι κεῖθεν ... πολὺ δεύτερον ὡς τάχιστα: ἐπεὶ φανῇ 'when a man is born' (gnomic: there is no stress on 'at whatever time he is born', since it is the fact of being born at all, not the time, which is at issue: cf. *An.* 1025 above). *T.* 288 εὖτ' ἂν ῥέξῃ (of single occurrence in the future: indefinite, because its time is not known): cf. *OT* 1492, *P.* 880.

With conjj. meaning 'while' and 'until'. *E.* 225* οὐ σχήσω ταύτας ἄτας, ὄφρα με βίος ἔχῃ '... so long as I live' (indef. duration, future). Ib. 105 ἔστ' ἂν ... λεύσσω. *A.* 742 τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπηύδα ... μὴ 'ξω παρήκειν, πρὶν παρὼν αὐτὸς τύχῃ (with secondary verb). *OC* 77 αὐτοῦ μέν' ... ἕως ... λέξω τάδ'.

(iii) *Final clauses.* These can have a subj. either voluntative (principally so: most clearly in neg. clauses introduced by μή), or prospective. *An.* 643 τούτου γὰρ οὕνεκ' ἄνδρες εὔχονται ... ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀνταμύνωνται κακοῖς. *P.* 129 ἐκπέμψω ... τοῦτον ... ὡς ἂν ἀγνοίᾳ προσῇ: note here in this uncommon type the special use of ἄν indicating prospective function, i.e. expectation, or future possibility. *A.* 986 οὐχ ... αὐτὸν ἄξεις δεῦρο, μή τις ... δυσμενῶν ἀναρπάσῃ: the μή -clause was originally paratactic in this type, 'let none of our enemies seize him'.

(iv) *After verbs of fearing.* Such clauses have the same source of a voluntative subj. with parataxis as finals introduced by μή. Hahn, *Subjunctive and Optative,* 104 ff., proposes taking the subj. both here and in finals as expressive of wish rather than will (which would, one might assume, be little more than a question of emphasis). But she then goes on surprisingly to equate wish with the prospective use: 'such clauses take the subjunctive not as an expression of will—for the speaker's will does not enter into the situation—but as an expression of futurity'. It would be the presence of μή, she argues, and not the subj. form, which shows that the event is to be guarded against. Rather, both features work to the same end. The notion of will (or even of wish, if one will have it so) is evident in expressions of fear: cf. *Od.* 5, 356 ὤ μοι ἐγώ, μή τίς μοι ὑφαίνῃσιν δόλον αὖτε [ἀθανάτων, where the speaker wills something not to happen, while fearing that it may. Note that willing does not necessarily imply power to control the situation. μή is then precisely the negative expected, while it has not been shown how μή could import the idea of a warning into a statement of

future expectation with the subj. The complete absence of ἄν with this subj. should be observed, as another clue to its source. It is also worth noting that in two of the Homeric passages quoted by Hahn μή plus subj. (of the fear) is followed by οὐ plus future (statement of eventual consequence): *Od.* 21, 563 ff. μή μ' ... νοήσῃ καί με ... μάρψῃ ...· οὐκέτ' ἔπειτ' ἔσται θάνατον καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξαι, and ib. 22, 123 f. The change of negative, as well as of mood, shows the inevitability of the consequence if the thing feared is realised. See too Humbert, *Syntaxe grecque*, 230 f., Schwyzer 314, both supporting the voluntative interpretation; and cf. Calboli 336. *T.* 551 ταῦτ' οὖν φοβοῦμαι μὴ πόσις μὲν Ἡρακλῆς [ἐμὸς καλῆται (-εῖται v.l.). *OT* 768 δέδοικ' ... μὴ πόλλ' ἄγαν [εἰρημέν' ᾖ μοι. *An.* 1114, *P.* 494.

(v) *Object clauses with ὅπως*. Such clauses after verbs of *taking care* have a prospective subj. *E.* 1403 (ᾗξα) φρουρήσουσ' ὅπως [Αἴγισθος ἡμᾶς μὴ λάθῃ. Use with ἄν is open to question: *T.* 618 ὅπως ἂν ἡ χάρις ... φανῇ, if subordinate, would depend on a verb such as ἐπιμελοῦ, to be understood from the context; but perhaps the clause is better taken as independent, with injunctive sense (see Ch. 17 § 7). *An.* 215 ὡς ἂν ἦτε requires similar consideration.

(vi) *Dependent questions*. The use is sometimes prospective, more often voluntative (in deliberatives, where duty is implied). *T.* 705 οὐκ ἔχω ... ποῖ γνώμης πέσω. *P.* 338 ἀμηχανῶ δὲ πότερον ... ἐλέγχω ... ἢ κεῖνον στένω. Ib. 938 οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον οἶδ' ὅτῳ λέγω.

(vii) *Conditional protasis*. The subj. (prospective) refers to the future, or is general (gnomic, and repeated occurrence). The modified form is regular, with ἐάν, ἤν, but the pure subj. appears at least seven times: *OC* 1443 δυστάλαινά τἄρ' ἐγώ, [εἴ σου στερηθῶ. *An.* 710 ἄνδρα, κεἴ τις ᾖ σοφός, τὸ μανθάνειν [πόλλ' αἰσχρὸν οὐδέν. See further under Conditional Clauses (Ch. 16 §§ 1, 4).

D. *The Optative*

§ 13. *Introduction*

The optative in principal clauses has according to the convenient traditional view two basic uses, expressing potentiality (with, or rarely in Classical without ἄν), and wish (cupitive, without ἄν). Negatives are οὐ with potential, μή with cupitive. The uses sometimes overlap, both with each other, and with the prospective and voluntative subjj. But that there is good formal ground, at any rate in Attic, for making the separation of potentiality and wish is shown by the distinctive associated use both of the modal particle and of the negatives. Attic introduced rigidity both in the

separation of subjunctive and optative, and in that of the two kinds of optative (see Hahn, *Subjunctive and Optative*, 57, with fn. 106). At the Homeric stage the situation is more fluid: not only the potential optative appears with and without ἄν (κεν), but the same is claimed for the optative of wish (so Slotty and Hahn, supported by Calboli, *Lustrum* 1966, 244 f.; Schwyzer 330, 9, a). The aspectual distinction of present and aorist is observed in the optative as in the subjunctive; time distinction is absent except for cases of the oblique optative in place of indicative in indirect speech and question.

§ 14. *Potential Use*

(i) The unmodified potential use (without ἄν) was always relatively infrequent: in Homer it was less used than the unmodified subjunctive (prospective). But a number of examples seem well established for Tragedy. Slotty, *Der Gebrauch des Konjunktivs und Optativs*, 140 f., claims as many as 62 cases in Attic with unanimous support of MSS, of which 9 are in Tragedy: A. *Ch.* 595, *Ag.* 606, 1163, *Supp.* 727; S. *An.* 605, *OC* 1419, fr. 106; E. *IT* 1055, *Andr.* 929. To these he would add some others, including 4 from Tragedy: E. *Hipp.* 1186, *Hel.* 769, *IA* 523, 1210. However, his unwillingness to accept emendation is well known (see the remarks of Wackernagel 1, 230 f.), and his treatment of individual passages can also be open to question.

Two special categories have been claimed for Tragedy, with meaning (highly hypothetical) not far apart: questions with τίς of a rhetorical type, equivalent to a denial, and relative clauses of the type οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως, ἔσθ' ὅπως (interrog.), οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ...: Jebb, *OC* 170 App., Barrett, E. *Hipp.* 1186. Of the first type is *An.* 605* τεάν, Ζεῦ, δύνασιν τίς ἀνδρῶν ὑπερβασία κατάσχοι; 'who could possibly restrain?', i.e. 'none could'. Cf. A. *Ch.* 595* ἀλλ' ὑπέρτολμον ἀνδρὸς φρόνημα τίς λέγοι; Also fr. 106 τίς δή ποτ' ὄλβον ἢ μέγαν θείη βροτῶν ...; (edd. have proposed ἄν for δή, or read μέγ' ἄν). The second type (cf. A. *Ag.* 620 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδῆ καλά) is not in Soph., but *OC* 1172 should be borne in mind (see below).

Other examples, all interrogative in Soph., would if accepted fall outside these categories, and editors have preferred an alternative reading or emendation. *OC* 170 ποῖ τίς φροντίδος ἔλθοι; (-οι L, -ῃ A). This is deliberative, with τίς used of first person; the question is a real one, looking for an answer, and on this ground Jebb would prefer ἔλθῃ. The other cases are also in real questions. *P.* 895 τί δῆτα δρῷμ' ἐγώ ...; (δῆτ' ἄν edd.). *OC* 1418 πῶς γὰρ αὖθις αὖ πάλιν στράτευμ' ἄγοιμι ...; (ἄν for αὖ edd.).

Ib. 1172 καὶ τίς ποτ' ἐστίν, ὅν γ' ἐγὼ ψέξαιμί τι;: this has the opt. in a relative clause, but may be treated here rather than below (rel. clauses, § 16 (i)), where the categories are different. In this editors have accepted the text. Jebb (App.) apparently takes the question as not a real one, but in fact it is: Theseus asks the identity of the man under discussion, Polyneices, 'Who is the man, with whom I am to find some fault?'. It is an expansion of a simple τίνα ψέξαιμί τι;. Similarly some examples of ἔσθ' ὅπως ...; occur in a real question which is not an equivalent of 'there is no way in which ...': thus E. *Alc.* 52 ἔστ' οὖν ὅπως Ἄλκηστις ἐς γῆρας μόλοι;, which elicits the reply οὐκ ἔστι.

One must conclude that there is not sufficient reason to restrict the use of the optative to questions of a remote nature, as Jebb proposes. Slotty has been able to show that the unmodified potential opt. is found in different dialects and periods, and is not simply an imitation of Homer.

(ii) The potential use with ἄν is regular. The sense includes a range of futures, and also present (especially in request, and in general statement), but not present unreal (of what might be happening, but is not). Compare the gnomic use of prest. indic. for general statement. It might be argued that the general use of the optative arises from future reference, since there is a gnomic use of fut. indic.; but that use retains association with the future. In Attic the original timelessness of the optative has been restricted. *OC* 431 εἴποις ἄν 'you may perhaps say': *forsitan dixeris*, anticipating a possible argument. *OT* 937 τάχα [ἥδοιο μέν, πῶς δ' οὐκ ἄν; ἀσχάλλοις δ' ἴσως (ἄν remarkably detached from the two verbs: possibly τάχ' ἄν should be read), 'you may rejoice—indeed you surely must—but also grieve'. *E.* 1450 ποῦ δῆτ' ἄν εἶεν οἱ ξένοι; 'where might they be, are likely to be?' (present). In strong denial: *OT* 506* οὔποτε ... ἄν καταφαίην, ib. 1084 οὐκ ἄν ἐξέλθοιμ' ἔτι [ποτ' ἄλλος. In proverbial expressions, with general time reference: *T.* 2 οὐκ ἄν ἐκμάθοις 'you' (person indefinite) 'cannot possibly find out'. Fr. 282, 2 γνωτὸς ἄν γένοιτ' ἀνήρ 'a man may become famous' (it is possible for him). Fr. 682, 2 ἀνὴρ κτήσαιτ' ἄν. *A.* 86 γένοιτο μέντἄν πᾶν θεοῦ τεχνωμένου.

In first person, of intention, but expressed with some reserve or reluctance. *A.* 88 μένοιμ' ἄν 'I will stay': spoken by Odysseus, reluctantly, in reply to an order to stay—he adds ἤθελον δ' ἄν ἐκτὸς ὢν τυχεῖν. *An.* 1108 στείχοιμ' ἄν: Creon gives in to the Chorus under pressure (hardly of 'fixed resolve', as Jebb). *OC* 45 ὡς οὐχ ἕδρας γῆς τῆσδ' ἄν ἐξέλθοιμ' ἔτι: expresses Oedipus' own inclination not to depart, after a prayer that the Eumenides will favour his stay. *P.* 1302 οὐκ ἄν μεθείην: Neoptolemus will not release Philoctetes, but the optative shows that he does not enjoy his position. *OT*

95 λέγοιμ' ἂν οἷ' ἤκουσα τοῦ θεοῦ πάρα, said with deference: 'let me say'. In a question, *OC* 41 τίνων ... ὄνομ' ἂν εὐξαίμην; ('reverential tone', Jebb).

With πῶς ἄν, in a wish or prayer made without much confidence (see Fraenkel on A. *Ag*. 622). *A*. 391 ὦ Ζεῦ ... πῶς ἂν τὸν αἱμυλώτατον ... ὀλέσσας ... τέλος θάνοιμι χαὐτός; 'how I wish I might, if only I could, first destroy that trickster ... and then finally die myself!'. Slotty, *Konj. und Opt.* 92, wrongly denies the use as a wish; it is made plain by the continuation here ὅταν κατεύχῃ ταῦθ'. *P*. 531 πῶς ἂν ὑμὶν ἐμφανὴς [ἔργῳ γενοίμην; Ib. 794. *OT* 765 πῶς ἂν μόλοι δῆθ' ἡμὶν ἐν τάχει πάλιν; (this might be a genuine question, but serves equally well as a wish).

Other interrogative use can indicate a wish, or (outside the first person) a polite request. *OT* 924 ἆρ' ἂν ... μάθοιμι; 'might I learn?' = 'I should like to learn' (cf. with πῶς *E*. 660 πῶς ἂν εἰδείην ...;). *OC* 70 ἆρ' ἄν τις αὐτῷ πομπὸς ... μόλοι; With the negative: *A*. 1051 οὔκουν ἂν εἴποις ...; (this use rare in Tragedy, according to Zilliacus, *Eranos* 44, 1946, 273 f.). Polite request also occurs in the form of a statement (Attic *opt. urbanitatis*): the time reference is present as much as future. *E*. 637 κλύοις ἂν ἤδη, Φοῖβε (the Scholiast here notes the respectful form, used to superiors). *T*. 624 στείχοις ἄν, *P*. 674, *OC* 725 (third pers.). But different nuances occur, suggesting a measure of non-involvement, indifference: *E*. 1491 χωροῖς ἂν εἴσω, Orestes ironically to Aegisthus whom he is about to kill, pretending unconcern. *An*. 444 σὺ μὲν κομίζοις ἂν σεαυτὸν ᾗ θέλεις (Creon dismisses the guard, having no more interest in him). Ib. 1339* ἄγοιτ' ἂν μάταιον ἄνδρ' ἐκποδών (Creon refers to himself in despair, nothing matters for him now). Ib. 80 σὺ μὲν τάδ' ἂν προύχοιο: concessive, 'you can do that if you like'.

A. 185* ἥκοι γὰρ ἂν θεία νόσος. Goodwin § 238 would take as 'may hereafter be shown to have come from a divine source', but such elaboration is not necessary; take more simply as 'a disease may have come from a divine source', as Campbell, Kamerbeek (present reference, ἥκω is perfective). It is quoted by Pritchett, *A.J.P.* 76, 1955, 13 ff., as an example of 'moral certainty', with which cf. Jebb's 'it must come'; but this is to be rejected. Also with ἥκω, *OT* 1182 τὰ πάντ' ἂν ἐξήκοι σαφῆ 'all will (I fear) have turned out unmistakeable' (i.e. there can hardly be any more room for doubt): Oedipus, at the moment when he realises his guilt, is not thinking of any further and future revelation.

§ 15. *Cupitive Use*

The use is without ἄν; negative μή.

In Homer this was timeless like the potential optative, and could be used of an unfulfilled, unrealisable wish in the present or even the past. But in

Attic the wish or prayer, referring to the future (principally) is in theory at any rate realisable.

With introductory word. *T.* 954 εἴθ' ἀνεμόεσσά τις γένοιτ' ... αὔρα. *E.* 126 ὡς ὁ τάδε πορὼν ὄλοιτο (Homeric use of ὡς); so too probably *A.* 921 ὡς ἀκμαῖος ... μόλοι, if this is left unemended and taken as a wish. *OT* 81 εἰ γὰρ ... βαίη. Ib. 1068 εἴθε μήποτε γνοίης ὃς εἶ.

Without such word. *E.* 1090* ζῴης μοι καθύπερθεν ... τῶν ἐχθρῶν. *OC* 642 ὦ Ζεῦ, διδοίης τοῖσι τοιούτοισιν εὖ. *T.* 303 ὦ Ζεῦ τροπαῖε, μή ποτ' εἰσίδοιμί σε. *OT* 275 ἥ τε ... Δίκη χοἰ πάντες εὖ ξυνεῖεν εἰσαεὶ θεοί (now and evermore). *A.* 279 μὴ 'κ θεοῦ πληγή τις ἥκοι 'may it not have come' (present: no reason to alter to ἥκῃ, or -ει). These uses in Soph. without introduction are the more frequent, though Schwyzer 321, Calboli, *Lustrum* 11, 1966, 254, give the contrary view. So in *OT* there are four instances with introduction (81, 696, 863, 1068), but eleven without (150, 275, 644, 664, 830, 904, 930, 1097, 1183, 1349, 1478).

ὄλοιτο, -οιντο, etc. in imprecation became formulaic ('a curse on'), and in effect timeless. *T.* 383 ὄλοιντο μή τι πάντες οἱ κακοί, τὰ δὲ [λαθραῖ' ὃς ἀσκεῖ ... κακά: general reference. *OT* 1349* ὄλοιθ' ὅστις ἦν ὃς ἀπ' ἀγρίας πέδας ... μ' ἔλαβε: the curse is particular, and is most reasonably taken as past-reference. Cf. E. *Hipp.* 407 ὡς ὄλοιτο παγκάκως ἥτις ... ἤρξατ' αἰσχύνειν λέχη.

A reduced sense of the cupitive occurs in precepts of a general kind. Fr. 593, 4* ζώοι τις ἀνθρώπων τὸ κατ' ἆμαρ ὅπως ἄδιστα πορσύνων 'let a man live, one should live ...'. Cf. Ar. *V.* 1431 ἔρδοι τις ἣν ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην. Gonda, *IE Moods*, 56, notes this use in other languages, especially in Sanskrit. Whether a concessive use is found without ἄν is uncertain (on Homeric use, Schwyzer 322, 5; Monro, *Hom. Gramm.* 216 (d)): Kamerbeek would see this as possible in *T.* 383 (quoted above), but though it could suit the first part of the curse (μὴ πάντες οἱ κακοί), it would not be appropriate for the following (ὃς ἀσκεῖ κ.τ.λ.).

§ 16. *Use in Dependent Clauses*

For convenience uses which follow will be grouped in four categories. (a) Potential with ἄν, and cupitive; (b) potential without ἄν, after secondary main verb; (c) potential without ἄν, after primary main verb; (d) potential without ἄν, or cupitive, by assimilation to optative of main verb. Here category (a) shows use parallel to that in principals, while the other categories develop fresh uses, or retain some which had been lost in principals.

(i) *Relative Clauses.* (a) *Potential with ἄν. OC* 253* οὐ γὰρ ἴδοις ἂν ... βροτῶν ὅστις ἄν, εἰ θεὸς ἄγοι, ἐκφυγεῖν δύναιτο (δύναιτο without ἄν would be possible, as in (d) below). Ib. 1168 ὅρα ... εἴ τις ... ἔσθ', ὅστις ἂν ... προσχρῄζοι. Ib. 1172 φέξαιμι was discussed above, § 14. *Cupitive. P.* 275 ᾤχονθ' ... ῥάκη προθέντες βαιά ..., οἷ' αὐτοῖς τύχοι (here the rel. clause is only loosely attached, and could be independent). Ib. 316 τοιαῦτ' Ἀτρεῖδαί μ' ... δεδράκασ'· οἷς ... θεοὶ δοῖεν ... παθεῖν. *T.* 1039*.

(b) In reference to the past it is the lack of definiteness in the optative which leads to the ideas of generality, or of frequency (the iterative opt.): repetition is often made plain by the leading verb. This use corresponds to ἄν with subj. after a primary verb (Goodwin § 532), and is regular in Classical. *E.* 1378 σε πολλὰ δὴ [ἀφ' ὧν ἔχοιμι λιπαρεῖ προύστην χερί 'with offerings from what I might have', hence 'from whatever I had'. *T.* 906 κλαῖε δ' ὀργάνων ὅτου [ψαύσειεν οἷς ἐχρῆτο δειλαία πάρος 'she wept, whatever of the instruments she touched ...', equivalent to 'whenever she touched any ...'. *P.* 289 ὃ μοι βάλοι ... ἄτρακτος, αὐτὸς ἂν ... εἱλυόμην ... πρὸς τοῦτο: of a repeated act. *E.* 628: the secondary verb is the aor. part. μεθεῖσα. Possibly also in two cases of future reference with final/consec. sense. *P.* 281 (after aor. infin. ἀποιμῶξαι) ὁρῶντα ... ἄνδρα δ' οὐδέν' ἔντοπον, [οὐχ ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν, οὐδ' ὅστις ... συλλάβοιτο. Similarly ib. 694*. But see also Ch. 15 § 13.

(c) With primary leading verb where the thought is gnomic, or refers to a regularly repeated situation. *An.* 666 ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις στήσειε, τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν: 'whom the city may appoint' equals 'anyone whom ...'. We must reject as arbitrary Goodwin's explanation (§ 555), that because δικαίως ἂν κλύοι τις is equivalent to χρὴ κλύειν, the subord. opt. is influenced by a leading opt. as in category (d). *OT* 314 ὠφελεῖν ἀφ' ὧν ἔχοι ... κάλλιστος πόνων. Similar clauses are introduced by εἰ (*An.* 1032), ἐπεί (*T.* 93), and ὅπως (*OT* 979). W. H. S. Jones, *C.R.* 1910, 118, sees the use as a Homeric type, and claims that it occurs in Attic most in Xenophon and Soph. Cf. *OT* 281, *An.* 563 for ἄν with subj. in like rel. clauses.

(d) The leading verb is itself optative, both with and without ἄν, and causes a following opt. by assimilation. After potential opt.: *T.* 1235 τίς ταῦτ' ἄν, ὅστις μὴ ... νοσοῖ, ἕλοιτο;. *OC* 561, *P.* 409. After conditl. comparison: *OC* 778 ὥσπερ τις εἴ σοι ... πλήρη δ' ἔχοντι θυμὸν ὧν χρῄζοις ... δωροῖτο. After cupitive opt.: *An.* 375* μήτ' ἐμοὶ παρέστιος γένοιτο ... ὃς τάδ' ἔρδοι (-ει v.l.). *T.* 955* εἴθ' ἀνεμόεσσά τις γένοιτ' ... αὔρα, ἥτις μ' ἀποικίσειεν ... ὅπως ... μὴ ... θάνοιμι (the final ὅπως -clause is similarly treated). After an oblique opt.: *OT* 714 χρησμὸς γὰρ ἦλθε ... ὡς αὐτὸν ἥξοι (-ει v.l.) μοῖρα πρὸς παιδὸς θανεῖν, [ὅστις γένοιτ' ἐμοῦ ... πάρα.

(ii) *Adverbial clauses of place and time.* We continue with the same categories. (a) *OC* 190* ἄγε νυν σύ με ... ἵν' ἄν ... τὸ μὲν εἴποιμεν (-ωμεν v.l.), τὸ δ' ἀκούσαιμεν (-ωμεν v.l.). Ib. 405 σε προσθέσθαι πέλας [χώρας θέλουσι, μηδ' (sc. ἐᾶσαι) ἵν' ἂν σαυτοῦ κρατοῖς (-οῖς *per emend.*: -ῇς codd.). (b) *P.* 704* εἷρπε δ' ἄλλοτ' ἀλλαχᾷ τότ' ἄν ... ὅθεν εὐμάρει' ὑπάρχοι πόρου, ἀνίχ' ἐξανείη (*per emend.*: -ίησι codd.) ... ἄτα (both place and time here). With πρίν: the opt. refers to the future relative to the leading verb. *P.* 199* θεῖα γάρ ... τὰ παθήματα ... ἐπέβη ... τοῦ μὴ πρότερον ... τεῖναι ... βέλη, πρὶν ὅδ' ἐξήκοι χρόνος. Ib. 551 ἔδοξε μή ..., πρὶν φράσαιμί σοι, τὸν πλοῦν ποιεῖσθαι. (c) *T.* 93 καὶ γὰρ ὑστέρῳ, τό γ' εὖ [πράσσειν ἐπεὶ πύθοιτο, κέρδος ἐμπολᾷ. (d) *P.* 529 θεοὶ σῴζοιεν ... ὅποι τ' ἐνθένδε βουλοίμεσθα πλεῖν (unless βουλ. is cupitive, with the contamination found in verbs of *wishing*). *OC* 779. *OT* 505* οὔποτ' ἄν, πρὶν ἴδοιμ' ὀρθὸν ἔπος, μεμφομένων ἂν καταφαίην. *P.* 961 ὅλοιο μήπω, πρὶν μάθοιμι .... *T.* 657*.

(iii) *Final Clauses.* See Ch. 17 § 4 for fuller discussion. (a) Cupitive use is possible at *A.* 1221, *P.* 325, *T.* 957*, fr. 476*, all after cupitive opt. in the leading verb. As stated in Ch. 17, Humbert's suggestion (*Synt. gr.* 233) that the use is confined to cases where the wish is fanciful and not sincerely meant, is contradicted by *P.* 325. It is true that here Neoptolemus is not sincere in his wish; but that the use of the opt. should imply that, and so reveal it to Philoctetes, would be fatal dramatically and so is unacceptable. Besides these, *OC* 11 is a possible cupitive use after an imperative. (b) Potential, cupitive, or oblique. This is regular (Ch. 17 § 4). Also an exceptional case with the relative local advb. ἔνθα: *T.* 903 κρύψασ' ἑαυτὴν ἔνθα μή τις εἰσίδοι, [βρυχᾶτο. Here, as also with the rel. pronoun, the future is the usual Attic construction. Another rarity is future opt. in a similar clause: *OT* 796 ἔφευγον ἔνθα μήποτ' ὀψοίμην .... This future opt. for future indic. is oblique, on the analogy of future opt. in indirect discourse. (c) *OC* 11 is possibly a case, if not cupitive. (*E.* 57, 760 owe their opt. to an underlying past notion.) (d) The four cases first listed in (a) may alternatively appear here.

(iv) *Clauses after verbs of 'fearing'.* See Ch. 17 § 10. (a) Potential with ἄν: *T.* 631 δέδοικα γὰρ [μὴ πρῷ λέγοις ἂν τὸν πόθον τὸν ἐξ ἐμοῦ. A reserved and cautious expression. Cupitive use doubtful: two possible cases at *A.* 279, *P.* 494 (see Ch. 17). (b) Use regular, as for finals. *T.* 25 ἥμην ἐκπεπληγμένη φόβῳ [μή μοι τὸ κάλλος ἄλγος ἐξεύροι. (c) Potential without ἄν a possible alternative in the cases just quoted, *A.* 279, *P.* 494.

(v) *Conditional Protasis.* See Ch. 16 §§ 1(d), 4(c). All examples show potential opt. without ἄν, and regularly the apodosis has opt. with ἄν. In some instances the apodosis can be prest. or imperf. indic.: loc. cit. 4(c).

(vi) The oblique optative occurs in clauses governed by secondary verbs of *saying* and *thinking*, replacing the indic. or subj. of direct speech. It is found (α) in a clause introduced by the conjj. ὅτι, ὡς, etc., or in an attached subordinate clause, or (β) in a subordinate clause, when the principal has accus. and infin. (or part.). The tense of the direct speech is unchanged. Where the opt. replaces an indic. (but not a subj.), it has time value corresponding to that of the original indic. tense, and relative to the time of the verb of *saying*, etc. (α) *An.* 273 ἦν δ' ὁ μῦθος ὡς ἀνοιστέον [σοὶ τοὔργον εἴη (for direct ἐστί). *T.* 268 φωνεῖ (historic prest.) ... ὡς ... ῥαίοιτο (for prest. indic.). *OT* 1271 ἔπαισεν ἄρθρα ... αὐδῶν τοιαῦθ', ὁθούνεχ' οὐκ ὄψοιντό νιν (for fut. indic.). *T.* 353 εἰσήκουσα ... ὡς ... ἕλοι (for aor. indic.). *P.* 550 ἤκουσα ... ὅτι ... εἶεν συννεναυστοληκότες (for perf. indic.). For subj. in a subordinate: *OT* 714 χρησμὸς γὰρ ἦλθε ... ὡς αὐτὸν ἥξοι (for fut. indic.: ἥξει v.l.) μοῖρα πρὸς παιδὸς θανεῖν, [ὅστις γένοιτ' ἐμοῦ τε ... πάρα (γέν. for ἂν γένηται). (β) *T.* 1161 ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἦν πρόφαντον ... πρὸς τῶν πνεόντων μηδενὸς θανεῖν ... ἀλλ' ὅστις Ἅιδου ... οἰκήτωρ πέλοι (for ἂν πέλῃ probably).

There is also virtual indirect speech, where the use of the optative alone indicates the presence of a statement or thought. In a principal: *P.* 617 ὑπέσχετο τὸν ἄνδρ' Ἀχαιοῖς ... δηλώσειν ἄγων· [οἴοιτο μὲν μάλισθ' ἑκούσιον λαβών ... 'he said that he thought he would most probably do it ...' (for prest. indic.: Goodwin § 675, 2). In a subordinate: *OT* 1247 καλεῖ ... μνήμην παλαιῶν σπερμάτων ἔχουσ', ὑφ' ὧν [θάνοι μὲν αὐτός, τὴν δὲ τίκτουσαν λίποι ... 'through whom, she said, he himself had died, and had left her ...' (for aor. indic.: Goodwin § 700, VI). In protasis: *A.* 313 τὰ δεῖν' ἐπηπείλησ' ἔπη, [εἰ μὴ φανοίην πᾶν τὸ ... πάθος (for fut. indic.). In these cases it is easy to supply the verb of *saying* because an equivalent is in the context. There are less obvious cases: *OT* 538 (supply a verb of *thinking* after preceding ἰδών) ἢ τοὔργον ὡς οὐ γνωριοῖμί σου τόδε 'or (did you think) that I would not observe your plot?' *P.* 353 χὡ λόγος καλὸς προσῆν, [εἰ τἀπὶ Τροίᾳ πέργαμ' αἱρήσοιμι 'also there was attraction in their reasoning, if (I thought to myself) I should capture Troy'. Ib. 199 πρὶν ὅδ' ἐξήκοι χρόνος: the thought is that of the gods, who planned Philoctetes' past and present troubles.

The problem of the explanation of the oblique optative is one that still remains (see Calboli, *Lustrum* 1968, 437-41). The use cannot be separated ultimately from those described in (i) - (iv) preceding, in which an optative can replace a subj. (pure, or modified) when linked with a secondary leading verb. Historically those other uses were probably earlier: the oblique opt. in place of indic. in indirect statement (as distinct from indirect question) was not a Homeric use as they were (Chantraine 224). Aesch. has two exx. of the use (*Pers.* 358, 360), but in Soph. it is more widespread.

No certain explanation of the association of dependent subj. with primary, and opt. with secondary verbs, is available. Hahn, *Subj. and Opt.* 113, 115 f., argues that the opt. is less immediate and vivid, in its reference to the future, than the subj., and so that it is the natural form to use when the action is more remote, as when the leading verb is secondary. The subj. can be used too after such a verb, if the realisation is especially vivid. Note however the view of Benveniste ('Prétérit et optatif en i.-e.', *B.S.L.* 47, 1951, 11-20) connecting the oblique opt. with the fact that the opt., which takes secondary endings, had some functional association with the past. He refers to preterite functions assumed by the opt. independently in different IE languages; thus in Avestan and O. Persian for repetition in the past (both in principal and subordinate clauses). This can also be illustrated in Homeric Greek by the opt. with ἄν used of a past unreal situation (*Il.* 5, 311 καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο ... εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε ...). It has to be borne in mind that in the majority of cases under all heads treated ((i) -(iv)) the opt. replacing a subj. or indic. refers to the past in absolute terms, even though relatively future. So, to take two such exx.: *P.* 281 (ἀποιμῶξαι) ὁρῶντα ... ἄνδρα δ' οὐδέν' ἔντοπον, | οὐχ ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν, οὐδ' ὅστις ... συλλάβοιτο (the aid for which Philoctetes vainly looked would have lain in the past). *T.* 903 κρύψασ' ἑαυτὴν ἔνθα μή τις εἰσίδοι, | βρυχᾶτο.

(vii) *Dependent questions.* These have the same treatment as subord. clauses in ind. statement, with the opt. replacing indic. or subj. (deliberative). The opt. replacing indic. (but not subj.) has relative time value as in indirect statement. *P.* 544 ἐκέλευσ' ἐμοί σε ποῦ κυρῶν εἴης φράσαι (for prest. indic.). *An.* 272 οὐ γὰρ εἴχομεν | οὔτ' ... οὔθ' ὅπως δρῶντες καλῶς | πράξαιμεν (for aor. subj.). *OT* 72 ἔπεμψα ... ὡς πύθοιθ' ὅ τι | δρῶν ἢ τί φωνῶν τήνδε ῥυσαίμην πόλιν (variant readings here: the emend. ῥυσοίμην would also be possible): in this case modal attraction (to πύθοιτο) is another possibility.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE INFINITIVE

§ 1. *Introduction*

The infinitive in the Classical period maintained all its Homeric functions. At the same time it found an extension of service in the articular use (§§ 10-14), which came into prominence now for the first time, and not least in the tragedians, by providing fresh possibilities for use as a noun equivalent. Among the older uses, some clearly stand close to the usage of an inflected noun (so the infin. of purpose and result, the explanatory infin., and the use as a complement of verbs). In the use to express commands the verbal nature of the form is what is stressed, and it has the appearance of an uninflected verbal stem, lacking the specialisation of number, person, tense and mood. Kiparsky (*Foundations of Language* 4, 1968, 51-4) sees the imperatival use as an example of conjunctional reduction: that is, in a sequence of imperatives an infin. is substituted for an imper. with zero function, the repetition of the modal (imperatival) element being felt redundant. It will be noted that coupling with an imper. form (which either precedes or follows) occurs in a number of the Sophoclean examples. The use of the nominative for the predicative complement of the infin. of command (as at *OC* 490) is also significant if the infin. is thus replacing an imper. (see below § 7). Schwyzer 357 ff.; Chantraine 300 ff.; Goodwin §§ 741 ff.; Burguière, P., *Histoire de l'infinitif en grec*; Aalto, P., *Studien zur Geschichte des Infinitivs in Griechischen.*

§ 2. *Infinitive of purpose and result*

These two functions, which have a datival origin, are not always to be clearly separated.

After verbs of *sending*, *summoning*, etc.: *E.* 406 μήτηρ με πέμπει πατρὶ τυμβεῦσαι χοάς. *An.* 165 ὑμᾶς ... ἔστειλ' ἱκέσθαι. *A.* 782 πέμπει με σοὶ φέροντα τάσδ' ἐπιστολὰς [Τεῦκρος φυλάσσειν 'T. sent me bearing you these orders to observe' ('so that you observe them'). *OC* 1286 μ' ὧδ' ἀνέστησεν μολεῖν 'he raised me (from the altar) that I should come here'. After a verb of *giving*: fr. 763 διψῶντι γὰρ ... [οὐκ ἂν πλέον τέρψειας ἢ 'μπιεῖν διδούς (μὴ πιεῖν codd.) '... giving to drink'. *E.* 210* οἷς θεὸς ... ποίνιμα πάθεα παθεῖν πόροι 'may the god give them in return sufferings to endure'. After a verb of *motion*: *OC* 12 μανθάνειν γὰρ ἥκομεν [ξένοι πρὸς ἀστῶν, ἃν δ' ἀκούσωμεν τελεῖν. Ib. 35

αἴσιος [σκοπὸς προσήκεις ὧν ἀδηλοῦμεν φράσαι 'you have come as a timely inquirer into our uncertainties, to inform us' (or else explanatory, defining αἴσιος σκοπός). *OT* 198* τελεῖν γάρ, εἴ τι νὺξ ἀφῇ, τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἦμαρ ἔρχεται (τελεῖν *per emend.*, τέλει codd.) 'the day comes to accomplish whatever the night leaves undone' (for τέλει as a dative, see Ch. 6 § 15). *P.* 645 χωρῶμεν ἔνδοθεν λαβεῖν ... (λαβεῖν Page, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 1960, 51: λαβών codd.).? *An.* 1280 (but here a final interpretation of ὄψεσθαι is better avoided). This construction with a verb of *motion* is rare in Tragedy: cf. E. fr. 773, 54* προσέβαν ὑμέναιον ἀεῖσαι; Neophron fr. 1, 1 καὶ γάρ τιν' αὐτὸς ἤλυθον λύσιν μαθεῖν.

Linked with other predicates: *A.* 475 τί ... τέρπειν ἔχει ...; 'what has it that can please?'. Ib. 535 ἐφύλαξα τοῦτό γ' ἀρκέσαι 'I kept watch to guard against that' (cf. *OC* 667). Ib. 822 εὐνούστατον τῷδ' ἀνδρὶ διὰ τάχους θανεῖν '(a sword) most kindly for my speedy death'. *OC* 335 οἱ δ' αὐθόμαιμοι ποῦ νεανίαι πονεῖν; (ποῖ v.l.) 'where are your young brothers, to do their service?' (cf. E. *Or.* 1473 ποῦ δ' ἦτ' ἀμύνειν οἱ ... Φρύγες;, and ὅδε with the infin., *Il.* 9, 688 εἰσὶ καὶ οἵδε τάδ' εἰπέμεν, οἵ μοι ἕποντο). Further, *A.* 673, 1061, *E.* 1014, 1459, *T.* 226, *An.* 1076, *P.* 668.

A use of the consecutive infin. after τοσοῦτος, without a linking conjunction or relative, has been claimed by Radermacher: *OC* 790 ἔστιν δὲ παισὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖσι τῆς ἐμῆς [χθονὸς λαχεῖν τοσοῦτον, ἐνθανεῖν μόνον. But the meaning of ἐνθανεῖν should be, not '(enough space) to lie in', but rather 'to die in'. The parallels adduced for the consec. construction are not satisfactory: in Tragedy, A. *Pr.* 621 τοσοῦτον ἀρκῶ σοι σαφηνίσαι μόνον is better explained with σαφηνίσαι dependent on ἀρκῶ. ἐνθανεῖν should be taken in apposition to τοσοῦτον λαχεῖν ('they may have so much of my land as inheritance, space to die in it'); the same construction may also be used if ἔστιν has the sense 'is possible' ('they can obtain so much as inheritance, they can die in it').

§ 3. *Limiting (explanatory) infinitive*

The limiting, or explanatory, infinitive, datival in origin, can be regarded as equivalent in function to an accus. of respect (Kühner-Gerth 2, 14 f.; Goodwin §§ 763, 768): it is a complement of a verb or verbal phrase, adjective, or (rarely) noun. It is specially common where the infin. is made from verbs of *seeing, telling, hearing.* The infin. often occurs finally in its clause (and so too at the end of a line), and its meaning tends to redundancy. There is regularly no further modification of the infin., which occurs alone. Voice active, or middle. Largely poetical.

(a) With verbs or verbal phrases. *E.* 664 πρέπει γὰρ ὡς τύραννος εἰσορᾶν 'she is like a royal person to look at'. *OT* 1169 πρὸς αὐτῷ γ' εἰμὶ τῷ δεινῷ

λέγειν 'I am near the awful thing, to saying it'. *OC* 50 μή μ' ἀτιμάσῃς [... ὧν σε προστρέπω φράσαι 'do not deny me what I beg of you, to tell me' (or, φράσαι governed by προστρέπω). Ib. 1497* ὁ γὰρ ξένος σε ... ἐπαξιοῖ δίκαιαν χάριν παρασχεῖν 'the stranger regards you ... as worthy, to give you a just return': the infin. is supplemented by the object δίκ. χάριν (accus. preferred to genitive, which could have been dependent on ἐπαξιοῖ). *P.* 836* πρὸς τί μένομεν πράσσειν; 'why do we delay in respect of action?'. *E.* 543, 872, *OC* 144, 1444.

(b) With adjectives. *T.* 694 φάτιν [ἄφραστον, ἀξύμβλητον ... μαθεῖν. *An.* 638 μείζων φέρεσθαι (middle) 'more important to win'. *E.* 904 φιλτάτου βροτῶν [πάντων 'Ορέστου τοῦθ' ὁρᾶν τεκμήριον. Ib. 1189 ἐχθίω βλέπειν. Other examples with verbs of *seeing*: *P.* 847, *OT* 792, 1528 (but authenticity doubtful), *An.* 206 (with aor. part. passive), *OC* 141, 327. Other cases: *E.* 557 (κλύειν), *A.* 825 (λαχεῖν), *An.* 439 (λαβεῖν), *P.* 81 (id.). Rarely the infin. precedes what it modifies: *OT* 1204* τανῦν δ' ἀκούειν τίς ἀθλιώτερος; 'who is more wretched to hear about?' (i.e. 'whose story is more wretched?'). Compare ib. 545 λέγειν σὺ δεινός, μανθάνειν δ' ἐγὼ κακὸς [σοῦ: the infinn. are in antithesis. Here however the adjj. fall into the class of those denoting *ability*, *fitness*, with which the construction is regular in prose as well as verse (Goodwin § 758; Kühner-Gerth 2, 13 f.), and where the infin. is semantically an essential complement. Thus with ἄξιος (*OT* 764 ἄξιος ... φέρειν ... μείζω χάριν), ἑτοῖμος (*P.* 90 ἑτοῖμος ... τὸν ἄνδρ' ἄγειν.

(c) With nouns. Fr. 712 νεκρός, τάριχος εἰσορᾶν Αἰγύπτιος. *A.* 1201* οὐ στεφάνων οὔτε βαθειᾶν κυλίκων νεῖμεν ἐμοὶ τέρψιν ὁμιλεῖν 'gave me the delight neither of garlands nor of deep cups, delight to consort with' ('delight in consorting'): but ὁμιλεῖν can be final, or else object of νεῖμεν. Similarly ἰαύειν (1204*).

§ 4. *Infinitive as complement of verbs, and of nominal phrases*

The infinitive serves widely as the complement of verbs, where the use derives particularly from the final-consecutive. Instances (which are numerous) are quoted *exempli gratia*. Articular use is included.

(a) With verbs meaning 'to wish, strive, dare, try'. βούλομαι, *OT* 623. θέλω, ib. 140; *OC* 442 τὸ δρᾶν [οὐκ ἠθέλησαν. ἐπιθυμῶ, *T.* 617. ἐρῶ, *E.* 364. φιλῶ, *OC* 995 ζῆν φιλεῖς; *An.* 1059 τἀδικεῖν φιλῶν. ζητῶ, *OT* 266. ποθῶ, *E.* 1168. θηρῶμαι 'seek to', *A.* 2. ὁρμῶ, 'be eager to', *An.* 133*. προθυμοῦμαι, *T.* 1119. σπεύδω, 'hasten to', *A.* 812*. ἐπισπεύδω, *E.* 467 ἐπισπεύδειν τὸ δρᾶν (or, the verb is transitive, 'hasten the deed'). σπουδάζω, *OC* 1143. τολμῶ, *E.* 1051. τλάω, *OT* 1327. πειρῶ, 'try', *OT* 399; middle, *E.* 83.

(b) With verbs meaning 'to be able, know how to'. δύναμαι, *OT* 281; with τό, *T.* 546 τὸ δ' αὖ ξυνοικεῖν ... τίς ἂν γυνὴ [δύναιτο;, *OC* 442 δυνάμενοι τὸ δρᾶν [οὐκ ἠθέλησαν. ἔχω, *E.* 1008. σθένω, 'have the power to', *P.* 1435 οὔτε σθένεις ἑλεῖν (further examples *A.* 165, *OT* 17, 1486, *OC* 256, 501, 1345: all negatived). φῦναι, 'be by nature able to', *An.* 523. γιγνώσκω, ib. 1089. ἐπίσταμαι, *T.* 543. οἶδα, ib. 312.

(c) With verbs meaning 'to ask (to do), order, exhort, persuade, advise, compel, allow, prevent'. αἰτῶ, *T.* 96*; middle, *A.* 825. κελεύω, *OT* 226. σημαίνω, 'tell (to do)', *A.* 688. προφωνῶ, ib. 1089. αὐδῶ, *E.* 235. βοῶ, *OT* 1287. ἐννέπω, ib. 350. ἐκκηρύσσω (passive), *An.* 27 φασιν ἐκκεκηρῦχθαι τὸ μὴ [τάφῳ καλύψαι μηδὲ κωκῦσαί τινα. λιπαρῶ, *OC* 776. προσίεμαι, 'win over', hence 'persuade', fr. 149, 9 τοὺς ἐρῶντας αὐτὸς ἵμερος [δρᾶν καὶ τὸ μὴ δρᾶν πολλάκις προσίεται. ἐφίεμαι 'command', with dat. *E.* 1111; with accus. *OT* 1055 ... ὅντιν' ἀρτίως [μολεῖν ἐφιέμεσθα 'whose coming we lately enjoined' (ὅντινα as subject in the infin. phrase: cf. *P.* 770, *A.* 112 χαίρειν τἄλλ' ἐγώ σ' ἐφίεμαι (ἔγωγ' Jackson, *Marg. Scaen.* 155, but the accus. is unobjectionable, cf. Kühner-Gerth 2, 26 n. 2)). θέλγω, *T.* 355. πείθω, ib. 359; passive, *P.* 1252 πείθομαι τὸ δρᾶν. παραινῶ, ib. 621 τὸ σπεύδειν δέ σοι [... παραινῶ. ἐπαινῶ, *A.* 1360. ἐφορμῶ 'urge on', *A.* 1143 ναύτας ἐφορμήσαντα χειμῶνος τὸ πλεῖν. ἀναγκάζω, *OC* 589. ποιῶ, *E.* 623. ἐῶ, *OC* 948. ἀφίημι, *P.* 1349. κωλύω, ib. 1241 ὅς σε κωλύσει τὸ δρᾶν.

(d) With verbs meaning 'to guard against, hesitate, fear, avoid'. φυλάσσομαι, fr. 472, 2 δισσὰ γὰρ φυλάσσεται, [φίλων τε μέμψιν κἀς θεοὺς ἁμαρτάνειν. φράζομαι, *E.* 213* φράζου μὴ πόρσω φωνεῖν. κατοκνῶ, ib. 956. μέλλω 'delay to', *A.* 540. φοβοῦμαι, ib. 253*. φεύγω, *OT* 1010.

(e) Infinitive as complement of impersonal verbs (see also § 5 below). ἔξεστι 'it is possible', with plain infin., *OC* 323 ἐξέσται μαθεῖν; with dat. of the person affected, *A.* 346 προσβλέπειν δ' ἔξεστί σοι .... The accus. is used of a predicate noun linked with the infin.: *E.* 365 ἐξὸν πατρὸς [πάντων ἀρίστου παῖδα κεκλῆσθαι (instead of a possible παιδί). πάρεστι, *An.* 1293, *P.* 364 (with dat.); similarly πάρα, *A.* 1011, 1160. μέτεστι, 'there is a share in, (I) have a share', *E.* 536 (with dat.); μέτα, *An.* 48. δοκεῖ 'it seems good (to me)', *E.* 335 μοι πλεῖν ὑφειμένῃ δοκεῖ (with dat., and with identity of person (a) dependent on δοκεῖ, (b) subject of the infin.). With accus. and infin. (with change of person), *An.* 576 δεδογμέν' (sc. σοί) ... τήνδε κατθανεῖν 'you are resolved that she should die'. The same, with identity of person: *T.* 719 δέδοκται (sc. ἐμοί) ... κἀμὲ συνθανεῖν ἅμα 'I am resolved ... that I too should die, along with him'. δεῖ 'it is necessary', with plain infin., *OC* 1022; with accus. also, *E.* 814. χρή, *OC* 1117, ib. 654. πρέπει 'it is fitting', *P.* 111, *T.* 728. προσήκει, with dat. and infin. *E.* 1213. μέλει, with dat. and infin., *OT* 377; -εται, *E.* 74.

(f) Further, as the complement of adjective or noun phrases with the verb 'to be' (or, the adj. or noun is used alone, as a nominal phrase). ῥᾴδιον, *A.* 1350 (with accus.) τόν τοι τύραννον εὐσεβεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον. With both accus. and dat.: *P.* 1395 ῥᾷστ' ἐμοὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων λῆξαι, σὲ δὲ [ζῆν ...: the dat. ἐμοί, being linked to ῥᾷστα, is applicable to all that follows, including the clause σὲ δὲ ζῆν κτλ. 'it is easiest for me that I should cease from speech, and that you should live ...'. δυνατόν, *A.* 1006 ποῖ γὰρ μολεῖν μοι δυνατόν ... [τοῖς σοῖς ἀρήξαντ' ἐν πόνοισι μηδαμοῦ; (μοι codd.; με Sud.): the accus. participle agrees with an (implied) subject of the infin. Cf. *An.* 836 φθιμένῃ μέγα κἀκοῦσαι ... σύγκληρα λαχεῖν ζῶσαν καὶ ἔπειτα θανοῦσαν (φθιμένα, -αν, -ην, -ῳ codd.): here the separation of function between φθιμένῃ (better so read than -ᾳ) and the accus. participles is clearly marked in the sense—'it is a proud thing for one who has died, to have the reputation of sharing the lot of demigods in life and afterwards in death'. Cf. E. *Med.* 815 σοὶ δὲ συγγνώμη λέγειν [τάδ' ἐστί, μὴ πάσχουσαν ... κακῶς. With ἀνάγκη, *T.* 295 (accus.). With εἰκός, *E.* 659 (accus.). With καιρός, *OC* 826 (dat.) ὑμῖν ... καιρὸς ἐξάγειν, *OT* 1050 (accus.) ὁ καιρὸς ηὑρῆσθαι τάδε.

§ 5. *Infinitive as subject*

Infinitives coupled with some of the expressions seen in the preceding sections (e) and (f) could come to be regarded as standing in a subject relation to the finite verb (or other predicate); in such a case one would not strictly use the term 'impersonal' verb. Thus δοκεῖ with the infin. (*E.* 335 μοι πλεῖν ὑφειμένῃ δοκεῖ) could be compared with δοκεῖ with a nominal or pronominal subject (*OT* 282 ... ἂν λέγοιμι ἅ μοι δοκεῖ); so too with πρέπει (e.g. *An.* 92 with infin., *E.* 1254* with nominal subject), προσήκει (*E.* 1213 with infin., ib. 909 with pronominal subject), and with all the cases of predicative adjj. with 'be' (ῥᾴδιον, δυνατόν ἐστι, etc.). (But the situation is not the same with ἔξεστι, πάρεστι, δεῖ, χρή, with which, when used with the required sense, a personal subject, nominal or pronominal, is avoided (or, with δεῖ, is relatively late or rare).)

On such use it is stated (Goodwin § 745) that the infin. is 'especially common as subject of an impersonal verb or of ἐστί' (as remarked, the term 'impersonal' is then inappropriate). To the verbs (δοκεῖ etc.) which have been mentioned, there should be added those with the sense 'happen': *P.* 324 θυμὸν γένοιτο χειρὶ πληρῶσαί ποτε (θυμῷ ... χεῖρα codd.) 'may it happen one day that I sate my feeling with my hand'. *OC* 608 μόνοις οὐ γίγνεται [θεοῖσι γῆρας οὐδὲ κατθανεῖν ποτε (κατθανεῖν coupled with the noun γῆρας).

Some examples in nominal clauses may be quoted. *T.* 321 ξυμφορά τοι μὴ εἰδέναι σέ γ' ἥτις εἶ. Ib. 952* κοινὰ δ' ἔχειν τε καὶ μέλλειν 'to possess, and to have expectation of it, are akin'. *An.* 465 ἔμοιγε τοῦδε τοῦ μόρου τυχεῖν [παρ' οὐδὲν ἄλγος, ib. 1051 μὴ φρονεῖν πλείστη βλάβη.

More rarely the infin. is subject with other verbs. This use is supported by Fraenkel (on A. *Ag.* 584): thus *Ag.* 181* καὶ παρ' ἄκοντας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν 'understanding comes to them even against their will'; ib. 584 ἀεὶ γὰρ ἡβᾷ τοῖς γέρουσιν εὐμαθεῖν 'to learn easily is a power always vigorous for the old' (but this could alternatively have ἡβᾷ impersonal, with εὐμαθεῖν final-consecutive, 'it is always youthful for the old, for them to learn easily'); ib. 1364 κατθανεῖν κρατεῖ. In Soph. examples are: (i) *T.* 134* ... τῷ δ' ἐπέρχεται χαίρειν τε καὶ στέρεσθαι '(trouble and blessing alike depart from us) and joy and bereavement pass to another man': this is closely similar to *Ag.* 181*. (ii) *An.* 233 τέλος γε μέντοι δεῦρ' ἐνίκησεν μολεῖν [σοί 'but at last the idea of coming here to you won the day'. But ἐνίκησεν may alternatively be taken with ἡ γνώμη understood (or impersonally): in that case, μολεῖν can stand in apposition, or serve as a complement as after δοκεῖ. (iii) Another example with νικῶ must be analysed differently. *OC* 1224* μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νικᾷ λόγον· τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ φανῇ, βῆναι κεῖθεν ὅθεν περ ἥκει, πολὺ δεύτερον, ὡς τάχιστα 'not to be born wins the whole reckoning; when one has been born, to go to the place from which one has come as quickly as one can, is the next best by far'. Here νικᾷ is not used, as it often is (and as in *An.* 233), to express a resolution about action to be taken (and so consecutive), but it states a judgement; νικᾷ τὸν ἅπαντα λόγον cannot be taken as an equivalent of δοκεῖ. There is a close parallelism between φῦναι and τὸ βῆναι in the following clause, and it would be impossible not to take τὸ β. as subject of δεύτερον: further, there is obvious analogy with Theogn. 425 πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον (cf. *Certamen Hom. et Hes.* 78 f. Allen ἀρχὴν μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθ. ἄριστον), where φῦναι is subject according to the generally accepted type, in a nominal clause.

§ 6. *Absolute use*

Absolute use of the infin. is syntactically independent: though similar to the explanatory use, it differs from it in marking a parenthetic comment, showing the speaker's attitude, rather than giving supplementary information. Kühner-Gerth 2, 508 f.; Schwyzer 378 f. It is confined to a few common phrases. It is first found in C. Vth., in prose as well as in verse. *E.* 410 (πεισθεῖσα) ἐκ δείματός του νυκτέρου, δοκεῖν ἐμοί '... in my opinion' (cf. A. *Pers.* 246 ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν). *OT* 82 ἀλλ' εἰκάσαι μέν, ἡδύς. *OC* 16* χῶρος δ' ὅδ' ἱρός, ὡς ἀπεικάσαι. Ib. 152* μακραίων γάρ, ἐπεικάσαι. *OT* 1220* τὸ δ'

ὀρθὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀνέπνευσά τ' ἐκ σέθεν (τό with ὀρθόν). Fr. 479, 2 οὐ λιμὸν οὗτος τῶνδ' ἔπαυσε, σὺν θεῷ [εἰπεῖν. Introduction by ὡς is widespread in the language: it is questioned whether ὥστε is so used. A case at issue is *T.* 1220 Ἰόλην ἔλεξας, ὥστ' ἐπεικάζειν ἐμέ (ὥστε codd., ὥς γ' edd.) 'it is Iole you speak of, if I may so conjecture'. (If ὡς is read, the addition of the subject ἐμέ is paralleled by Hdt. 2, 125, 6 ὡς ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνῆσθαι, etc. (Kühner-Gerth 2, 509).) Parallels for ὥστε are available (Hdt. 2, 10, 1 ὥστε εἶναι ... 'if it is possible ...', Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 b ὥστε γε ... τεκμήρασθαι), and it would not seem impossible in Soph. for ὥστε to have this function of ὡς. One may compare the use (taken over from Epic) of ὥστε as a relative adverb equivalent to ὡς, as at *OC* 343 ὥστε παρθένοι. 'Consecutive' ὥστε may of course regularly take a limiting sense (e.g. *P.* 1392 οὐδέποθ' ἑκόντα γ' ὥστε τὴν Τροίαν ἰδεῖν 'never, if the result is to be that I consent to see Troy': see Ch. 21 § 2): the difference in *T.* 1220 would be that a ὥστε -clause implies a concurrent, not a consecutive, limitation.

§ 7. *Imperatival use*

The imperatival infin. is used in place of a second person imperative. The origin of the use is not certain. Ellipse of a verb such as κελεύω could account for the infin. alone, but complements of the infin. show the nominative case (as is also seen in Sanskrit and Avestan: Wackernagel 2, 267) and not the expected accusative. Kühner-Gerth 2, 20 suggests ellipse of ἔθελε (which would justify the case form), but this fails on semantic grounds, since ἔθελε ποιεῖν cannot be regarded as an equivalent of imper. ποίει. A better view is of an absolute use, which could express the pure verbal idea (cf. Chantraine 316). A more recent explanation is that of Kiparsky, who sees the use as a case of 'conjunctional reduction' (cf. § 1 above). See also Goodwin §§ 784-5; Schwyzer 380 ff.

OT 462 φάσκειν ἔμ' ἤδη μαντικῇ μηδὲν φρονεῖν (preceded by imper. λογίζου). φάσκειν also at *P.* 1411, *E.* 9; λέγειν *P.* 57. *A.* 1048 οὗτος, σὲ φωνῶ, τόνδε τὸν νεκρὸν χεροῖν [μὴ συγκομίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐᾶν ὅπως ἔχει (or else here the infinn. may be governed by φωνῶ). *P.* 1080 νὼ μὲν οὖν ὁρμώμεθον, [ὑμεῖς δ', ὅταν καλῶμεν, ὁρμᾶσθαι ταχεῖς: ὁρμώμεθον may be subj. ('let us two set out'), or indic. stating an intention. Here too an imper. has preceded (1075 μείνατε). *An.* 1144* μολεῖν (in prayer), followed by imper. προφάνηθι (1149). *OC* 490 ἔπειτ' ἀφέρπειν ἄστροφος (after imper. αἰτοῦ 488): note here the nom. for the predicative complement ἄστροφος. Ib. 481 προσφέρειν, 484 τιθεὶς (nom.) ... ἐπεύχεσθαι. *OT* 1466 αἶν μοι μέλεσθαι (followed by ἔασον 1467).

Third person use may be seen at ib. 1529 ὥστε θνητὸν ὄντ' ἐκείνην τὴν τελευταίαν ἰδεῖν | ἡμέραν ἐπισκοποῦντα μηδέν' ὀλβίζειν, πρὶν ἂν | τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ .... Here ὥστε would seem more properly to introduce the sentence as a connective, and not to subordinate, in the absence of a verb of 'necessity' *vel sim.* (ὥστε δεῖν μηδέν' ὀλβίζειν ...): such a verb is added to the text by a number of critics. The Chorus can suitably give the advice, after pointing to Oedipus' plight, 'so then you should think no one happy until he has reached the end of life', but not so well remark, as a statement of fact which depends on this one man's lot, 'and that is why no one thinks a man happy until ...'. If this is so, ὀλβίζειν is imperatival, and ἐπισκοποῦντα, as adjunct to its suppressed subject, is in the accus. (θνητὸν ὄντα could also be so adjunct, but is perhaps better in agreement with μηδένα). For the accus. (in contrast to the nom. with the infin. as second person equivalent; e.g. *OC* 490 above) compare cases such as Hdt. 9, 48, 4 ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτους τῷ ἅπαντι στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν 'whichever party of us wins, (be it agreed that) that side is victorious with its whole army'. Cf. Kühner-Gerth 2, 23 with further examples of accus. with infin. in third person to describe what is agreed or contracted. The construction is best based on an ellipse. It should be noted that the passage under discussion is not a prayer, so that direct comparison (so by Jebb) with *Il.* 3, 284 Τρῶας ἔπειθ' Ἑλένην καὶ κτήματα πάντ' ἀποδοῦναι is ruled out. But the authenticity of vv. 1524-30 has been suspected, probably rightly: so Johansen, *Lustrum* 1962, 247; Dawe 266 ff.

§ 8. *Infinitive in prayer and wish*

With accus. subject. First person: fr. 314, 74 θεὸς Τύχη καὶ δαῖμον ἰθυντήριε, | τυχεῖν με πράγους ... (θεός pap., test. Siegmann) 'O divine Fortune and guiding Spirit, grant that I have success in the enterprise'. Third person: *OT* 190* Ἄρεά τε τὸν μαλερόν ... παλίσσυτον δράμημα νωτίσαι πάτρας ἄπουρον (ἔπουρον v.l.). A governing verb such as δός can be understood.

The accus. subject is normal for first and third persons (Kühner-Gerth 2, 22 f.). An example of nominative with first person has been claimed for *OC* 540*: ἐδεξάμην δῶρον, ὃ μήποτ' ἐγὼ ταλακάρδιος ἐπωφέλησα πόλεος ἐξελέσθαι. If the reading is kept, this can be taken with ἐξελέσθαι as a final infin. ('a gift, in order to receive which I never served the city', i.e. 'in serving the city my aim was not to obtain that gift'; a consecutive construction is less appropriate (Hermann, Schneidewin). The emendation ἐπωφελήσας, adopted by Jebb and Pearson, would give good sense in a wish construction ('would that I had never won from the city that prize for

having served her'), but there is no direct parallel for *nom.* and infin. in a first person wish in Tragedy (μήποτ' ἐγὼ ... ἐξελέσθαι). There is, however, a strong case for such a third person wish (following a second person wish with nom. attribute) at A. *Ch.* 367* μηδ' ὑπὸ Τρωίας τείχεσι φθίμενος, πάτερ, ... τεθάφθαι· παρὸς δ' οἱ κτανόντες νιν οὕτως δαμῆναι (Electra, the speaker, might be thought to turn to apostrophise her father's killers in the second clause here, so making this an example of second person as in the first clause; but this is a less natural interpretation). Further, first person wish occurs in Epic at *Od.* 24, 376 αἲ γάρ ... [τοῖος ἐών ... [... ἐφεστάμεναι καὶ ἀμύνειν [ἄνδρας μνηστῆρας (here the wish is marked by αἲ γάρ). My conclusion is, that a first person wish with nom. and infin. would not be impossible in Soph., either by extension from the second person, or better, by ellipse of ὤφελον (cf. *T.* 997 ἣν μή ποτ' ἐγὼ προσιδεῖν ὁ τάλας [ὤφελον ὄσσοις); but the construction would be harsh, without any expressed introduction to a wish, and since the reading ἐπωφέλησα can provide adequate sense, there is no need to change it.

§ 9. *Infinitive in exclamation*

The infinitive in exclamation takes an accusative subject. *A.* 411 ὢ δυστάλαινα, τοιάδ' ἄνδρα χρήσιμον [φωνεῖν 'unhappy me, that a noble man should speak such words'.

§ 10. *Articular use: introduction*

The use of the articular infinitive was specially developed in C. Vth. and in Tragedy, where it found favour most in Soph. Its relative frequency in dramatic poets is as follows: in Aesch. once in 160 lines, in Soph. once in 106 lines, in Eur. once in 269 lines, in Aristoph. once in 238 lines. It is relatively more frequent in dialogue than in lyric (frequency a little over double in Soph.). The absolute figures for Soph. are lyric 11, dialogue 86 (Burguière 118: he explains the disparity on the ground that it is a rhetorical development, and so more suitable for dialogue). The possibility of inflection given by the addition of τό was a special factor which encouraged its growth. Before Aesch. use was limited to the nominatival; this, while remaining important, is in fact exceeded in Soph. by the accusatival (40 and 42 examples respectively). Genitival and datival uses account for only 15 between them. The case use of the articular infin. has in general exact correspondences in the use of inflected nouns. An exception can be seen in object clauses after expressions of *swearing* and *hoping*, where the articular infin. takes the place of one without the article and does not have a nominal function (e.g. *An.* 266 ... θεοὺς

ὁρκωμοτεῖν | τὸ μήτε δρᾶσαι μήτε τῳ ξυνειδέναι): see § 12 below. But there is no need to go further (with Schwyzer), and find 'genitival' and 'datival' uses of (accus.) τό + infin. (§ 12 fin.). Burguière, *Histoire de l'infinitif en grec*, 99 ff.; Aalto, P., *Studien zur Geschichte des Infinitivs in Griechischen* (1953); Birklein, F., *Entwicklungsgesch. des substantivierten Infinitivs* (1888); Vendryès, *Rev. de Philologie*, 1944, 113 ff.; Goodwin §§ 788 ff.; Schwyzer 358 ff.

§ 11. *Nominative use*

In its simplest form the infin. is equivalent to a subject noun. *An.* 1170 ἐὰν δ' ἀπῇ | τούτων τὸ χαίρειν 'if joy is absent from this'. Ib. 723 καλὸν τὸ μανθάνειν. *T.* 458 τὸ μὴ πυθέσθαι, τοῦτο μ' ἀλγύνειεν ἄν. *A.* 114 τέρψις ἥδε σοι τὸ δρᾶν 'this, the doing of it, is delight for you' (with τὸ δρᾶν in apposition to ἥδε, itself assimilated in gender to its predicate τέρψις): compare *OC* 766 ὅτ' ἦν μοι τέρψις ἐκπεσεῖν χθονός, without the article. (Or else, at *A.* 114 τὸ δρᾶν is an accus. use, 'with respect to the doing'.) *E.* 265 τὸ τητᾶσθαι (coupled with anarthrous λαβεῖν).

Mention may briefly be made here of the view that articular use makes the sense more general and abstract. Burguière 103-5 is right in dismissing the claim: it is disproved both by examples such as *A.* 114 (τό -infin. with individual reference) and by *OC* 1224* (φῦναι and τὸ βῆναι both general, without distinction).

The infin. used as subject can take complements as appropriate to the finite verb. *A.* 260 τὸ ἐσλεύσσειν οἰκεῖα πάθη. *OC* 808 τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλά. *E.* 363 τοὐμὲ μὴ λυπεῖν 'my not causing pain to myself'. *T.* 435 τὸ νοσοῦντι ληρεῖν. A subject for the infin. is added in the accus.: ib. 66 σὲ ... τὸ μὴ πυθέσθαι ποῦ 'στιν 'the fact that you have not found out where he is'. Cf. *An.* 710 for anticipation of the subject: ἄνδρα ... τὸ μανθάνειν πολλά. *T.* 1228 τὸ ... μεγάλα πιστεύσαντ' ἐμοὶ | σμικροῖς ἀπιστεῖν 'your refusal to obey in small matters, after obedience in great'. (For the subject in the nominative, contrast ib. 617 in the next section).

In exclamation: *P.* 234 φεῦ τὸ καὶ λαβεῖν | πρόσφθεγμα τοιοῦδ' ἀνδρός 'ah! actually to receive greeting from such a man!' Cf. E. *Med.* 1052.

§ 12. *Accusative use*

First, the infin. appears as the direct equivalent of an object noun. *OC* 1617 τὸ γὰρ φιλεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξ ὅτου πλέον | ἢ τοῦδε τἀνδρὸς ἔσχετε 'from no one more than from me have you had love'. *P.* 881 ἵνα ... μηδ' ἐπίσχωμεν τὸ πλεῖν 'that we may not delay our sailing' (or else ἐπίσχ. is intrans., and τὸ πλεῖν then accus. of respect). *OC* 1127 τό γ' εὐσεβὲς | μόνοις παρ' ὑμῖν ηὗρον

... [καὶ τοὐπιεικὲς καὶ τὸ μὴ ψευδοστομεῖν. *T.* 1243 τἀπορεῖν ἔχω 'I am beset by perplexity'. *P.* 118 οὐκ ἂν ἀρνοίμην τὸ δρᾶν 'I would not refuse to do it'. This use is extended to the infin. with complements: *P.* 299 πάντ' ἐκπορίζει πλὴν τὸ μὴ νοσεῖν ἐμέ 'it furnishes everything except my freedom from sickness' (accus. ἐμέ subject of the infin.). *T.* 617 φύλασσε πρῶτα μὲν νόμον, [τὸ μὴ 'πιθυμεῖν πομπὸς ὢν περισσὰ δρᾶν 'keep first the rule, that one who is a messenger should not desire to meddle' (subject of the infin. nominative, since it is also subject of the main verb—or at any rate includes it, being itself strictly general in reference).

Examples have been given above (§ 4) where the articular and anarthrous infinn. are used alternatively as complements of verbs: so the articular infin. was seen used after ἐθέλω (*OC* 442), φιλῶ (*An.* 1059), ἐπισπεύδω (*E.* 467), δύναμαι (*T.* 546), ἐκκηρύσσω (passive, *An.* 27), προσίεμαι (fr. 149, 9), πείθω (pass., *P.* 1252), παραινῶ (ib. 621), ἐφορμῶ (*A.* 1143), κωλύω (*P.* 1241). The status of this infin. is not always easy to determine. An object relation is sometimes appropriate (so *An.* 1059 τἀδικεῖν φιλῶν). Elsewhere, there seems to be at base an accus. of relation, as at *T.* 546 τὸ δ' αὖ ξυνοικεῖν τῇδ' ὁμοῦ τίς ἂν γυνὴ [δύναιτο ...;. Here the word-order isolates the infin. phrase and announces the theme: 'as for living with ..., who could do it?'. Compare for this feature ib. 1231 τὸ δ' ὧδ' ὁρᾶν φρονοῦντα τίς ποτ' ἂν φέροι;, also *An.* 78 (coupled with adj. ἀμήχανος), and possibly fr. 681, 1 (see Pearson). Some find in the use a tone of impatience or indignation (so Jebb, Longo), but this is not essential: *An.* 78 τὸ δὲ [βίᾳ πολιτῶν δρᾶν ἔφυν ἀμήχανος is spoken by Ismene in an apologetic manner.

Further uses of an accus. of relation, with which the use of μή, μὴ οὐ is specially frequent (cf. Burguière 108 f.). *An.* 1106 καρδίας δ' ἐξίσταμαι [τὸ δρᾶν 'I change my mind with regard to the deed'. *OC* 229* οὐδενὶ μοιριδία τίσις ἔρχεται ὧν προπάθῃ τὸ τίνειν 'to no one comes retribution from fate for what he has already suffered, in respect of requital' (i.e. 'if he requites it'). *T.* 90 οὐδὲν ἐλλείψω τὸ μὴ ... πυθέσθαι 'I shall omit nothing, shall in no way fail, with regard to not learning', which develops a consecutive sense 'so as not to learn'. *OT* 283 μὴ παρῇς τὸ μὴ οὐ φράσαι 'do not disregard it, so as not to tell it', hence 'tell it' (the infin. is consecutive, and is not the object of παρῇς, and so the neg. with it is not a 'repeated' one but has its own independent value). *An.* 545 μήτοι ... μ' ἀτιμάσῃς τὸ μὴ οὐ [θανεῖν τε σὺν σοί ... (consec.). *OT* 1232 λείπει μὲν οὐδ' ἃ πρόσθεν ᾔδεμεν τὸ μὴ οὐ [βαρύστον' εἶναι (consec.). *P.* 1241 ... ὅς σε κωλύσει τὸ δρᾶν. A genitive τοῦ δρᾶν would have been possible here (as well as simple δρᾶν), and Schwyzer 371 f. provides a list of cases where he sees use of τό + infin. with the value of a genitive or dative ('im Werte von τοῦ und τῷ'), also ib. 359 ('τό mit Inf.

wird ... als 'Gen.' und 'Dat.' gebraucht'). But the view-point is mistaken; the accus. of relation is properly used in such cases as a satisfactory alternative to a genitive.

τό + infin. also occurs as equivalent to the plain infin. in an object-clause. *An.* 266 ... θεοὺς ὁρκωμοτεῖν [τὸ μήτε δρᾶσαι μήτε τῳ ξυνειδέναι ... 'to swear by the gods that we did not do it, nor were accomplices of anyone ...'. Ib. 535 ἐξομεῖ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι; 'will you swear you did not know?'. Ib. 236 τῆς ἐλπίδος γὰρ ἔρχομαι δεδραγμένος [τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ἂν ἄλλο πλὴν τὸ μόρσιμον 'I come seized with the hope that I shall not suffer anything other than what is fated'. Note the addition of ἄν (so apparently first here with an artic. infin.). τὸ δρᾶσαι, τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι, τὸ παθεῖν ἄν are treated as substitutes for δρᾶσαι, μὴ εἰδέναι, παθεῖν ἄν.

Also as complement of adjectives: *E.* 1030 μακρὸς τὸ κρῖναι ταῦτα χὠ λοιπὸς χρόνος 'the future is long enough to decide that' (epexegetic). Ib. 1079* τό τε μὴ βλέπειν ἑτοίμα 'ready to die'. *An.* 78 (quoted above, with ἀμήχανος).

Prepositional use. This usage is still relatively undeveloped in Soph. (as in Aesch. and Eur.), accounting for only 5% of his uses of the articular infin.: in contrast, in Aristophanes the proportion rises to 26% (and in prose authors, Herodotus 18%, Thucydides 55%) (Burguière 121-3). With ἐς: *OC* 1368 αἵδ' ἄνδρες, οὐ γυναῖκες, ἐς τὸ συμπονεῖν, ib. 1537 ὅταν ... τις ἐς τὸ μαίνεσθαι τραπῇ. (*P.* 525, πρός can be taken with τὸ καίριον rather than with the infin.).

§ 13. *Genitive use*

This is still relatively rare in Soph.'s time. In dependence on a verb: *A.* 476 ('what pleasure does each succeeding day give us') προσθεῖσα κἀναθεῖσα τοῦ γε κατθανεῖν; 'bringing us toward, and withdrawing us from, death?'. After a comparative: fr. 557, 3 ἧσσον κτῆμα τοῦ κλαίειν, fr. 636 χάρμα μεῖζον ... τοῦ ... ἀκοῦσαι. With a preposition: *An.* 883 πρὸ τοῦ θανεῖν. Two uses show dependence on a noun. *T.* 57 εἰ πατρὸς [νέμοι τιν' ὤραν τοῦ καλῶς πράσσειν δοκεῖν 'if he should care for his father's being regarded as prospering well'. πατρός anticipates the subject of the infin. clause (instead of τοῦ πατέρα ... δοκεῖν); or else, τοῦ ... δοκεῖν provides (after πατρός) a second complement for ὤραν, in an explanatory function. *P.* 197 ... οὐκ ἔσθ' ὡς οὐ (sc. πονεῖ) θεῶν του μελέτῃ, [τοῦ μὴ πρότερον τόνδ' ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ [τεῖναι τὰ θεῶν ... βέλη ... '(his woes) must be due to the intention of some god, that he may not aim his divine shafts against Troy too soon ...'. Here τοῦ + infin. has a final sense, but the source of this usage (which was extended outside

the adnominal circumstance in other authors, and especially in Thuc.) is here still visible in its dependence on the noun μελέτῃ. Cf. Burguière 134.

§ 14. *Dative use*

This is restricted to government by ἐν. *A*. 554 ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἥδιστος βίος 'life is most sweet when there is absence of sense' (ἐν used of circumstance). *OC* 115 ἐν γὰρ τῷ μαθεῖν [ἔνεστιν ηὐλάβεια τῶν ποιουμένων. Ib. 496, 795. The remaining case shows ἐν- as a preverb: *T*. 463 εἰ [κάρτ' ἐντακείη τῷ φιλεῖν 'if he should be quite absorbed in love'.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

PARTICIPLES

A. *Circumstantial*

§ 1. *General introduction*

The use of the circumstantial participle falls basically under two heads (though clear distinction is sometimes not possible): the same surface structure covers the use either (a) of a verb co-ordinate with the existing principal verb of its clause (the conjunctive use of the part.), or (b) of a subordinate clause in which the verb is not to be so assimilated (the autonomous use). It is important to note that in the conjunctive use the modal force of the principal verb, not only in the indicative but in the other moods also, is shared by the participle: hence, if the participle were 'upgraded', it would take the same mood (indic., imper., subj., opt., infin.) as the former principal verb with which it had now become co-ordinate. On the circumstantial participle generally see A. Oguse, *Participe Circonstanciel.* He has three divisions of use: (i) *solidarité modale* and (ii) *association étroite* (on which see further below) correspond to my 'conjunctive' use, while (iii) *autonomie modale* is equivalent to my 'autonomous'.

§ 2. *Conjunctive use*

With indic. principal verb. T. 255 ὅρκον αὑτῷ προσβαλὼν διώμοσεν 'applying an oath to himself, he swore ...': this could equally well be expressed by προσέβαλε καὶ διώμοσεν. Ib. 580 χιτῶνα τόνδ' ἔβαψα, προσβαλοῦσ' ὅσα [... κεῖνος εἶπε 'I anointed this tunic, putting on it all the things he told me' (the aor. part. is contemporaneous: on the tense see Ch. 11 § 36. The part. gives fuller specification of what is denoted by ἔβαψα.).

With imperative. A. 1410 (anap.) πατρός γ' ... φιλότητι θιγὼν πλευρὰς σὺν ἐμοὶ [τάσδ' ἐπικούφιζε 'lay your hands on your father's frame with loving care, and raise him up' (θιγὼν could be replaced by θίγε: aspectual difference between θιγών, inceptive, and ἐπικούφιζε, durative). *P.* 590 σὲ θήσομαι τῶνδ' αἴτιον. - ποιοῦ λέγων. - λέγω. 'I shall make you responsible for this.' - 'Do so, but speak' (i.e. 'I do not object to that, so long as you speak'). - 'I speak'. *OT* 649 (anap.) πιθοῦ θελήσας φρονήσας τε ...: Mazon translates 'cède à sa prière, montre bon vouloir, reprends ton sang-froid' (all verbs aorist).

With subjunctive. E. 1461 ὡς ... νῦν ὁρῶν νεκρὸν [στόμια δέχηται τἀμά 'in order that he may now behold the corpse, and endure my bit' (ὁρῶν for subj. ὁρᾷ). Subj. in prohibition: *An.* 649 μή νύν ... τὰς φρένας γ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς [γυναικὸς οὕνεκ' ἐκβάλῃς, εἰδὼς ὅτι [ψυχρὸν παραγκάλισμα τοῦτο γίγνεται ... (εἰδώς 'know that ...', not 'since you know that ...').

With infinitive. E. 1133 πρὶν ἐς ξένην σε γαῖαν ἐκπέμψαι χεροῖν [κλέψασα ταῖνδε κἀνασώσασθαι φόνου '(would that I had died) before I stole you with these hands, sent you away ..., and saved you from death' (κλέψασα for κλέψαι). Ib. 1304 κοὐδ' ἂν σε λυπήσασα δεξαίμην βραχὺ [αὐτὴ μέγ' εὑρεῖν κέρδος 'I would not agree to hurt you even a little, in order to win great gain for myself': it is the *conjunction* of hurting and gaining which is rejected (which could equally well have been expressed by λυπῆσαι μέν ... εὑρεῖν δέ ...). Ib. 1169 καὶ νῦν ποθῶ [τοῦ σοῦ θανοῦσα μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι τάφου 'and now I desire to die and share your tomb': θανοῦσα is not the same as ἐπειδὰν θανῶ 'when I am dead, at some time in the future'. Participles describing manner or means are regularly conjunctive, with a specially close semantic link with the principal verb. *P.* 102 τί δ' ἐν δόλῳ δεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ πείσαντ' ἄγειν; 'why must we use trickery rather than persuasion, to lead him?': πείσαντα is opposed to ἐν δόλῳ. This is an example of what Oguse calls *association étroite* (cf. Oguse 2 f., 156), with the emphasis here on the part. rather than the infin.: part. and infin. make a semantic unity ('lead by persuasion', and not 'persuade, and lead'). *T.* 592 ἀλλ' εἰδέναι χρὴ δρῶσαν 'you must know through action, act and so have knowledge'. *OT* 861 πέμψω ταχύνασα 'I shall send with haste'. *E.* 673 ἐν βραχεῖ ξυνθεὶς λέγω 'I speak in brief'.

§ 3. *Autonomous use*

Here the participle expresses an attendant or underlying circumstance (causal, concessive, conditional, final). The frequent use of the participle in place of a subordinate clause is noted as a literary feature, especially of the Classical period, which was avoided in the vernacular;* later Greek restricted or gave up the use in favour of the other, more analytic method. See P. W. Wallace, *A.J.P.* 1968, 321 ff.

Causal. E. 1244 εὖ δ' ἔξοισθα πειραθεῖσα. *P.* 501 σύ μ' ἐλέησον, εἰσορῶν [ὡς πάντα δεινὰ ... βροτοῖς [κεῖται 'pity me, since you see how all situations are beset with fear for mortals' (εἰσορῶν not replacing an imper., but an indic. in a causal relation). *E.* 1174 ποῖ λόγων ἀμηχανῶν [ἔλθω; *A.* 941 οὐδέν σ' ἀπιστῶ καί δὶς οἰμῶξαι, γύναι, [τοιοῦδ' ἀποβλαφθεῖσαν ἀρτίως φίλου (ἀποβλαφθ. not for an infin., but for a causally expressed indic.). *E.* 1324, *An.* 331, *OC* 256, 1483*. Oguse 115 would classify as causal πεισθείς at *OC*

756 πεισθεὶς ἐμοὶ [χρύφον, θελήσας ἄστυ καὶ δόμους μολεῖν [τοὺς σοὺς πατρῴους, but this is surely mistaken: πεισθείς is conjunctive with imper. force (like θελήσας).

Concessive. *E*. 628 πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐκφέρῃ, μεθεῖσά μοι [λέγειν ἃ χρῄζοιμι. *A*. 269 ἡμεῖς ἄρ' οὐ νοσοῦντες ἀτώμεσθα νῦν 'so then we are now afflicted, though we are free from the sickness'. *E*. 172*, 319, *OT* 330. (Oguse 135 takes as concessive *E*. 1008 οὐ γὰρ θανεῖν ἔχθιστον, ἀλλ' ὅταν θανεῖν [χρῄζων τις εἶτα μηδὲ τοῦτ' ἔχῃ λαβεῖν (v.l. χρῄζῃ: but this can be conjunctive.) The part. also has the aid of lexical supplements. With καίπερ: *A*. 122 ἐποικτίρω δέ νιν [δύστηνον ἔμπας, καίπερ ὄντα δυσμενῆ. Ib. 384, *P*. 377, 485, *An*. 394. With καί: *A*. 85 ἐγὼ σκοτώσω βλέφαρα καὶ δεδορκότα, *OC* 959. With περ: *P*. 1068 μὴ πρόσλευσσε, γενναῖός περ ὤν (περ without καί-: Goodwin § 860). With ὅμως, which is attracted from the principal to the participial phrase: *T*. 1115 κλῦθί μου νοσῶν ὅμως. So too *OC* 851, 1529.

Conditional. A negative here, if required with the part., will be μή as it would be if a protasis with εἰ, ἐάν were used instead of the part. *P*. 619 τούτων χάρα [τέμνειν ἐφεῖτο τῷ θέλοντι μὴ τυχών 'he granted any who wished the right to take his life, if he should not succeed in this'. *A*. 154 (anap.) τῶν γὰρ μεγάλων ψυχῶν ἱεὶς [οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι 'if he aimed at the mighty, he would not miss'. *E*. 353, 537, *T*. 593, 1251, *OT* 1158.

Final. The use is especially linked with a principal verb of *coming*, *being present*, etc. The part. is in the future: this feature sets apart this particular use, where the form is an indication of the contextual relation (cf. Oguse 341). *P*. 1415 (anap.) ἥκω ... τὰ Δίος τε φράσων βουλεύματά σοι, [κατερητύσων θ' ὁδὸν.... *E*. 1402 σὺ δ' ἐκτὸς ᾖξας πρὸς τί;—φρουρήσουσ' ὅπως [Αἴγισθος ἡμᾶς μὴ λάθῃ μολὼν ἔσω. *T*. 1029*, *A*. 1170, 1317, *An*. 286, *P*. 1224. With a verb of *sending*, where the part. agrees with the object of that verb: *OT* 860 τὸν ἐργάτην [πέμψον τινὰ στελοῦντα 'send someone to fetch the serf'. Exceptionally a present part. is found. *E*. 251 καὶ τὸ σὸν σπεύδουσ' ἅμα [καὶ τοὐμὸν αὐτῆς ἦλθον 'I came in furtherance of both your cause and my own at the same time'. The purpose of furthering is seen as a modal relation.

§ 4. *Temporal participles*

Where the participle has temporal meaning, both conjunctive and autonomous use occur, and sometimes either use is appropriate in the same instance.

Conjunctive. *T*. 1120 εἰπὼν ὃ χρῄζεις λῆξον 'say what you wish and have done': εἰπών shares the imper. mood (and indeed contains the more important order). Ib. 335 αὐτοῦ γε πρῶτον βαιὸν ἀμμείνασα (sc. χώρει) 'wait

here first a little before you go'. So too *P.* 541 μαθόντες ... εἴσιτον 'learn, before you go in'. Ib. 22 προσελθὼν ... σήμαινε. *A.* 390* πῶς ἂν ... τούς τε δισσάρχας ὀλέσσας βασιλῆς τέλος θάνοιμι χαὐτός; 'would that I might kill the joint-ruling kings, before I too reach the consummation of death'. This is a case of Oguse's *association étroite* (Oguse 176): it is less appropriate here to see behind the surface structure two co-ordinated verbs ('would that I might kill ... and would that I might die'). The notions of *kill* and *die* are closely linked, with the part. ὀλέσσας having the major force.

Autonomous. P. 624 πεισθήσομαι γὰρ ὧδε κἀξ Ἅιδου θανὼν [πρὸς φῶς ἀνελθεῖν 'I shall be persuaded, if this is so, even to return to the light from Hades after I am dead' (dying is no part of what he might be persuaded to do: θανών simply sets the time for what follows). Ib. 672 ὅστις γὰρ εὖ δρᾶν εὖ παθὼν ἐπίσταται 'whoever knows how to do good service after receiving such' (but this could also be seen as *association étroite*). *A.* 1418 (anap.) πολλὰ βροτοῖς ἔστιν ἰδοῦσιν [γνῶναι 'it is possible for men to acquire knowledge of much after seeing it' (i.e. after experience of it: contrast with 1419 πρὶν ἰδεῖν δέ ...). *E.* 1487 κτεῖνε, καὶ κτανὼν πρόθες 'kill him, and after killing put out his corpse' (κτανών does not repeat the order of κτεῖνε). Ib. 212*, *A.* 676. Also cases of gen. absolute will have an autonomous part.: *A.* 86 γένοιτο μέντ' ἂν πᾶν θεοῦ τεχνωμένου, *OT* 1449, etc.

§ 5. *Some special uses of conjunctive participles*

Certain uses of the conjunctive part. occur specially often in the line-final position in iambics, where the force of the part. is not always easy to see and sometimes approaches redundancy.

ἰών. *P.* 353 εἰ τἀπὶ Τροίᾳ πέργαμ' αἱρήσοιμ' ἰών 'if I should go and capture ...'. *An.* 768 δράτω, φρονείτω μεῖζον ἢ κατ' ἄνδρ' ἰών dismissive, 'let him go and do, or think, things too great for mortals'. *A.* 304 ... ὅσην κατ' αὐτῶν ὕβριν ἐκτείσαιτ' ἰών '(he boasted) what violence he had wreaked on them'. There seems to be a linking with verbs denoting an enterprise or bold action (so Jebb on *An.* 768).

παρών. *A.* 1131 εἰ τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἐᾷς θάπτειν παρών '(you would act against divine law) if you forbid the burial of the dead by your personal intervention' (so Stanford, for παρών). Ib. 1384 οὐδ' ἔτλης παρὼν [θανόντι τῷδε ζῶν ἐφυβρίσαι μέγα, [ὡς ὁ στρατηγὸς οὑπιβρόντητος μολὼν [αὐτός τε χὼ ξύναιμος ἠθελησάτην .... There is a contrast with μολών two lines later: the latter refers to an 'arbitrary and brusque action' (so again Stanford), but παρών to a more deliberate act, with personal involvement. Further, ib. 338, 1156, *P.* 373.

μολών. Its use in a context of swift action has just been seen at *A*. 1386. See also ib. 854 ὦ Θάνατε Θάνατε, νῦν μ' ἐπίσκεψαι μολών.

λέγων. *A*. 757 ὡς ἔφη λέγων. Such coupling is relatively frequent, especially in introducing direct speech (Kieckers, *I.F.* 30, 145; 35, 34 ff.): here it is not so used, but direct speech follows in the next sentence.

ἔχων. Intransitive use, of continuous action; colloquial, so in Aristoph. Fr. 314, 127 (*Ichneutae*) τί ποτε βακχεύσεις ἔχων; 'why do you keep on with your wild behaviour?'.

ἄγων. *OC* 1342 ὥστ' ἐν δόμοισι τοῖσι σοῖς στήσω σ' ἄγων: cf. ib. 910 also with ἵστημι, and *Il.* 2, 558 στῆσε δ' ἄγων. *P.* 481 ἐμβαλοῦ μ' ὅπῃ θέλεις ἄγων, ib. 488.

λαβών. *OC* 475 οἰός γε νεαρᾶς νεοπόκῳ μαλλῷ λαβών (γε *per emend.*: βαλών v.l.) '(crown the bowl) with fresh-cut wool of a young lamb'. λαβών is largely redundant.

§ 6. *The participle expressing the leading idea*

The participle, despite its syntactical subordination, can carry the principal predication in its sentence (as has already been seen in some cases: so *T.* 1120 above). Kühner-Gerth 2, 98; Oguse 198 ff.; A. Cavallin, 'Zum Verhältnis zwischen regierenden Verbum und Participium conjunctum', *Eranos* 1946, 280 ff.

Certain features which are often present, deserve comment. In iambic verse a principal verb whose semantic content is relatively small, tends to occupy the unemphatic position of line-final, while the part. is as near the start as is possible. Such a principal verb may be little more than a syntactical 'filler', in the category of verbs of *going, saying, doing.* The contextual relationship of the part. to the main clause falls under three main heads.

(a) *Causal. An.* 294 ... τούτους ἐξεπίσταμαι καλῶς | παρηγμένους μισθοῖσιν εἰργάσθαι τάδε 'I know full well that it was because they were bribed that they did this'. *OT* 1000 ἦ γὰρ τάδ' ὀκνῶν κεῖθεν ἦσθ' ἀπόπτολις; *T.* 187 καὶ τοῦ τόδ' ἀστῶν ἢ ξένων μαθὼν λέγεις; *E.* 577, 995, 1100, *An.* 381, 628, 632, *OT* 537.

(b) *Temporal. A.* 108-10 ('I do not wish him to die yet'.—'Until you have done what ...?')—πρὶν ἂν δεθεὶς πρὸς κίον' ἑρκείου στέγης | ... μάστιγι πρῶτον νῶτα φοινιχθεὶς θάνῃ 'not until he has first been bound to a pillar ... and had his back lashed crimson before he dies'. Commentators have remarked on supposed illogicality (or perhaps rather tautology) in θάνῃ, as if Ajax says that Odysseus must not die until he dies; but this is to misinterpret the force of the two partt. Cf. *OC* 1509 καί σ' ἅπερ ξυνῄνεσα | θέλω πόλιν τε τήνδε μὴ ψεύσας θανεῖν 'and I wish not to deceive you and this city in respect of

what I agreed, before I die': Oedipus is not here simply announcing his desire for death. Ib. 1347, *A.* 389*, 1005, *T.* 42, *P.* 541.

(c) Other cases are more generally circumstantial. *An.* 159 (anap.) ... χωρεῖ τίνα δὴ μῆτιν ἐρέσσων ...; 'here comes Creon—what plan is he turning over in his mind?'. *OC* 1038 χωρῶν ἀπείλει νῦν 'depart now with your threats' (spoken to Creon: the speech continues with address to Oedipus, who is bidden to stay—σὺ δ' ἡμίν, Οἰδίπους, [ἕκηλος αὐτοῦ μίμνε— with μίμνε in antithesis to χωρῶν). *E.* 310 (part. in gen. absolute).

Special note is to be taken of four passages with the partt. χαίρων, κλαίων, all of which contain a threat of future feelings of regret which will result from an action that is now being committed, or has already occurred. *OT* 363 ἀλλ' οὔ τι χαίρων δίς γε πημονὰς ἐρεῖς 'you will regret twice speaking infamous charges'. Ib. 401 κλαίων δοκεῖς μοι καὶ σὺ χὠ συνθεὶς τάδε [ἀγηλατήσειν 'I think that you and your fellow plotter will be sorry for attempting to expel pollution'. *An.* 754 (κλαίων), 759 (χαίρων). In all these the part. is emphatically placed at the beginning of its sentence and verse (save as restricted by over-riding rules for word-order). The principal verbs *in themselves* refer to present or past actions, despite their future tense. The usage is paralleled elsewhere: so Hdt. 3, 29, 2 οὐ χαίροντες γέλωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε (the speaker has already been mocked); Ar. *Ach.* 563 ἀλλ' οὔ τι χαίρων ταῦτα τολμήσει λέγειν (the offending remarks have been spoken). But in other passages of similar form the reference is to an action which is still prospective: E. *Hipp.* 1086 κλαίων τις αὐτῶν ἆρ' ἐμοῦ γε θίξεται—the assault referred to has not occurred, and this is a warning against it (see Barrett ad loc., and also on ib. 1416-22). The apparent illogicality of examples such as the Sophoclean arises when one looks at the cause and effect of the action separately: instead they should be seen synoptically, in close union (*association étroite*) of part. and principal verb, and it is precisely the function of the construction to stress the indissoluble nature of this union. The future aspect of the regret or reprisal to be experienced is marked by the use of the future tense (which is then carried by the principal verb of the phrase). See also Oguse 201.

§ 7. *ὡς with the circumstantial participle*

The use of ὡς with the participle requires special remark: see Kühner-Gerth 2, 90-6; Schwyzer 391; Monteil 338-44. ὡς originally introduced a substantive in apposition, and then was attached to the circumstantial part. in C. Vth. From an original modal sense a number of other uses developed according to difference in contexts, in some of which the presence of ὡς can be regarded as dispensable. See Ch. 20 § 2.

The modal sense tends to stress that the action or state described by the participial clause will naturally, or according to expectation, lead to the given conclusion, and hence easily leads to a causal sense. *E.* 804 ἆρ' ὑμὶν ὡς ἀλγοῦσα κὠδυνωμένη [δεινῶς δακρῦσαι κἀπικωκῦσαι δοκεῖ [τὸν υἱὸν ἡ δύστηνος ὧδ' ὀλωλότα; : ὡς ἀλγοῦσα κὠδ. 'as expected from (in the manner of) one who is stricken with pain and grief'. *T.* 876 ('Deianeira has departed on the final journey') - οὐ δή ποθ' ὡς θανοῦσα; 'can it be in death?'. *A.* 284 ἅπαν μαθήσῃ τοὔργον ὡς κοινωνὸς ὤν 'you will learn all as being (= since you are) involved' (modal, 'like a sharer, as you are'; or a causal sense 'since you are a sharer' is also possible). Causal sense is prominent in *OT* 1178 κατοικτίσας, ὦ δέσποθ', ὡς ἄλλην χθόνα [δοκῶν ἀποίσειν '(I handed him over) in pity, since I thought he would take him to another land' (Jebb, 'as one might fitly give it up, who so thought').

With the future part. also more than one sense is found, according to context. *E.* 782 ὁ προστατῶν [χρόνος διῆγέ μ' αἰὲν ὡς θανουμένην 'time, ever at hand (?), always led me on as one about to die' (modal, 'like one on the point of death', or conditional comparison, 'as if ...'). Ib. 1025 ὡς οὐχὶ συνδράσουσα νουθετεῖς τάδε '... with the attitude of no intention to share the deed'. Ib. 1155 φήμας λάθρᾳ προὔπεμπες ὡς φανούμενος [τιμωρὸς αὐτός : ὡς φαν. κτλ., giving the basis of the subject's attitude, in effect shows the purport of his messages. *An.* 62 γυναῖκε ... ἔφυμεν, ὡς πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐ μαχουμένα 'we two are by birth women, not intended to contest with men': ὡς οὐ μαχ. conveys a basic condition of their existence. *P.* 935 ἀλλ' ὡς μεθήσων μήποθ', ὧδ' ὁρᾷ πάλιν 'he looks away, as one determined never to give it up': note use of μή (and contrast οὐχί in *E.* 1025 above, also showing intention), due to the generic undertone.

In absolute constructions. *Genitive.* *T.* 394 δίδαξον, ὡς ἕρποντος ... ἐμοῦ 'since I am on my way'. *A.* 281 ὡς ὧδ' ἐχόντων τῶνδ' ἐπίστασθαί σε χρή 'this is so, and your understanding must be on that basis': the part. phrase gives the basis required for their appreciation of the situation. Similarly ib. 904, 981, *An.* 1179 (cf. A. *Ag.* 1393). *OT* 11 φράζε ... ὡς θέλοντος ἂν [ἐμοῦ προσαρκεῖν πᾶν 'speak ... in the knowledge that I shall be willing to give every help'. *Accusative.* Ib. 101 ... ὡς τόδ' αἷμα χειμάζον πόλιν '(we must use banishment ...) in the knowledge that this bloodshed is afflicting the state'. For the accus. absolute see Ch. 4 § 18.

B. *Attributive*

§ 8. *Use as adjective*

The attributive part. has a role similar to that of an adjective. So regularly with article and noun: *P.* 734 τῆς παρεστώσης νόσου, *E.* 306 τὰς

ἀπούσας ἐλπίδας, ib. 392 βίου τοῦ παρόντος, *An.* 1113 τοὺς καθεστῶτας νόμους. Without article: *E.* 90 στέρνων αἱμασσομένων, 149* ὄρνις ἀτυζομένα, 422 βρύοντα θαλλόν. *An.* 1156 στάντα ... ἀνθρώπου βίον 'a stable, consistent form of life'. Often an articular phrase is expanded into the equivalent of a defining relative clause, advantage being taken of the verbal nature of the part. *E.* 113* τοὺς ἀδίκως θνῄσκοντας, 302 ὁ σὺν γυναιξὶ τὰς μάχας ποιούμενος (coupled with adjectival ὁ πάντ' ἄναλκις in 301).

§ 9. *Use as substantive* (*articular*)

Like an adjective, it may be used as a substantive.

Masculine and feminine use. A. 157 τὸν ἔχοντα (general, of anyone with possessions: πρὸς γὰρ τὸν ἔχονθ' ὁ φθόνος ἕρπει). *OT* 293 τὸν ἰδόντα 'the one who saw' (particular; or else possibly general 'anyone who saw' (Kamerbeek ad loc.). See below for conj. δρῶντα). *An.* 184 Ζεὺς ὁ πάνθ' ὁρῶν (present, of his regular attribute). Ib. 248 ὁ τολμήσας τάδε (particular). *OT* 297 οὐξελέγξων 'one who is going to convict' (particular). *An.* 261 οὐδ' ὁ κωλύσων παρῆν 'nor was there anyone there to check it' (indefinite). From δρῶ: *E.* 350 τὴν δρῶσαν ἐκτρέπεις 'you impede (me) the one who takes action' (the time reference of δρῶσαν is general, of habitual action; or the tense may be conative). *OT* 269 ταῦτα τοῖς μὴ δρῶσιν (general reference, both as to identity of person and time). Ib. 246 τὸν δεδρακότα (particular, but identity not known). Compare other cases where the present of δρῶ is used without a general time reference: *An.* 319 ὁ δρῶν σ' ἀνιᾷ τὰς φρένας (refers to an act in the past, actor unknown), ib. 325 τοὺς δρῶντας, *A.* 1280 ὁ δρῶν τάδε (also the conjectural τὸν δρῶντα *OT* 293 would fit here). In such cases the present tense has its source in the continuing result of the action.

Neuter use. A. 229* τὸ προσέρπον 'the future'. *E.* 40 πᾶν τὸ δρώμενον 'all that is going on'. Here is a notable abstract use which was especially favoured in the latter half of C. Vth., and is prominent in Thuc.: Kühner-Gerth 1, 267, Goodwin § 829. Comparison is prompted with the articular use of the infin. (as τὸ δρᾶν); but it is possible to see a difference of sense between the two. The difference is touched on by Smyth, *Greek Gram.* § 1153, who speaks of 'an action regulated by time and circumstance' with reference to the participle: in other words, there is an element of the concrete present. *P.* 675 τὸ γὰρ [νοσοῦν ποθεῖ σε ξυμπαραστάτην λαβεῖν: τὸ νοσοῦν is more concrete than τὸ νοσεῖν would be, so that 'my infirmity' includes the notion of 'my infirm part'. *T.* 144 τὸ γὰρ νεάζον ἐν τοιοῖσδε βόσκεται [χώροισιν ...: τὸ νεάζον is not purely abstract 'youth', as is seen by its coupling with βόσκεται and the further physical references to the effects of

heat, rain, etc.; it is closer to a collective 'what is young'. Ib. 196 τὸ γὰρ ποθοῦν ἕκαστος ἐκμαθεῖν θέλων | οὐκ ἂν μεθεῖτο: here the construction is uncertain, τὸ ποθοῦν (if sound) being governed by either ἐκμαθεῖν 'satisfy his desire by learning' (Mazon, *Rev. Phil.* 25, 1951, 8 f.), or μεθεῖτο 'give up his desire'. In either case τὸ ποθοῦν would be limited in sense to the particular circumstance and occasion: 'his desiring (to obtain certain information)'. A use which is disputed is at *OC* 1604 ἐπεὶ δὲ παντὸς εἶχε δρῶντος ἡδονὴν 'when he had satisfaction from all their service' (better, of the service rendered to Oedipus by his daughters, rather than of his own acts). For use in an inflected case, cf. Thuc. 1, 142, 8 ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι 'through lack of practice'. The absence of the article is unparalleled, but may be made easier by the attributive παντός. Alternatively, but less well, δρῶντος masculine 'every helper'; but this faces the objection that the helpers were Oedipus' daughters. There is not good reason to follow Schneidewin (δρῶντος = δρωμένου): φέρον at *OC* 1693 does not justify this, since an active sense is possible for it. (τοῦ θέλοντος at *OC* 1220* is probably corrupt: among other objections it may be claimed that θέλω does not express the right sense of positive desire, to give τὸ θέλον the meaning of 'the will to live'.)

§ 10. *Use as substantive* (*non-articular*)

Non-articular substantival use chiefly has a general or indefinite reference (Goodwin § 827). *OC* 955 θανόντων δ' οὐδὲν ἄλγος ἅπτεται: θαν. 'the dead'. Fr. 284, 2 κεκμηκότων 'id.'. *An.* 618* εἰδότι δ' οὐδὲν ἕρπει 'it approaches one who is unaware'. Ib. 256 λεπτὴ δ' ἄγος φεύγοντος ὣς ἐπῆν κόνις 'there was a light covering of dust on him, as if put by one avoiding pollution'. *OC* 76 ὡς ἰδόντι 'in the judgement of any observer'. *OT* 517 (πεπονθέναι) εἰς βλάβην φέρον 'anything tending to harm'. *E.* 697 ἰσχύων. *P.* 504, *T.* 1230. But the reference may also be (in part, or wholly) to definite, known individuals. *An.* 455 ('I did not think your edicts had such force') ὥστ' ἄγραπτα κἀσφαλῆ θεῶν | νόμιμα δύνασθαι θνητὸν ὄνθ' ὑπερδραμεῖν: Antigone is speaking to Creon, and she has him in mind above all in θνητὸν ὄντα. But the form of words makes us feel at the same time a generic sense, as 'you, or any mere mortal'. Cf. A. *Ag.* 923 ἐν ποικίλοις δὲ θνητὸν ὄντα κάλλεσιν | βαίνειν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἄνευ φόβου, where we are meant to think of the presumptuous act both in general terms, and as affecting Agamemnon. *E.* 774 (οὔτοι μάτην γε [sc. ἥκεις]) εἴ μοι θανόντος πίστ' ἔχων τεκμήρια | προσῆλθες, ὅστις τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς γεγώς, | μαστῶν ἀποστὰς καὶ τροφῆς ἐμῆς, φυγὰς | ἀπεξενοῦτο: by θανόντος Clytaemnestra means Orestes, but a generic sense (dramatically effective) is present and is feelingly

brought out by ὅστις κτλ. 'seeing that you have come with proof of the death of one who ...'. Ib. 1039 ἦ δεινὸν εὖ λέγουσαν ἐξαμαρτάνειν 'it is grievous that one who speaks fairly should be in error': Chrysothemis is meant by εὖ λέγουσαν, but she is taken as typical of her situation. *A*. 1067-8 εἰ γὰρ βλέποντος μὴ 'δυνήθημεν κρατεῖν, [πάντως θανόντος γ' ἄρξομεν 'if we could not control the living (Ajax), at least we shall be masters of the dead': the generic undertone stresses why the Atreidae will now be the masters.

Notice too some compressed phrases with use of anadiplosis (perhaps stereotyped formulae?). *P*. 668 παρέσται ταῦτά σοι καὶ θιγγάνειν [καὶ δόντι δοῦναι (sc. μοι with δόντι). *OC* 1025 ἔχων ἔχῃ (sc. συ). *A*. 1134 μισοῦντ' ἐμίσει (sc. με).

§ 11. *Further use as an adjective (predicative, and with sense transfer)*

The participle in its role as adjective can appear with predicative function (in agreement with the subject). *OT* 274 τάδ' ἔστ' ἀρέσκοντα, ib. 90 οὔτ' οὖν προδείσας εἰμί, etc. See Ch. 11 § 29 for other examples.

Note the remarkable expression in *OC* 267 τά γ' ἔργα μου [πεπονθότ' ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα 'my acts are ones of suffering rather than of doing': this involves a sense-transference from the agent to the action in which he has been engaged (so that Oedipus stands aside to view his actions at a remove from himself). Some have found particular difficulty in the union of ἔργα and δεδρακότα: so Housman, *A.J.P.* 13, 1892, 139 ff. (= *The Classical Papers of A.E.H.* 1, 181 ff.) writes of its 'absurdity'. But we are somewhat cushioned against it by the preceding πεπονθότα, and the coupling of the two verbs is well paralleled (E. fr. 711 παθόντες οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότες, Ar. *Thes*. 519). Similarly ib. 74 ὅσ' ἂν λέγωμεν πάνθ' ὁρῶντα λέξομεν 'whatever I speak will be seeing', i.e. 'I shall have vision *in what I say*' (the transfer is particularly appropriate since Oedipus, the speaker, has lost his sight). Cf. the sense transfer (with participle) at *OT* 1214* γάμον ... τεκνοῦντα καὶ τεκνούμενον 'the marriage which begets and is begotten', i.e. 'wherein begetter and begotten (are) one' (Jebb): the epithets describe Oedipus, who in the marriage is both father and son. (One *could* take τεκνοῦντα as properly epithet of the marriage, but not τεκνούμενον.) *E*. 1231* μοι γεγηθὸς ἕρπει δάκρυον ὀμμάτων ἄπο (γεγ. as attribute of δάκρυον rather than of μοι).

With ἑκών, ἄκων (which were originally participles). *OT* 1230 κακὰ [ἑκόντα κοὐκ ἄκοντα 'ills committed willingly'. Here the transfer from the agent to the act (and the agent is not referred to in the passage) involves taking the two epithets in a passive instead of an active sense

('willed, not unwilled'). So too *OC* 240*, 977. With πρέπων: *OT* 9 πρέπων ἔφυς [πρὸ τῶνδε φωνεῖν (with transfer from the impersonal πρέπει to the subject agent): fr. 653, 2. Cf. Debrunner, *Mus. Helv.* 1, 1944, 40.

C. *Supplementary*

§ 12. *General use*

The supplementary participle is used with the following categories of verb, to complete their meaning. (a) With verbs of *stopping*, *enduring*, *permitting*. *An.* 884 οὐδ' ἂν εἱς παύσαιτ' ἂν ... λέγων. *E.* 943 τλῆναί σε δρῶσαν ἂν ἐγὼ παραινέσω (sc. κελεύω: more usually τλάω with infin., as *A.* 917 οὐδεὶς ἂν ... τλαίη βλέπειν ...). *E.* 1028 ἀνέξομαι κλύουσα. (b) With verbs expressing *feeling*. *P.* 449 χαίρουσ' ἀναστρέφοντες ἐξ Ἅιδου. *A.* 506 αἴδεσαι πατέρα τὸν σὸν ... προλείπων 'be ashamed to abandon your father'. Ib. 136 σὲ μὲν εὖ πράσσοντ' ἐπιχαίρω, *P.* 1314 ἥσθην πατέρα τὸν ἁμὸν εὐλογοῦντά σε: with these cf. E. *Hipp.* 1340 τοὺς γὰρ εὐσεβεῖς θεοὶ [θνῄσκοντας οὐ χαίρουσι, *Rh.* 390 (also with χαίρω). Since these verbs only take an accus. in this construction with the participle, it is probably to be seen as an extension of that after verbs of the following category (of *perceiving*, etc.). (c) With verbs of *perceiving*, *learning*, *discovering*, etc. *E.* 79 ... προσπόλων τινὸς [ὑποστενούσης ἔνδον αἰσθέσθαι. *P.* 13 μή καὶ μάθῃ μ' ἥκοντα. *E.* 374 εἰ μὴ κακὸν μέγιστον εἰς αὐτὴν ἰὸν [ἤκουσα (cf. *An.* 823* ἀκούω with accus. and infin.). *P.* 596 πάντες ἤκουον σαφῶς [Ὀδυσσέως λέγοντος. *A.* 692 τάχ' ἂν μ' ἴσως [πύθοισθε ... σεσωσμένον (cf. *OT* 513, πυνθάνομαι with accus. and infin.). The distinction between accus. and gen. rests on the nature of the apprehension: accus. when it relates to the whole circumstance in which the object is involved, gen. when the object itself is the prime target. *OT* 839 ἢν γὰρ εὑρεθῇ λέγων [σοὶ ταὐτά. (d) With verbs of *appearing*, *being seen* (*to be*), *showing*. *T.* 1129 εὐλαβοῦ δὲ μὴ φανῇς κακὸς γεγώς. *E.* 24 σαφῆ [σημεῖα φαίνεις ἐσθλὸς εἰς ἡμᾶς γεγώς (equivalent of σαφῶς φαίνει ...). *OC* 556 σκευή τε γάρ σε καὶ τὸ δύστηνον κάρα [δηλοῦτον ἡμῖν ὄνθ' ὃς εἶ. Similarly with δῆλος: *P.* 1011 δῆλος δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ἀλγεινῶς φέρων. (e) With verbs of *knowing*, *being aware*. *An.* 996 φρόνει βεβὼς ... ἐπὶ ξυροῦ τύχης 'be aware that you are on a knife's edge of fortune'. *E.* 1330 ἐν αὐτοῖσιν κακοῖς [τοῖσιν μεγίστοις ὄντες οὐ γιγνώσκετε. *An.* 1003 σπῶντας ἐν χηλαῖσιν ἀλλήλους φοναῖς [ἔγνων. Fr. 931, 1 ἡνίκ' ἄν τις ἐσθλὸς ὢν [αὑτῷ συνειδῇ '... is conscious of being good'. *An.* 926 παθόντες ἂν ξυγγνοῖμεν ἡμαρτηκότες 'through suffering I shall recognize that I have erred'. *OT* 66 ἴστε πολλὰ μέν με δακρύσαντα. *OC* 1209 σὺ δὲ [σῶν ἴσθι (so codd.): this may best be emended to σὲ δὲ σῶν, or to σὺ δὲ σῶς, which will involve ellipse of ὄντα or ὤν (not indispensable, *pace* Jebb: cf. Kühner-

Gerth 2, 66 f.). (f) With τυγχάνω, κυρῶ, λανθάνω. *E.* 569 ἐκκομπάσας ἔπος τι τυγχάνει. Ib. 46 μέγιστος αὐτοῖς τυγχάνει δορυξένων (ὤν to be understood: cf. ib. 313 νῦν δ' ἀγροῖσι τυγχάνει, 1457, *A.* 9, and so with κυρῶ, *A.* 984 ποῦ μοι γῆς κυρεῖ; *OT* 362, *P.* 741). *P.* 46 μὴ καὶ λάθῃ με προσπεσών '(send him to keep watch) lest he come upon me unawares'. Notice the reversed construction, with κυρῶ as participle (which is now circumstantial (modal)): *P.* 544 ἐκέλευσ' ἐμοί σε ποῦ κυρῶν εἴης φράσαι 'I bade him tell me where you might be'. So too *An.* 532 λήθουσά μ' ἐξέπινες 'secretly you were draining my blood'.

On the tense of the participle in these constructions, see Ch. 11 § 36.

§ 13. *Introduction by ὡς*

The use of ὡς with the supplementary participle, both in the nominative and in the accusative, is to be compared with that of ὡς with the circumstantial participle (§ 7 above). (a) Nom. *E.* 1370 φροντίζεθ' ὡς τούτοις ... μαχούμενοι 'reckon that you will fight with them'. *An.* 1063 ὡς μὴ 'μπολήσων ἴσθι τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα 'be assured you will not profit from my purpose'. With verbs of *appearing*: *A.* 326 δῆλός ἐστιν ὥς τι δρασείων κακόν. *An.* 242 δηλοῖς ὥς τι σημανῶν νέον. (b) Accus. *P.* 253 ὡς μηδὲν εἰδότ' ἴσθι μ' ὧν ἀνιστορεῖς. *T.* 289 φρόνει νιν ὡς ἥξοντα. *OT* 956 πατέρα τὸν σὸν ἀγγελῶν [ὡς οὐκέτ' ὄντα. The use of ὡς in these cases with verbs of *knowing, thinking*, is a form of redundancy; thus in *E.* 1370 ὡς (μαχούμενοι) enjoins knowledge of what is to happen, no less than φροντίζετε, and could have supplied that sense adequately if a verb such as ἴξιτε had replaced φροντίζετε. See also Ch. 20 § 2.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

RELATIVE CLAUSES

§ 1. *ὅς as relative pronoun*

ὅς is the basic form of the relative pronoun, and used both for particular and for general reference. So particular: *P.* 261 ὅδ' εἴμ' ἐγώ σοι κεῖνος, ὃν κλύεις ..., *OT* 1130, *E.* 113*. Generalising: *An.* 582* εὐδαίμονες οἷσι κακῶν ἄγευστος αἰών (referring to the class of such people). *A.* 1094 οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ... ἄνδρα θαυμάσαιμ' ἔτι, [ὃς μηδὲν ὢν γοναῖσιν εἶθ' ἁμαρτάνει ('any one who ...': of any member of a class which is so defined). *An.* 220 οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτω μῶρος ὃς θανεῖν ἐρᾷ (with consecutive sense). Compare the use when correlative to τοιοῦτος: *An.* 691 τὸ σὸν γὰρ ὄμμα δεινὸν ἀνδρὶ δημότῃ [λόγοις τοιούτοις οἷς σὺ μὴ τέρψῃ κλύων 'your frown brings fear to the citizens by reason of such words' (i.e. if they utter them) 'that you will have no pleasure from hearing them'. *OC* 1352 ἀκούσας ... τοιαῦθ' ἃ τὸν τοῦδ' οὔποτ' εὐφρανεῖ βίον '(he will depart) after hearing such words that they will bring no delight to his life'. Notice the difference of the negatives in these two similar clauses: οὔποτε in the latter, where the statement relates to particular words about to be spoken; μή in the former, of a *type* of speech (which may in fact be avoided, and not spoken). Like ὅστις, ὅς can acquire a causal sense, especially when followed by γε. *A.* 372* ὢ δύσμορος, ὃς χερὶ μὲν μεθῆκα τοὺς ἀλάστορας 'unhappy am I, who let escape the evildoers' (cf. *P.* 255). *A.* 1257. With γε: *E.* 911 ('I know you did not do it') ᾗ γε μηδὲ πρὸς θεοὺς [ἔξεστ' ... τῆσδ' ἀποστῆναι στέγης, *P.* 663 ὅς γε (followed by four similar uses of ὅς), ib. 1364. See Ellendt 550 for further examples. An indefinite sense 'any one who', 'whoever', appears with the subjunctive (with and without ἄν), and with the optative: see Ch. 12 §§ 12 (i), 16 (i), on these uses. Lastly there is a connective (digressive) use, where the function is that of an anaphoric demonstrative (with a conjunction): it is not always easy to distinguish from the regular subordinating use, but the purpose is not to define (adjectival, determinative), but to make a further predication. This development is a secondary one in the history of Greek, and not a survival of the presumed original demonstrative value of ὅς (on which see Monteil 40 ff.). *E.* 176* ἔτι μέγας οὐρανῷ Ζεύς, ὃς (attributive) ἐφορᾷ πάντα καὶ κρατύνει· ᾧ (connective) τὸν ὑπεραλγῆ χόλον νέμουσα .... Ib. 209*; 422 ἔκ τε τοῦδ' ἄνω [βλαστεῖν βρύοντα θαλλόν, ᾧ κατάσκιον [πᾶσαν γενέσθαι ... χθόνα '(it is said that) a fruitful bough grew up from it, and with

it all the land was over-shadowed' (notice the continuation of the accus. and infin. construction after ᾧ). *An.* 110*, *T.* 136*, 358, *OT* 399. See also § 10 below (fin.) on the connective use.

§ 2. *ὅς τε*

ὅς τε was important in Epic (of timeless or habitual action), but rare in Tragedy, and used by Sophocles only in lyric (as usually in Aeschylus): *E.* 151*, *T.* 824*, *OT* 694*. Of these only *E.* 151* shows an Epic type of use, of what is permanent (Νιόβα ... ἅ τ' ἐν τάφῳ πετραίῳ αἰεὶ δακρύεις). In the others ὅς τε is determinative, and used of what is temporary: the special nuance (if any) could be causal in *OT* 694*, but hardly so in *T.* 824*. (τε in *OT* 694* has also been taken as co-ordinating, or γε is read (as fitting a causal sense).) Denniston 523 f.; Ruijgh 1002.

§ 3. *ὅσπερ*

ὅσπερ has a strongly identifying sense, 'the very one who, which' (excluding others). *A.* 968 θάνατον ὅνπερ ἤθελεν 'the death, and none other, for which he wished'. *T.* 56 ... μάλιστα δ' ὅνπερ εἰκὸς Ὕλλον '(why do you not send one of your sons), above all Hyllus, the one for whom it is proper to go'. *OC* 907. So with an antecedent showing identity: *OT* 575 ἐγὼ δὲ σοῦ | μαθεῖν δικαιῶ ταὔθ' ἅπερ κἀμοῦ σὺ νῦν (ταῦθ' codd.) 'I claim to learn from you the very same that you have learned from me'. Ib. 1499. But also with a weaker sense, equivalent to ὅς: *P.* 559 ἅπερ δ' ἔλεξας, ὡς μάθω, φράσον (so corrected by Jackson) 'tell me about what you spoke of', *OT* 346.

§ 4. *ὅστις*

ὅστις is the generalising or indefinite relative (see in general Monteil 124-59). The primary use was to refer to an antecedent who (or which) was not particular or individual. So regularly of a class of persons etc. whose characteristic is defined by the relative clause ('any one who, all who'): this is better called a generalising use, rather than an indefinite. *A.* 474 αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἄνδρα τοῦ μακροῦ χρῄζειν βίου, | κακοῖσιν ὅστις μηδὲν ἐξαλλάσσεται 'it is base for a man (any man) to desire length of life, whose troubles have no variation' (neg. μηδέν also points to the class). *E.* 257 πῶς γάρ, ἥτις εὐγενὴς γυνή, | πατρῷ' ὁρῶσα πήματ' οὐ δρῴη τάδ' ἄν ...; *An.* 178, *T.* 726.

Without such reference to a class, of an indefinite antecedent: *OT* 1048 ἔστιν τις ὑμῶν ... ὅστις κάτοιδε τὸν βοτῆρα ...; 'is there any one of you who knows the shepherd?'. *T.* 1009* ἀνατέτροφας ὅτι καὶ μύσῃ 'you have aroused anything (i.e. any part of my pain) which had abated'.

With antecedent ὅδε: *An*. 623* τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ' ἐσθλὸν τῷδ' ἔμμεν ὅτῳ φρένας θεὸς ἄγει πρὸς ἄταν 'to the man whose mind the god leads to ruin' (general, of any such man). With οὗτος, *An*. 182. With πᾶς: *A*. 1413* ἀλλ' ἄγε πᾶς, φίλος ὅστις ἀνὴρ φησὶ παρεῖναι .... With interrogative τίς: *T*. 1235 τίς ταῦτ' ἄν, ὅστις μὴ ... νοσοῖ, [ἕλοιτο; 'who would choose this, who was not afflicted ...?' (i.e. 'except those who are afflicted'). With οὐδείς: *OC* 806 ἄνδρα δ' οὐδέν' οἶδ' ἐγὼ [δίκαιον ὅστις ἐξ ἅπαντος εὖ λέγει. Notice here the special use of ὅτι μή in *T*. 1278 οὐδὲν τούτων ὅτι μὴ Ζεύς 'Zeus is in' (or 'effects') 'everything that has happened' (see Monteil 137: elsewhere in literary texts ὅτι μή 'except' is stereotyped as a conjunction, but here the pronominal sense of ὅτι is still apparent).

ὅστις occurs as an equivalent of εἴ τις: *T*. 905 κλαῖε δ' ὀργάνων ὅτου [ψαύσειεν 'she would weep if ever (whenever) she touched any of the implements ...' (continued with εἴ του in 908). Also perhaps fr. 356, 2. More frequently εἴ τις is used for ὅστις, e.g. *P*. 652, *OC* 488, 1457.

In further use the antecedent is a definite individual, but his identity is not known; it may additionally be regarded as of no importance to know it. *OT* 139 ὅστις γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖνον ὁ κτανὼν τάχ' ἂν [κἄμ' ἂν τοιαύτῃ χειρὶ τιμωρεῖν θέλοι 'whoever it was who killed him, might similarly wish to take vengeance on me' (identity not known). *OT* 1054 νοεῖς ἐκεῖνον, ὅντιν' ἀρτίως [μολεῖν ἐφιέμεσθα; Ib. 1349* ὄλοιθ' ὅστις ἦν ὃς ... ἔλαβέ με 'cursed be whoever it was who took me': here ὅστις ὅς was read by Hermann, for which cf. fr. 314, 325 τὸν δαίμον' ὅστις ποθ' ὃς ταῦτ' ἐτεχνήσατο. *OC* 289 ὅταν δ' ὁ κύριος [παρῇ τις, ὑμῶν ὅστις ἐστὶν ἡγεμών 'when the one who has authority is here, whoever is your leader' (the rel. clause anticipated by τις). *OT* 236 τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπαυδῶ τοῦτον, ὅστις ἐστί, ... μήτ' ἐσδέχεσθαι μήτε προσφωνεῖν τινά 'that man, whoever he is' (identity not known, because that depends on a hypothetical future event, of refusal to give information). Similarly *E*. 1123 δόθ' ἥτις ἐστί 'give it to her, whoever she is' (Orestes speaking of Electra, whose identity he pretends not to know). The underlying base for this special form is probably as follows. In *OT* 236 the rel. clause could have been ὅστις σιωπᾷ; an alternative for this, laying more stress on the identity of the subject, is ὅστις ἐστὶν ὃς σιωπᾷ, or ὁ σιωπῶν (cf. *OT* 1349*, ib. 139 above); this is then reduced to ὅστις ἐστίν. So in *E*. 1123 ἥτις ἐστὶν (ἣ αἰτεῖ). (The construction is explained by A. Minard, *Deux relatifs homériques* (1937) 46, as derived from the indirect interrogative use of ὅστις: so he explains *E*. 1123 as 'I do not know who she is, but give it to her'.)

We can include with the last type the use of οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις 'no one', ἔστιν ὅστις 'some one'. Negative: *An*. 912 οὐκ ἔστ' ἀδελφὸς ὅστις ἂν βλάστοι ποτέ 'no brother would ever be born'. *OT* 61 ὡς ἐγὼ [οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῶν ὅστις ἐξ ἴσου

νοσεῖ 'none of you suffers as I do'. The negative use is more common (Monteil 142): the coupling of the negation and -τις makes a more emphatic denial. For the positive use Monteil quotes only *OT* 1048 ἔστιν τις ὑμῶν τῶν παρεστώτων πέλας, [ὅστις κάτοιδε τὸν βοτῆρα ...;, but ἔστιν ... ὅστις does not seem to have coalesced into a set phrase here, and in particular the presence of τις must be noted. Better examples are *OC* 1031 ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὅτῳ σὺ πιστὸς ὢν ἔδρας τάδε 'but you had trust in *someone*, when you did this'; fr. 354, 5 εἰσὶ δ' οἵτινες [αἰνοῦσιν ἄνοσον ἄνδρα.

The final extension of ὅστις is to refer to a definite individual, whose identity is known. Often there is still a generalising sense. It is implied that the qualification contained in the rel. clause is one which could be shared with others by the antecedent, thus making it a possible class-attribute; and frequently a causal sense is so produced. (See the remarks of Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* 20 f., on the generalising use.) *T.* 6 ἔξοιδ' ἔχουσα δυστυχῆ (αἰῶνα) ..., [ἥτις ... [... νυμφείων ὄκνον [ἄλγιστον ἔσχον 'I know my life is unhappy ... I who had (being one who had) the most bitter fear of marriage' (similar unhappiness could be predicted of any who shared the fear). *An.* 696 ('Antigone dies a shameful death unworthily, after noble deeds') ἥτις τὸν αὑτῆς αὐτάδελφον ... [... μήθ' ὑπ' ὠμηστῶν κυνῶν [εἴασ' ὀλέσθαι ... (with μή- because of the generic notion). *P.* 1282 ('you will never win my goodwill') ὅστις γ' ἐμοῦ δόλοισι τὸν βίον λαβὼν [ἀπεστέρηκας 'you who have cheated and deprived me of my life-support'. Further such causal examples: *E.* 347, 587, *A.* 434, 1055, *OT* 1197*, *OC* 263, 913, 1679*. With irony, *An.* 285.

But it cannot be denied that cases occur where the generalising sense is absent, so that ὅστις is then an equivalent of ὅς. *A.* 1300 ('do you reproach me for low birth?') ὃς ἐκ πατρὸς μέν εἰμι Τελαμῶνος γεγώς, [ὅστις στρατοῦ τὰ πρῶτ' ἀριστεύσας ἐμὴν [ἴσχει ξύνευνον μητέρ', ἣ φύσει μὲν ἦν [βασίλεια, Λαομέδοντος ... Here the antecedent is a proper noun, which provides the highest degree of determination. The causal sense which Jebb detects in ὅστις really belongs to the ὅς -clause: 'how can you reproach me, who am (since I am) the son of T. ?': what then follows is identification of the nobility of Telamon and his bride. Nor is it possible to see a class-sense, as if to say 'T. is my father, as would any one be who married my mother'. *P.* 145* ἴσως τόπον ... προσιδεῖν ἐθέλεις ὄντινα κεῖται: ὄντινα cannot have the sense of that which is definite but not known, since the speaker (Neoptolemus) knows the place and is pointing it out. See Kühner-Gerth 2, 400; Ellendt 556 f. (but some of his examples do not support the use); Monteil 144. It is well known that in later Greek ὅστις is often indistinguishable from ὅς: Funk 152 f. Cf. too the temporal use of ἐξ ὅτου

'since the time when', of a definite past time known to the speaker: *OC* 345, *T.* 326; this is equivalent to ἐξ οὗ, *T.* 38.

A special use occurs at *OT* 344 θυμοῦ δι' ὀργῆς ἥτις ἀγριωτάτη 'rage with the very fiercest anger'. This form of strengthening the superlative has Epic antecedents (e.g. *Il.* 17, 62 βοῦν ἥτις ἀρίστη, and with ὅς, ib. 13, 313 Τεῦκρός θ', ὅς ἄριστος 'Αχαιῶν). The simplest explanation is that the rel. clause is nominal, equivalent to one with εἶναι: for another view see E. Benveniste, *Bull.Soc.Ling.* 1957-58, 39 ff. (He claims that the phrase is a special type of primitive apposition, in which ὅστις is equivalent to a demonstrative ('with anger, the fiercest'): but he does not satisfactorily explain the absence of concord.) Compare with this the neuter uses in *OT* 663* ὅτι πύματον ὀλοίμαν; coupled with an adverb ib. 1340* ὅτι τάχιστα; coupled with a noun *An.* 1321* ὅτι τάχος.

§ 5. *τίς*

The question arises, whether exceptionally and in a limited context τίς is used with relative function. The instance here generally discussed is at *E.* 316 ὡς νῦν ἀπόντος ἱστόρει τί σοι φίλον 'since he is not here, ask what you want'. The use is certainly Hellenistic and dialectal (cf. Funk 156; L.S.J. s.v. τίς 1798 col. 2), but can it be admitted in Sophocles? In favour are Schwyzer 644; Kühner-Gerth 2, 517; Humbert 40; also Kaibel and other editors. Monteil 155 takes the passage as an example of an *indirect* question, but this at least it cannot be on semantic grounds: ἱστόρει τί σοι φίλον would then have to mean 'ask me (Electra) what do you (the Chorus) want?' (τί μοι φίλον; in a direct form), which is not sense. The alternative (which in itself is easy to adopt) is, to punctuate after ἱστόρει, so that τί σοι φίλον; is then a direct question (so Jebb, Pearson). Jebb in his Appendix has a useful collection of passages, out of which the strongest support for relative use in Soph. would be from E. fr. 773, 2 αἰτοῦ τί χρῄζεις ἕν: this can only be set aside by the alteration λέγ' εἴ τι χρ. (the cure seems over-drastic). Diggle, on E. *Phaethon* 46 (= fr. 773,2), favours the relative interpretation, and supports it with Men. fr. 614,6 εὖξαι τί βούλει, (Dem.) 56, 24 ἐκλεγόμενοι τίνων αἱ τιμαὶ ἐπετέταντο 'selecting whatever articles had risen in price'. There is another Sophoclean passage to be taken into account: *OC* 48 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐμοί τοι τοὐξανιστάναι πόλεως | δίχ' ἐστὶ θάρσος, πρίν γ' ἂν ἐνδείξω τί δρῶ 'but I do not dare to remove you without the city's support, before I report what I am doing'. So Jebb, rightly taking δρῶ as indic. Others have thought δρῶ subj., so that a question may be put: Mazon translates 'Je lui exposerai les faits et lui dirai: "Que dois-je faire?" '. Campbell similarly considered the version 'until I have first

shown the matter, (so as to be advised) what I must do', with a notion of 'consulting' implied in ἐνδείξω; but then preferred τί δρῶ (indic.) as 'what I am doing', which involves giving up the notion of 'consulting'. It seems clear that ἐνδείξω does not properly extend beyond the sphere of laying a report, as Jebb saw. Acceptance of this, however, has the consequence that τί δρῶ is equivalent to ὅτι (rel.) or ὃ δρῶ. We may conclude that Soph. anticipates the later use of τίς as a relative in clauses of the type seen (object of a verb of speaking, where there is no antecedent). But note that, at least in Soph., though strict logic would claim the pronoun as relative, there is an interrogative context: in *E.* 316 Electra also wishes to know what the Chorus want, and in *OC* 48 the citizens will wish to know what the speaker is doing.

§ 6. *ὁ*

The pronoun ὁ ἡ τό (originally demonstrative) appears occasionally both in lyric and in dialogue as a substitute for ὅς: the use is found in Homer and in choral lyric, as well as in Herodotus and in dialectal texts. (Schwyzer 642 f.; Kühner-Gerth 1, 587 f.) The nominative forms ὁ ἡ οἱ αἱ are not so used by Soph.: the three latter would in any case be indistinguishable from the corresponding forms of ὅς, so that the exception strictly applies to the masc. sing. form ὁ (or ὅ, according to traditional accentuation). (The only example of masc. ὅ as relative in Tragedy is at E. *Hipp.* 525*, on which see Barrett: it can hardly be regarded as certain.) It is therefore the forms with initial τ- with which we are concerned. It is not the case in Soph. that τ- forms are found mostly in lyric, as has been claimed for Tragedy generally (so Barrett, loc. cit.), at any rate if we take the absolute figures: in his works these are (a) 15 in iambics at the most (of which one has uncertain reading (*OT* 1055: see below)); (b) 11 in lyrics (of which 4 may be demonstrative). ὅς -forms of course predominate in both styles. For comparison, in lyrics the two plays with most τ-forms are *Phil.* (3) and *An.* (3, of which 2 perhaps demonstr.); and in each play there are 11 lyric uses of ὅς alongside them. As to the question whether certain instances may be demonstrative, I refer to the discussion in Ch. 8 § 9 (s.v. ὁ). It emerges from that, that we should be prepared to admit the possibility without restriction in lyric. But in iambics, apart from uses linked with μέν, δέ, γάρ, demonstr. ὁ is apparently avoided (for discussion of the three exceptions, see the same reference).

In dialogue it is clear that metrical reasons normally, if not always, lead to the use of τ-forms. Thus *E.* 1144 τροφῆς [ἀνωφελήτου, τὴν ἐγὼ θάμ' ἀμφί σοι ...: *P.* 14 σόφισμα τῷ νιν αὐτίχ' αἱρήσειν δοκῶ. There are 15 possible

instances: *An.* 1086, *T.* 47, 381, 728, *OT* 1055, 1379, 1427, *E.* 1144, *P.* 14, *OC* 35, 304, 747, 881, 1258, fr. 314, 138. Of these, *OT* 1055 is uncertain: τόν θ' LA, but τόνδε (in later codd.) is possibly to be preferred on grounds of sense. There remain two cases where metre is not a factor. *T.* 47 δέλτον λιπὼν ἔστειχε, τὴν ἐγὼ θαμὰ ... (ἔστειχεν ἣν would have been possible). Jebb suggests avoidance of four consecutive uses of final -ν. *OC* 35 ἡμὶν αἴσιος [σκοπὸς προσήκεις τῶν ἀδηλοῦμεν φράσαι (ὧν edd.). No strongly convincing reason appears for these departures from normal practice: there is support in Tragedy only from A. *Supp.* 265 τὰ δή (initial in line).

In lyric the situation is not always so easy to analyse, since there may be different opinions about the division into *cola*. But it does not appear (if we can trust the tradition) that metrical necessity is regularly present: whatever the metrical constitution, such necessity for τ- is absent at *A.* 226* τάν, ib. 256* τόν, *An.* 1137* τάν (demonstr.?), *P.* 709* τῶν, ib. 1127* τάν. (There might be another instance at *OT* 510*, if τῶν is read as in P. Oxy. 2180: but this too could be demonstr.). In three other cases the form occurs at what is clearly the start of a *colon*, or most probably so, so that (despite the fact that a vowel-ending precedes) here also the τ-form would not seem metrically required: *An.* 606* τάν (cf. A. M. Dale, *Lyric Metres of Greek Drama*, ed. 2, 142, for the colometry), *OT* 200* τόν, *OC* 161* τῶν (Dale 140). It should be added that these three might be demonstr. (For similar position with forms of ὅς, cf. *T.* 834* ὅν, *E.* 156* οἷς, 169* ὧν, 176* ᾧ, *OC* 1574* ὅν.) This leaves only two cases of relatives where τ- has a metrical function: *An.* 826* πρὸς ἅ- [κρῳ, τὰν κισσὸς ὡς ἀτενής. *E.* 205* ἔκπαγλ' ἄχθη, τοὺς ἐμὸς ἴδε πατήρ (Dale 54).

It may be useful to inquire whether Soph., either in lyric or in non-lyric passages, uses τ-forms with the same kind of freedom, syntactic or semantic, as those from ὅς, since it is known that in Homer, because of the still prevalent demonstr. function of the former, there are various restrictions on the relative use. Comparison of usage in Homer and Herodotus from this point of view is made by Monteil 83 ff., which shows that ὁ is fully functioning as rel. pron. in the latter. (a) With antecedent in the rel. clause: according to Monteil, absent from Homer, about 20 times in Hdt. *E.* 205* ὦ δείπνων ἀρρήτων ἔκπαγλ' ἄχθη, τοὺς ἐμὸς ἴδε πατὴρ θανάτους αἰκεῖς: θανάτους is explanatory of ἄχθη, to which it could have stood in apposition. (b) Antecedent omitted: one sure example only claimed for Homer, frequent in Hdt. (Monteil 84). *OC* 35 (quoted above), ib. 881. (c) Correlation to a demonstr.: no sure example claimed for Homer, frequent in Hdt. (Monteil 86). With τοιόσδε, *OT* 1427, *OC* 1258; with τοιοῦτος, *T.* 47; with ὅδε, *A.* 256*; with ἐκεῖνος, *OT* 1055. (d) In Homer ὁ as rel. follows its

antecedent (Chantraine 167): the only exception in Soph. is *E.* 205* (see (a) above), with the antecedent in the rel. clause. (e) In Homer the rel. clause introduced by ὁ usually does not define or explain, i.e. does not serve as a defining adj., but makes an additional predication (Chantraine 168). Soph. has exceptions to this at *P.* 14 μὴ ... κἀκχέω τὸ πᾶν [σόφισμα τῷ νιν αὐτίχ' αἱρήσειν δοκῶ 'lest I spoil the whole plan by which I expect to catch him'; also *OT* 1055 (τόν s.v.l.), *OC* 35, fr. 314, 138. This evidence is sufficient to show that τ -forms as relatives are not being used by Soph. in the Homeric manner, nor with close reference to their demonstr. source.

§ 7. *Case attraction of the relative*

The relative pronoun can be attracted into the case of its antecedent, thus effecting a closer union of the rel. and the principal clauses. Most often the case proper to the rel. itself would be the accus., and attraction is into gen. or dat. (Kühner-Gerth 2, 407). *E.* 763 μέγιστα πάντων ὧν ὄπωπ' ἐγὼ κακῶν, *T.* 241 γυναικῶν ὧν ὁρᾷς, ib. 680 ἐγὼ γὰρ ὧν ὁ θήρ με ... [... προὐδιδάξατο [παρῆκα θεσμῶν οὐδέν'. *An.* 691 λόγοις τοιούτοις οἷς σὺ μὴ τέρψῃ κλύων. Not infrequently the antecedent is not expressed: *A.* 115 φείδου μηδὲν ὧνπερ ἐννοεῖς (for τούτων ἅπερ). *T.* 1121 οὐδὲν ξυνίημ' ὧν σὺ ποικίλλεις, ib. 1194 ξὺν οἷς χρῄζεις φίλων. *OC* 1412 ἔπαινος ὃν κομίζετον [τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς οἷς πονεῖτον (οἷς πον. 'by reason of the services which you perform'). Attraction from gen. into accus. need not be accepted at *An.* 546 μηδ' ἃ μὴ 'θιγες [ποιοῦ σεαυτῆς 'do not claim to belong to you, that in which you had no part' (the alternative is, an accus. governed by θιγγάνω (elsewhere with gen. in Soph.): cf. Ch. 5 § 16 for such an accus.). Attraction from dat. to gen. (cf. Kühner-Gerth 2, 409, n. 4) would appear at *E.* 1128 ὥς σ' ἀπ' ἐλπίδων [οὐχ ὧνπερ ἐξέπεμπον εἰσεδεξάμην, if the reading is maintained: 'how contrary to my hopes—not those with which (αἷσπερ) I despatched you—have I received you back' (see also Ch. 7 § 5 on this passage).

Distinguish the type where the rel. clause, with οἷος, has no verb: *T.* 444 πῶς δ' οὐ χἀτέρας (sc. Ἔρως ἂν ἄρχοι) οἵας γ' ἐμοῦ; 'why should Love not rule another, such as I?'. This attraction, unlike the preceding examples, is also Epic (Chantraine 237).

A relative adverb shows attraction parallel to that of a pronoun. *T.* 701 ἐκ δὲ γῆς, ὅθεν [προὔκειτ', ἀναζέουσι ... 'bubble up out of the earth, on which it lay' (ὅθεν for ᾗ).

§ 8. *'Attraction' of the antecedent*

In other examples the antecedent shows the same case as the relative pronoun, but not that appropriate to the principal clause. This type

receives the titles of attraction of the antecedent, and of *attractio inversa*, when it is seen from a logical standpoint as a direct opposite of the attraction of the relative. But the names, though convenient, are not entirely fitting (Humbert 85; E. Adelaide Hahn, 'Relative and Antecedent', *T.A.P.A.* 1964, 111 ff., especially 126 ff.). In the favoured form of sentence the antecedent is initial, and preceding the relative clause which itself precedes the principal clause; the case used is accus. or nom. *T.* 283 τάσδε δ' ἅσπερ εἰσορᾷς [... [χωροῦσι πρὸς σέ. *OT* 449 τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὃν πάλαι [ζητεῖς ... [... οὗτός ἐστιν ἐνθάδε (both accus. for nom.). *OC* 1150 λόγος δ' ὃς ἐμπέπτωκεν ἀρτίως ἐμοὶ [..., συμβαλοῦ γνώμην 'consider with me the report which reached me just now ...' (nom. for accus. λόγον, assuming government by the verbal phrase συμβ. γνώμην). In such cases the antecedent can be seen as isolated from its own clause, with its construction therein not yet apparent, and so it is assimilated with the adjoining rel. But then further see the type of *OC* 56 ὃν δ' ἐπιστείβεις τόπον [χθονὸς καλεῖται τῆσδε χαλκόπους ὀδός 'the place on which you tread is called the threshold of this land': here the antecedent is incorporated in the rel. clause, so that it would be clearly wrong to talk of '*case* attraction'. Hahn argues that such types of rel. clause (often also in Latin: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1, 573 *urbem quam statuo vestra est*) are inherited from IE (and Hittite): the only difference that she would see between *OT* 449 and *OC* 56 is that in the former the antecedent is placed earlier for emphasis—in both alike the antecedent would be said to belong to the rel. clause (op. cit. 136). Further examples of antecedent incorporated in the rel. clause: (a) rel. clause before principal, *A.* 1030, *T.* 494, *OT* 68, *E.* 257, 644, 1095*; (b) principal clause before rel., *A.* 272, 1044, *T.* 163, *E.* 810, 1040. Cf. Kühner-Gerth 2, 416 ff.; Monteil 49 ff.

An extension is possibly found where the antecedent (not incorporated) and the rel. clause both follow the principal, and the antecedent has the case of the relative. *T.* 152 τότ' ἂν τις εἰσίδοιτο, τὴν αὑτοῦ σκοπῶν [πρᾶξιν, κακοῖσιν οἷς ἐγὼ βαρύνομαι (for κακὰ οἷς: or the alternative is, οἷς as indirect interrog. with inversion of οἷς κακοῖσιν). *E.* 653 φίλοισί τε ξυνοῦσαν οἷς ξύνειμι νῦν [... καὶ τέκνων ὅσων ἐμοὶ [δύσνοια μὴ πρόσεστιν (for τέκνοις ὅσων—the result is to make a pair of phrases, each with uniform case (φίλοισι ... οἷς: τέκνων ὅσων): there is again an alternative, if τέκνων is partitive, 'those of my children').

§ 9. *Attraction of the adverbial antecedent*

There are two passages which may have attraction of the adverbial antecedent (cf. *T.* 701 (§ 7) for such attraction of the relative adverb). *OC*

1229* τὸ δ' ... βῆναι κεῖθεν ὅθεν περ ἥκει 'to go to the place from which one has come' (κεῖθεν for ἐκεῖσε). Some editors have found κεῖθεν too harsh to accept. However, there is no real ambiguity, since the literal interpretation (κεῖθεν 'from the place') is so clearly to be rejected. A Latin parallel is seen at Plaut. *Cist.* 62 *indidem unde oritur, facito ut facias stultitiam sepelibilem* 'bury that foolishness in the very place from which it comes' (*indidem* for *ibidem*: Wackernagel 1, 57). *T.* 554 ᾗ δ' ἔχω, φίλαι, [λυτήριον λώφημα, τῇδ' ὑμῖν φράσω (λώφ. *per conj.* for λύπημα) 'I shall tell you, friends, the way in which I have a means of deliverance and relief'. There is well-known difficulty with the reading λύπημα, for which λώφημα (Jebb) makes an acceptable substitute; but for the present purpose that may be disregarded. Our concern is with τῇδε, and for this the translation 'I shall tell you the way in which ...' conceals a difficulty (to which Longo draws attention): we should expect τῇδε to refer to the manner of the telling, not to what is told. Jebb was aware of this difficulty but his solution is artificial ('the story will follow the course—i.e. will exhibit the line of thought—by which the remedy has been found'). The answer is rather, that τῇδε is by attraction for τόδε, 'I shall tell you this, in what way ...'. This is a bolder use, as replacing a pronominal with an adverbial function.

§ 10. *Articular antecedent or demonstrative in the relative clause*

The antecedent incorporated in a relative clause normally has no article; the rel. clause itself provides sufficient definition. So in all the passages with incorporated antecedent quoted above (§ 8) the article is absent: e.g. *OT* 68 ἣν δ' εὖ σκοπῶν εὕρισκον ἴασιν μόνην, [ταύτην ἔπραξα. However, rare examples of the article occur (Kühner-Gerth 2, 420).

An. 404 ταύτην γ' ἰδὼν θάπτουσαν ὃν σὺ τὸν νεκρὸν [ἀπεῖπας 'it was she I saw burying that corpse which you forbade to bury'. The retention of the article here seems to have the effect of stressing the identity of the object named: note the speaker's continuation with ἆρ' ἔνδηλα καὶ σαφῆ λέγω;. The idea of such stress is seen still more plainly at *OC* 907 νῦν δ' οὕσπερ αὐτὸς τοὺς νόμους εἰσῆλθ' ἔχων, [τούτοισι κοὐκ ἄλλοισιν ἁρμοσθήσεται: in addition to τούς, note οὕσπερ and τούτ. κοὐκ ἄλλ. In such use the article has something of its old demonstrative function. But *T.* 1209 is not an example: ... ὧν ἔχω παιώνιον [καὶ μοῦνον ἰατῆρα τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν '(I ask you to be) healer of my condition, and sole physician of my distress'. The last line (καὶ μοῦνον ... κακῶν) is a supplement added to ὧν ἔχω παιώνιον (and κακῶν need not be supplied with ὧν). Also distinguish *OC* 1698* καὶ γὰρ ὃ μηδαμὰ δὴ τὸ φίλον, φίλον 'that which is in no way dear, was dear' (text so kept by Dain, Radermacher). The article is here attached, not to the antecedent of

the rel. clause, but to its predicate; the point in its use is to generalize the substantive use of φίλον (note too the use of μηδαμά, not οὐ-). Antigone says that what cannot be classed as belonging in general (or abstract) terms to τὸ φίλον, was in fact φίλον in the particular situation she goes on to describe (ὁπότε γε κ.τ.λ.). Jebb makes the curious error of transferring the general notion (*ideal*, in his term) from the rel. clause to the particular occasion (to which the second, and anarthrous, φίλον applies): 'the article is unendurable here, making her say, in effect, that her former duty was not *the ideal* of what is pleasant'. For the use of the article with a predicate, see Gildersleeve 2, 326 f.

An apparent use of a demonstrative following, and in agreement with, ὅς is found (but disputed) at *T.* 136* ἃ καὶ σὲ τὰν ἄνασσαν ἐλπίσιν λέγω τάδ' αἰὲν ἴσχειν 'these truths I bid you too, the queen, to keep ever present in your thoughts'. See Kamerbeek ad loc.; Johansen 261 f.; Kühner-Gerth 2, 433 f., n. 2; W. F. Bakker, *Pronomen Abundans and Pronomen Coniunctum* (1974) 11 ff. An ostensible alternative (Jebb), that ἃ is accus. of respect 'as to which things, wherefore', is not really valid, for the 'things' referred to must be none other than the thoughts which have just been expressed, and it is to these again that τάδε refers; so we are still confronted with the same problem. *P.* 316 is not very strong support: τοιαῦτ' Ἀτρεῖδαί μ' ... | ὦ παῖ, δεδράκασ', οἷς Ὀλύμπιοι θεοὶ | δοῖέν ποτ' αὐτοῖς ἀντίποιν' ἐμοῦ παθεῖν. Here the emendation οἵ' for οἷς is tempting; or else, αὐτοῖς could mean 'themselves' (as too at Ar. *Av.* 1237 ὄρνιθες ἀνθρώποισι νῦν εἰσιν θεοί, | οἷς θυτέον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί' οὐ τῷ Διί). Elsewhere justification can be found in deictic use of a demonstrative, as (in indirect question) at *A.* 335 οὐκ ἠκούσατε | Αἴαντος οἵαν τήνδε θωΰσσει βοήν; '... what kind of a cry this is that he utters?': cf. E. *IA* 155. But this cannot help at *T.* 136*. Another special reason for presence of a demonstr. appears at Plat. *Phaed.* 99b, which is not applicable here: there the length of the sentence makes it desirable to recall ὅ with αὐτό. It should be noted that in *T.* 136* ἃ has connective force (see § 1 on connective use). Is it possible that a desire was felt to support ὅς in such a quasi-demonstrative role with a full demonstrative?

§ 11. *The replacement or use of a second relative clause*

A second (or further) clause, instead of being co-ordinate with a relative clause which it follows, may instead be given independent status, with reversion to parataxis (Bruhn 108; Chantraine 243). *OC* 424 μάχης ... | ἧς νῦν ἔχονται κἀπαναίρονται δόρυ 'the warfare in which they are now engaged, and (in which) they uplift their spear' (gen. ἧς not appropriate in the second clause). *A.* 458 ὅστις (sc. ἐγώ) ἐμφανῶς θεοῖς | ἐχθαίρομαι, μισεῖ δέ μ'

Ἑλλήνων στρατός (notice μ' in place of the rel.). Ib. 437 ὅτου (sc. ἐμοῦ) πατὴρ μὲν ... ἐγὼ δ' ὁ κείνου παῖς ... (ἐγώ similarly substituting). *An.* 532 σὺ δ', ἣ ... μ' ἐξέπινες, οὐδ' ἐμάνθανον [τρέφων δύ' ἄτα: in the second clause, if a form of ἥ had been present, the expression must have been changed, since Ismene (to whom ἥ refers) was only one of the two objects of the clause. But there is emphatic repetition of ὅς (fourfold) in a series of parallel clauses (without linking conjunctions): *P.* 663 ff., where only the first and last clauses are fully expressed.

On the other hand, a second rel. pronoun may occur, to introduce a second clause with absence of co-ordination. *T.* 456 πολλοὶ γὰρ οἷς εἴρηκας, οἳ φράσουσ' ἐμοί 'there are many to whom you have spoken, who will tell me': the nature of the two rel. clauses is different, the first defining, the second being connective 'and they will tell me'. Ib. 557 δῶρον ... ὃ παῖς ἔτ' οὖσα ... παρὰ [Νέσσου ... ἀνειλόμην, [ὃς τὸν ... ποταμὸν ... βροτοὺς [μισθοῦ 'πόρευε 'a gift which I took while still a girl from Nessus, who used to ferry men over the river': the clauses (both defining) are not open to co-ordination, the second further specifying a subject included in the first, and so being subordinate to it.

§ 12. *Causal use of the relative*

The relative clause, not being confined to an adjectival function, could be used more widely, and certain marked contexts can be distinguished. So first, where relation with the principal clause is causal. With ὅς: *A.* 1257 ('I foresee that you will receive correction') ὃς ... θαρσῶν ὑβρίζεις. *P.* 60 ('you had hate for the Achaeans') οἵ σε ... στείλαντες ... οὐκ ἠξίωσαν τῶν Ἀχιλλείων ὅπλων. *E.* 160*, ib. 188* (ὅς linked with ὅστις), 261. With ὅς γε: *OT* 35 ('I regard you as first among men') ὅς γ' ἐξέλυσας ... δασμόν. *P.* 663 (ὅς γε followed by ὅς). *E.* 911 ('you did not do it') πῶς γάρ; ᾗ γε μηδὲ πρὸς θεοὺς [ἔξεστ' ... τῆσδ' ἀποστῆναι στέγης (μη- used because of generic sense, 'you being one who ...', and not for the causal reference (as Jebb); the remark could apply to anyone who suffered the same restriction). *P.* 250 ('do you not know me?') πῶς γὰρ κάτοιδ' ὅν γ' εἶδον οὐδεπώποτε; (neg. οὐ- here emphasising the non-occurrence at any time, though μη- would have been possible). Similarly after πῶς *E.* 923, *P.* 1386.

With ὅστις (cf. A. Minard, *Rev. de Philologie* 1938, 31 ff.). *A.* 434 ('my sorrows are great') ὅτου πατὴρ μὲν ... ἐγὼ δ' ὁ κείνου παῖς ... ὧδ' ἀπόλλυμαι: the generalising sense of ὅστις is appropriate to lead to this definite use ('anyone who; being of the sort which; since he is one who'). Notice the use of generic μη- in *An.* 696 ('she least deserved such a fate') ἥτις τὸν αὑτῆς

αὐτάδελφον ... μήθ' ὑπ' ... κυνῶν [εἴασ' ὀλέσθαι μήθ' ὑπ' οἰωνῶν τινός. Also in *OC* 1679* ('his death was what one would desire') τί γάρ, ὅτῳ μήτ' Ἄρης μήτε πόντος ἀντέκυρσεν. *E.* 296, 587, *A.* 1055, *T.* 6, 323, 1071, *OT* 1184, 1197*, *OC* 263, 913. Rarely with γε added: *P.* 1282, *OT* 1335* (γ' *per emend.*).

οἷος also is found with causal implication: it is so used without an antecedent, and its clause is semi-independent. *OT* 701 Κρέοντος, οἷά μοι βεβουλευκὼς ἔχει '(I am angry with) Creon, such are his plots against me' (i.e. 'since he has so plotted'). An ellipse of the order of (τοιαῦτά ἐστιν) οἷα ... can provide the background. Cf. Monteil 192: there are precedents, chiefly Epic (e.g. *Il.* 22, 347), and in Tragedy cf. A. *Pr.* 908, E. *Med.* 165, *HF* 817, *Ion* 799. Also *A.* 945 οἴμοι ... πρὸς οἷα δουλείας ζυγὰ [χωροῦμεν, οἷοι νῦν ἐφεστᾶσι σκοποί: οἷα is exclamatory, but οἷοι is better taken as causal.

ὅσος may be causal at *OT* 1228 (Jebb, Roussel).

There are some notable examples of absence (rather than suppression) of antecedent, where the relative has a causal sense. *T.* 1233 τίς γάρ ποθ', ἥ μοι μητρὶ μὲν θανεῖν μόνη [μεταίτιος ... τίς ταῦτ' ἂν ... ἕλοιτο; : there is no place to supply an antecedent for ἥ. So too *P.* 1364 ('you should not go yourself to Troy, and you should stop me from doing so') οἵ γε σοῦ καθύβρισαν, [πατρὸς γέρας συλῶντες: it is artificial to extract an antecedent from the reference to Troy. *OC* 814 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φίλους [οἷ' ἀνταμείβῃ ῥήματα 'in view of your reply to your own kin'.

§ 13. *Final use of the relative*

Final use of the relative (including rel. adverbs) occurs with future and (rarely) optative.

With the future (Attic construction: Goodwin § 565). *A.* 1261 οὐ ... ἄλλον τιν' ἄξεις ἄνδρα δεῦρ' ἐλεύθερον, [ὅστις πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀντὶ σοῦ λέξει τὰ σά; 'bring another here, a free man, to plead your cause with me in place of yourself'. Ib. 471 πεῖρά τις ζητητέα [τοιάδ', ἀφ' ἧς γέροντι δηλώσω πατρὶ [μή τοι φύσιν γ' ἄσπλαγχνος ... γεγώς 'I must look for such an enterprise, by which I can prove that I am not a dastard' (final-consecutive: the result is also what is aimed at. μή, not οὐ, because the result is in the subject's thought; contrast *OC* 1353, οὐ in purely consecutive clause). With ἔνθα (Monteil 386 on the relative use of this form): *E.* 380 μέλλουσι γάρ σε ... [ἐνταῦθα πέμψειν ἔνθα μή ποθ' ἡλίου [φέγγος προσόψῃ 'send you where you will not be able to see the light of the sun': the purpose is made clear by the use of μή. Similarly with μή-: *T.* 800 (ὅπου), *A.* 659 (ἔνθα), *OT* 1412 (ἔνθα), 1436 (ὅπου). There is no reason why some positive clauses with ἔνθα

should not also be regarded as final, simply because lacking the marker μή. Thus *A*. 1166 ('look for a grave for him') ἔνθα βροτοῖς τὸν ἀείμνηστον τάφον εὐρώεντα καθέξει 'that there he may dwell in his dank tomb ...'. Parallel with these uses is *OT* 796 ἔφευγον ἔνθα μήποτ' ὀψοίμην κακῶν [χρησμῶν ὀνείδη τῶν ἐμῶν τελούμενα: the fut. opt. substitutes for the fut. indic. ὄψομαι in the historic sequence.

A more difficult case is the optative in *T*. 903 κρύψασ' ἑαυτὴν ἔνθα μή τις εἰσίδοι, [βρυχᾶτο ... 'concealing herself where none should see her, she cried out ...'. Is -ίδοι oblique for final subj. -ίδῃ? (1) The use of the opt. in a final *relative* clause in Attic would be unexpected; it is however possible in Epic (*Od*. 15, 458 ἄγγελον ἦκεν ὃς ἀγγείλειε), and the passage in question occurs in ῥῆσις (and note βρυχᾶτο, κλαῖε (905), with absence of augment). (2) Further, is it in any case misleading to rely on comparison with the use of the relative stem ὅς, as is commonly intended? Granted that ὅς and its obvious derivatives do not lend themselves to a final use with the opt. in Attic, should we not rather look for analogy of ἔνθα with ἵνα? Though ἵνα may have the same source as ὅς, its form does not make this clear, and so make it necessarily drawn into its constructional field: while the origin of ἔνθα is obscure (Frisk, *s.vv.*; Monteil 376 ff., 386). ἔνθα and ἵνα are both used as relative (and also as demonstrative, if this is allowed for ἵνα: Monteil 377 f.) local adverbs with the meaning 'where' ('there'): the use of ἵνα final with the opt. is of course regular from Homer on. What more natural than that Soph. should innovate and give ἔνθα (already used with the fut. in local/final sense) the same opt. construction? The final clause in *T*. 903 would then be parallel to that in 902 ὅπως ... ἀντῴη. I prefer this explanation. (3) Jebb ad loc. (App. 197; cf. Goodwin, App. VI, 411 f.) takes as originally deliberative, supposing as start of the construction οὐκ οἶδεν, οὐκ ἔχει ὅπου with subj.: but it is difficult to make the transfer to a much less specifically connected introduction such as κρύψασ' ἑαυτήν.

P. 281 ὁρῶντα ... ἄνδρα δ' οὐδέν' ἔντοπον, [οὐχ ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν, οὐδ' ὅστις νόσου [κάμνοντι συλλάβοιτο 'seeing no one about who could assist, nor who could aid me in the sickness that caused distress'. The context is one of secondary tenses; it is also in ῥῆσις (and note forms βάλλον 289, εὕρισκον 283). Here the closeness to a deliberative form is more convincing (so Jebb). On the other hand, a potential use without ἄν could recommend itself by reason of the similarity of the phrase used here ((οὐχ) ὁρῶντα οὐδέν' ὅστις ...) to οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ..., with which the unmodified opt. occurs in Tragedy (cf. Ch. 12 §§ 14, 16). Cf. ib. 694* ἔχων ... οὐδέ τιν' ἐγχώρων ... παρ' ᾧ στόνον ... ἀποκλαύσειεν 'having none of the natives in whose presence he might lament', 699* κατευνάσειεν.

§ 14. *Consecutive use of the relative*

Consecutive use with ὅς takes the indic. *An.* 220 οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτω μῶρος ὃς θανεῖν ἐρᾷ 'no man is so foolish as to desire death'. Ib. 691, *OC* 1352, fr. 935, 3 (οὗ *per emend.*)

Optative use may occur in clauses of a final/consec. type, where the result is also something aimed at: *P.* 281 etc. (quoted in § 13).

More specifically, οἷος and ὅσος introduce consec. clauses when correlative with τοιοῦτος, τοσοῦτος (Monteil 194 ff.). οἷος with indic.: *OC* 1402 τοιοῦτον (ὁδοῦ τέλος) οἷον οὐδὲ φωνῆσαί τινι [ἔξεσθ' ἑταίρων (actual statement of result, 'such that it is impossible to tell'). With infin.: *OT* 1296 θέαμα ... τοιοῦτον οἷον καὶ στυγοῦντ' ἐποικτίσαι (of the natural consequence). Possibly also with consec. infin. (and in a similar context) *T.* 672 τοιοῦτον ἐκβέβηκεν οἷον, ἢν φράσω, [γυναῖκες, ὑμῖν, θαῦμ' ἀνέλπιστον μαθεῖν (λαβεῖν v.l.): this may be taken as equivalent to ὥστε ὑμᾶς (assumed from ὑμῖν) μαθεῖν αὐτὸ θαῦμ' ἀνέλπ. (or with λαβεῖν, when θαῦμα becomes subject of the infin.). But there is really no objection to understanding ἔσται, or εἶναι, with οἷον θαῦμ' ἀνέλπ. 'such as will be a marvel', and μαθεῖν is then epexegetic: such 'omission' of the copula cannot be judged 'extremely harsh' (Jebb). With ὅσος: *OT* 1191* τίς ἀνὴρ πλέον τᾶς εὐδαιμονίας φέρει ἢ τοσοῦτον ὅσον δοκεῖν ...; 'what man wins more of happiness than just so much as to have its semblance?'. *OC* 152 ὅσ' ἐπεικάσαι (ὡς codd.) 'so far as to conjecture'. The difference of meaning between *OC* 1402 (with indic.) and *OT* 1296 (with infin.) is slight: the intrinsic value of οἷος (and τοιοῦτος) itself is to stress the nature of what is described, so that the result too is a natural one. But it may be noted that in *OT* 1296 (and *T.* 672, if that is admitted as an example) it is a *future* likely result which is described; in *OC* 1402 the speaker describes his present circumstance.

οἷός τε may be mentioned here (Monteil 195). The expected consequence takes precedence to such an extent that only possibility or aptitude is expressed. *OC* 803 πείθειν οἷός τ' εἶ 'able to persuade', *OT* 1415 οἷός τε φέρειν. These uses are without a correlative to οἷος. Also with infin., *OT* 24, *T.* 742, *OC* 262, 1136; elliptical οἷόν τε 'it is possible' *P.* 925, *OC* 1418. Monteil suggests that the relative rarity of οἷός τε in Tragedy shows its popular nature.

For use of the subjunctive and optative in general and indefinite relative clauses, see Ch. 12 § 12(i) (subj.) and § 16(i) (opt.).

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

On the classification of these clauses, see Schwyzer 684 ff.; Humbert 219 ff.; Goodwin §§ 388 ff.; Chantraine 274 ff.; W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.P.* 76, 1955, 1-17; A. F. Braunlich, id. 77, 1956, 181 f.; and discussion with reff. by Calboli, *Lustrum* 11, 1967, 345 ff.

§ 1. *Future Conditions*

Future conditions are expressed with εἰ and future indicative, ἐάν (ἤν) and rarely εἰ with subjunctive (present or aorist), or εἰ with optative. Of these, εἰ with the future is seen as one type (i.e. that having future reference) of the objective or neutral condition, which involves no commitment on the issue of realisation; ἐάν with the subjunctive would be prospective, referring to a future event whose realisation is at any rate visualised, if not expected or prepared for. Thus *T.* 1246, where the question 'am I to learn impiety?' is answered by οὐ δυσσέβεια, τοὐμὸν εἰ τέρψεις κέαρ: the speaker, Heracles, does not anticipate what the attitude of Hyllus will be. *P.* 126 ἐάν μοι τοῦ χρόνου δοκῆτέ τι [κατασχολάζειν, αὖθις ἐκπέμψω πάλιν [τοῦτον τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα: in the event Neoptolemus, who is addressed, *is* delayed, and the speaker, Odysseus, sends his agent to help him as here anticipated; the contingency here is visualised and counter-measures are planned.

(a) *εἰ plus future.* (i) Association with contexts of threat or warning is a well-known feature, and is explicable on the basis of non-commitment: the message 'if A occurs, then B will surely follow' is enough to convey this nuance. Threats: *OT* 233 εἰ δ' αὖ σιωπήσεσθε ... ἃκ τῶνδε δράσω, ταῦτα χρὴ κλύειν ἐμοῦ 'if you don't tell (what you know), listen to what I shall then do' (followed by threat of excommunication). *An.* 93 εἰ ταῦτα λέξεις, ἐχθαρῇ μὲν ἐξ ἐμοῦ .... Ib. 306, 324. *P.* 376 (ἀφαιρήσοιτο fut. opt. for indic. in virtual *oratio obliqua*) Other unfavourable contexts: *E.* 379 μέλλουσι γάρ σ', εἰ τῶνδε μὴ λήξεις γόων, [ἐνταῦθα πέμψειν ... (warning). So too *An.* 229, *OC* 827. *OT* 620 εἰ δ' ἡσυχάζων προσμενῶ, τὰ τοῦδε μὲν [πεπραγμέν' ἔσται, τἀμὰ δ' ἡμαρτημένα (foresees trouble): cf. *An.* 660, *T.* 713, 719.

But two other categories are to be noted. (ii) Of present intention, or of what is to be (Goodwin § 407). *OT.* 702 λέγ', εἰ σαφῶς τὸ νεῖκος ἐγκαλῶν ἐρεῖς 'speak, if you are going to pin down clearly the cause of the quarrel'.

Ib. 54 εἴπερ ἄρξεις τῆσδε γῆς, ὥσπερ κρατεῖς ... 'if you are to rule this land, as you do now'. *An.* 462 εἰ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου [πρόσθεν θανοῦμαι, κέρδος αὔτ' ἐγὼ λέγω 'if I am to die before my time, I regard it as profit'. (= εἰ μέλλω θανεῖν ...). Ib. 485, *A.* 511. (iii) Prospective, where the situation foreseen is neutral, if not favourable and to be desired. *An.* 90 εἰ καὶ δυνήσῃ γε '(you will be able to gratify those who are dead) if you really have the power'. *P.* 353 χὠ λόγος καλὸς προσῆν, [εἰ τἀπὶ Τροίᾳ πέργαμ' αἱρήσοιμι (for fut. αἱρήσω) 'also the prospect of fame was present, if (as I thought to myself) I should capture Troy'. *OC* 628, 1340, *T.* 1246. The findings of E. B. Clapp, *T.A.P.A.* 22, 1891, 81 ff., should be noted in this regard. He records the following statistics for Soph. in the three categories: (i) 40 exx., of which 19 in threats; (ii) 24 exx.; (iii) 10 exx. Some variation of the figures might be possible, especially between (ii) and (iii); but what is chiefly significant is the partition between (i) threat etc., 54%. and (ii)-(iii) others, 46%. His figures for the three tragedians together are: (i) 44% (102 exx.), (ii)-(iii) 56% (129). It is worth observing that the 'threat or warning' situation occurs in only about a half of all instances.

(b) *ἐάν plus subjunctive* (prospective). This construction is favoured in dealing with practical issues, arising in real life (Pritchett, loc. cit. 7). So *P.* 126 (quoted above). Ib. 479 ('through doing it you will have great honour') ἐὰν μόλω 'γὼ ζῶν πρὸς Οἰταίαν χθόνα. *OT* 216 τἄμ' ἐὰν θέλῃς ἔπη [κλύων δέχεσθαι ... [ἀλκὴν λάβοις ἂν κἀνακούφισιν κακῶν. Ib. 461 ἂν λάβῃς ἐψευσμένον, [φάσκειν ἔμ' ἤδη μαντικῇ μηδὲν φρονεῖν. But menace and warning are not ruled out, so that there is overlap with εἰ plus future. *An.* 87 πολλὸν ἐχθίων ἔσῃ [σιγῶσ', ἐὰν μὴ πᾶσι κηρύξῃς τάδε. *OC* 814, *P.* 817, 1259 (ἢν φρονῇς), 1299. Both prest. and aor. subjunctives are used, with aspectual distinction.

(c) *εἰ plus subjunctive* (*unmodified*). *OC* 1443 δυστάλαινα τἄρ' ἐγώ, [εἴ σου στερηθῶ. Also possibly *A.* 496 εἰ γὰρ θάνῃς σὺ καὶ τελευτήσας ἀφῇς [ταύτῃ νόμιζε κἀμὲ τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρᾳ [... δουλίαν ἕξειν τροφήν (ᾗ *per conj.* for εἰ: ἦν v.l.). But *An.* 887 is not an example: if χρῇ is read, take as indic. E. B. Clapp, op. cit. 88 ff., has statistics on the use of εἰ with subjunctive, and also of relative with subjunctive, for tragic authors in both general (more often) and particular contexts, from which it appears that Soph. favours the construction most. For εἰ with subj. with particular sense he quotes only *OC* 1443; with general sense (see § 4 (a) below) he quotes four examples, to which I would add fr. 314, 145. The construction is Homeric (Chantraine 279 f.; Monro 211), and is there used, apart from general and indefinite contexts and similes, in future particular protases where the contingency is not actively anticipated, but treated as an imaginary case (and especially

one that is not desired). So *Il.* 22, 86 εἴ περ γάρ σε κατακτάνῃ, οὔ σ' ἔτ' ἔγωγε [κλαύσομαι ἐν λεχέεσσι. This feature, of an undesirable hypothesis, is seen in both *OC* 1443 and *A.* 496. So too at A. *Eu.* 234 (but not *Supp.* 92, *Pers.* 791).

(d) *εἰ plus optative.* The protasis with its potential optative deals with what might happen. This can refer to (i) what is unlikely or even impossible (the so-called 'less vivid' future); (ii) an ideal or imaginary case which is proposed for the sake of argument, and the interest of drawing a conclusion from it in the apodosis; (iii) what is neither remote nor imaginary, but is a future possibility (here the difference from ἐάν with subj. is sometimes slight). (i) *E.* 548 φαίη δ' ἄν ἡ θανοῦσά γ', εἰ φωνὴν λάβοι 'the dead girl would say so, if she could speak'. The contrast with what is real and actual can be underlined by νῦν δέ as introductory to the following sentence; this is not used after ἐάν with subj. *E.* 333 ὥστ' ἄν, εἰ σθένος [λάβοιμι, δηλώσαιμ' ἄν οἷ' αὐτοῖς φρονῶ· [νῦν δ' ἐν κακοῖς μοι πλεῖν ὑφειμένῃ δοκεῖ: Chrysothemis would like to have the strength to oppose, but rules it out as not practicable. (ii) *OC* 992 εἴ τίς σε ... αὐτίκ' ἐνθάδε [κτείνοι παραστάς, πότερα πυνθάνοι' ἄν ...; 'supposing someone should here and now come up and try to kill you, would you ask ...?'. *A.* 265 πότερα δ' ἄν, εἰ νέμοι (v.l. νέμει) τις αἵρεσιν, λάβοις ...; 'if someone should give you the choice, which would you prefer?' *E.* 583 εἰ γὰρ κτενοῦμεν ἄλλον ἀντ' ἄλλου, σύ τοι [πρώτη θάνοις ἄν, εἰ δίκης γε τυγχάνοις (τυγχάνεις v.l.) 'if we are to take life for life in retribution' (future tense, of what is to be, taken as a basic supposition on which the remaining clauses depend) 'you would be the first to die, if you should be justly dealt with'. For Clytaemnestra, who is addressed, this would seem an 'ideal' hypothesis; for the speaker, Electra, it can be a real possibility (which will, in fact, occur). (iii) *An.* 69 οὔτ' ἂν κελεύσαιμ' οὔτ' ἄν, εἰ θέλοις ἔτι [πράσσειν, ἐμοῦ γ' ἂν ἡδέως δρῴης μέτα 'I shall not bid you (aid me), nor, if later you should wish to act, would you be acceptable as my assistant'. *OT* 851 εἰ δ' οὖν τι κἀκτρέποιτο τοῦ πρόσθεν λόγου, [οὔτοι ποτ' ... τόν γε Λαΐου φόνον [φανεῖ δικαίως ὀρθόν: future in the apodosis, indicating firm denial. *E.* 413 (if λέγοις (*per conj.* for λέγεις) is read, giving a condition equivalent to ἐάν with subj.) εἴ μοι λέγοις τὴν ὄψιν, εἴποιμ' ἂν τότε.

§ 2. *Present or past conditions, with no implication as to non-fulfilment*

εἰ is used with any tense of the indicative, and with a wide variety of forms in the apodosis. Though *non*-fulfilment is here ruled out, it is not always true that fulfilment is not envisaged; especially in the present it is possible to assume it, so that the protasis is then equivalent to a causal clause ('if' = 'since it is the case that').

(a) Present. *E.* 768 λυπηρῶς δ' ἔχει, [εἰ τοῖς ἐμαυτῆς τὸν βίον σῴζω κακοῖς: causal equivalent. So too *An.* 510, *OC* 260. *E.* 31, *A.* 1131.

(b) Imperfect. *E.* 1460 ... ὡς εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐλπίσιν κεναῖς πάρος [ἐξῄρετο ... νῦν ... στόμια δέχηται τἀμά '... in order that, if any one of them previously was buoyed up with vain hopes, ... he may now be subject to my curb'. *OC* 969, *A.* 962.

(c) Aorist. *E.* 1267* ἔφρασας ὑπερτέραν τᾶς πάρος ἔτι χάριτος, εἴ σε θεὸς ἐπόρισεν ἁμέτερα πρὸς μέλαθρα. Ib. 797 πολλῶν ἂν ἥκοις, ὦ ξέν', ἄξιος τυχεῖν, [εἰ τήνδ' ἔπαυσας τῆς ... βοῆς 'your coming would deserve great reward, if it is a fact that you have put an end to her lamentation'. (Goodwin § 503 on such a combination, with potential opt. with ἂν in the apodosis: the protasis in these cases is an open condition, taken as the basic supposition.) Cf. ib. 774 πῶς γὰρ ἂν μάτην λέγοις, [εἴ μοι θανόντος πίστ' ἔχων τεκμήρια [προσῆλθες; 'how can you say it is in vain, if it is the case that you have come with sure proofs of his death?'. *A.* 1067 (apod. fut.). *OT* 443 (apod. prest.).

(d) Perfect. *E.* 646 φάσματα ... εἰ μὲν πέφηνεν ἐσθλά, δὸς τελεσφόρα 'if the visions are favourable, grant that they are realised'. *An.* 681.

§ 3. *Present or past conditions, contrary to fact*

(a) The imperfect refers to a condition which is contrary to fact in the present. *OT* 591 εἰ δ' αὐτὸς ἦρχον, πολλὰ κἂν ἄκων ἔδρων 'if I myself were ruler, I would be performing many acts reluctantly'. *OC* 925, *OT* 985, 1511.

But the imperfect can equally refer to the past. *OC* 951 καὶ ταῦτ' ἂν οὐκ ἔπρασσον, εἰ μή μοι πικρὰς [αὐτῷ τ' ἀρὰς ἠρᾶτο καὶ τὠμῷ γένει 'and I would not have sought to do this, if he had not been uttering bitter curses against me and my race'. (Imperf. ἔπρασσον is used because it is conative: it takes up ἐχειρούμην (950) 'sought to seize'. ἠρᾶτο is durative.) *E.* 604 τόδ', εἴπερ ἔσθενον, [ἔδρων ἄν. Ib. 1331, *A.* 443, *OC* 271. *T.* 897 εἰ παροῦσα πλησία [ἔλευσσες οἷ' ἔδρασε, κάρτ' ἂν ᾤκτισας (apod. aor. with ἄν: ἔλευσσες is durative 'if you had been observing', and the aorist is not in classical use). It is sometimes difficult to decide between present and past reference: *E.* 394 ἀλλ' ἦν ἄν (sc. ὁ βίοτος καλός), εἰ σύ γ' εὖ φρονεῖν ἠπίστασο, ib. 556, 993.

An aorist in the apodosis, after imperf. in the protasis, can relate to present time, where the punctual aspect of the aorist is expressed (Goodwin § 414; Humbert 224). *An.* 755 εἰ μὴ πατὴρ ἦσθ', εἶπον ἄν σ' οὐκ εὖ φρονεῖν 'if you were not my father, I should at once say you are not in your right mind'. *OT* 402 εἰ δὲ μὴ 'δόκεις γέρων [εἶναι, παθὼν ἔγνως ἂν οἷά περ

φρονεῖς 'if I did not judge you to be an old man, you would know by experience the treatment that matches your insolence'.

(b) Aorist in the protasis relates to a supposed past condition. *E.* 375 οὐδ' ἂν ἐμνήσθην ποτέ, [εἰ μὴ κακὸν μέγιστον εἰς αὐτὴν ἰὸν [ἤκουσα. *A.* 45 κἂν ἐξέπραξεν, εἰ κατημέλησ' ἐγώ. Ib. 1057.

Use in a present unreal situation has been claimed for three passages, *An.* 505, *E.* 548, *T.* 57: W. H. S. Jones, *C.R.* 1910, 118 f.; cf. Goodwin § 443 (b), referring to E. *Med.* 568 οὐδ' ἂν σὺ φαίης, εἴ σε μὴ κνίζοι λέχος. But the Sophoclean examples are at best dubious. *E.* 548 φαίη δ' ἂν ἡ θανοῦσα γ', εἰ φωνὴν λάβοι 'the dead woman would say so, if she could speak': the reference seems to be future. Note that εἰ φωνὴν λάβοι is not 'if she possessed (now) the power of speech', but 'if she should acquire it'. *T.* 57 πῶς ... οὐ πέμπεις τινά, [μάλιστα δ' ὅνπερ εἰκὸς (sc. ἂν εἴη) Ὕλλον, εἰ πατρὸς [νέμοι τιν' ὤραν ...; The reference is probably future, and in any case not unreal. We can disregard *An.* 505 τούτοις τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἀνδάνειν [λέγοιτ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ γλῶσσαν ἐγκλῄσοι φόβος 'all would say that this found favour with them, if fear should not inhibit speech': ἐγκλῄσοι, an oblique future optative under the influence of λέγοιτ' ἄν, is the best supported reading, ἐγκλῄοι (adopted by Jones) is *per emend.* and unnecessary.

§ 4. *General conditions*

The reference is *either* to a general truth, proverbial expression, or simile—here the verb in the apodosis is present or aorist (gnomic) indic., or optative with ἄν; *or*, to a repeated or usual action, with the verb of the apodosis present or imperf. indic.

(a) ἐάν or εἰ with subj. (the latter more rarely). *E.* 25 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἵππος εὐγενής, κἂν ᾖ γέρων, [ἐν τοῖσι δεινοῖς θυμὸν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν [(gnomic aor.) ἀλλ' ὀρθὸν οὖς ἵστησιν ... (simile). *P.* 1322 ... ἐάν τε νουθετῇ τις εὐνοίᾳ λέγων, [στυγεῖς (habitual action). *OC* 1535 αἱ δὲ μυρίαι πόλεις, [κἂν εὖ τις οἰκῇ, ῥᾳδίως καθύβρισαν (gnomic aor.). εἰ with subj.: five exx. (Goodwin §§ 468-71: see also § 1(c) above). *OT* 198* τελεῖν γάρ, εἴ τι νὺξ ἀφῇ, τοῦτ' ἐπ' ἦμαρ ἔρχεται (τέλει codd.) 'if night leaves anything undone, day comes to complete it'. Ib. 874* (gnomic aor. in apod.). *An.* 710 ἄνδρα, κεἴ τις ᾖ σοφός, τὸ μανθάνειν [πόλλ' αἰσχρὸν οὐδέν (κἤν τις v.l.). *A.* 521 ἀνδρί τοι χρεὼν [μνήμην προσεῖναι, τερπνὸν εἴ τί που πάθῃ (πάθοι v.l.): Kamerbeek would prefer πάθοι because of the generalising aspect of the sentence, but in this respect *A.* 521 does not differ from the other exx. given here, and is especially close to *An.* 710. Fr. 314, 145 ('you are useless and panic-stricken') εἰ δέ που δέῃ [πιστοὶ λόγοισιν ὄντες ἔργα φεύγετε (of behaviour that is habitual). (*OC* 509 is doubtful: πονεῖ is probably to be preferred.)

(b) With indicative in the protasis (Goodwin § 467): the generality is regularly marked in such cases by use of εἴ τις. With prest. indic.: *T.* 944 εἴ τις δύο [ἢ κἄτι πλείους ἡμέρας λογίζεται, [μάταιός ἐστιν (καὶ πλείους τις codd.) 'if anyone (= ὅστις) counts on two or still more days, he is a fool'. With imperf. indic.: *P.* 292 εἴ τ' ἔδει τι καὶ ποτὸν λαβεῖν [... ταῦτ' ἂν ἐξέρπων τάλας [ἐμηχανώμην 'if there was need to get something to drink ... I would crawl out in my misery and obtain those things' (ἄν with imperf. in iterative use: Goodwin § 162).

(c) With optative in the protasis. (i) With opt. plus ἄν in apod. *A.* 455 εἰ δέ τις θεῶν [βλάπτοι, φύγοι τἂν χὠ κακὸς τὸν κρείσσονα 'if a god should seek to injure, even the base man can escape from the nobler'. The sentence states the general truth in the form of a future possibility. Cf. *E.* 696 ὅταν δέ τις θεῶν [βλάπτῃ, δύναιτ' ἂν οὐδ' ἂν ἰσχύων φυγεῖν. (ii) With prest. indic. (or a nominal clause) in apod. The apodosis comes first, and its indic. verb (or the nominal clause) thereby establishes the general truth of the statement. *An.* 1032 τὸ μανθάνειν δ' [ἥδιστον εὖ λέγοντος, εἰ κέρδος λέγοι (λέγει v.l.). Fr. 836 οὐδὲν κακίων πτωχός, εἰ καλῶς φρονοῖ (φρονεῖ v.l.). Similarly with general reference: *A.* 521 (πάθοι, with v.l. -ῃ), 1159 (πύθοιτο), 1344 (θάνοι). Of repeated, habitual behaviour: *OT* 917 ἔστι τοῦ λέγοντος, εἰ φόβους λέγοι (ἢν ... λέγῃ v.l.) 'he is at the mercy of whoever gives him report, should he tell of terrors'. Goodwin § 501 sees this use as an optative of 'remote future condition'; but 'remoteness' is only possible in fr. 836 of these exx. It is better to regard the opt. as a mark of generality, and so parallel to the use in relative cll. such as *An.* 666 ὃν πόλις στήσειε, τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν (cf. Ch. 12 § 16(i) (c)). Distinguish *OC* 352 δεύτερ' ἡγεῖται τὰ τῆς [οἴκοι διαίτης, εἰ πατὴρ τροφὴν ἔχοι 'she disregards the comforts of life at home, if only (= provided that) her father has sustenance': here the opt. has a cupitive force. *OT* 851 shows the remote future condition (εἰ δ' οὖν τι κἀκτρέποιτο τοῦ πρόσθεν λόγου 'even if he were to diverge somewhat from his former story'). (iii) With imperf. in apod., of repeated action in the past. *T.* 908 εἴ του φίλων βλέψειεν οἰκετῶν δέμας, [ἔκλαιεν 'if ever (= whenever) she saw any of her familiar attendants, she would weep'. *P.* 711* εἷρπε ... οὐ φορβὰν ... αἴρων ... πλὴν εἴ ποτε ... ἀνύσειε γαστρὶ φορβάν.

§ 5. *Concessive conditions: εἰ καί, καὶ εἰ*

On concessive uses of εἰ καί, καὶ εἰ, οὐδ' εἰ see Schwyzer 688; Calboli 349; Jebb on *OT* 305 (App.); Denniston 299 ff. On the type οὐδ' εἰ A. Oguse, 'Les concessives à principale négative', *Rev. Phil.* 1968, 262 ff.

εἰ καί is used with concessive force: *OT* 302 πόλιν μέν, εἰ καὶ μὴ βλέπεις, φρονεῖς δ' ὅμως [οἵᾳ νόσῳ σύνεστιν 'though you are blind, yet you are aware

what a plague possesses the city'. *E.* 547, *OT* 408. Here (with prest. indic. in the protasis), as Jebb remarks, εἰ καί admits the existence of the condition, but 'denies that it is an obstacle'. But this is not always true, and the condition can be seen as an extreme case, the existence of which is not necessarily granted. Thus (with prest. indic.) *T.* 1218 εἰ καὶ μακρὰ κάρτ' ἐστίν, ἐργασθήσεται 'even if the favour is a truly large one, it shall be granted'. With opt. in the protasis: *OT* 851 (§ 4 above). In such cases the use is analogous to that expected of καὶ εἰ: *An.* 234 κεἰ τὸ μηδὲν ἐξερῶ, φράσω δ' ὅμως 'even if my tale shall amount to nothing, still I shall tell it'. *OC* 306, *E.* 617. Yet in its turn καὶ εἰ too is used as = 'though', without the sense of climax and of an extreme case: *OC* 661 (κεἰ with aor. indic., of what has in fact occurred), *OT* 985 (admission of present condition).

For further discussion of εἰ καί, see Denniston op. cit.

The negative form of καὶ εἰ 'even if' is usually οὐδ' εἰ, where the negative belongs to the principal clause: *OC* 509 τοῖς τεκοῦσι γὰρ [οὐδ' εἰ πονεῖ τις, δεῖ πόνου μνήμην ἔχειν 'even if one suffers toil on behalf of parents, one should not take heed of it'. *OT* 255, 1062 (οὐδ' ἐάν *conj.*), *T.* 592, *P.* 981 (οὐδ' ἤν). But also κἄν (καὶ ἐάν) ... οὐ *E.* 25, *T.* 597. οὐδ' εἰ does not appear in Soph. as the negatived form of καὶ εἰ 'though'.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

FINAL CLAUSES, AND CLAUSES AFTER VERBS OF 'FEARING'

§ 1. *Use of conjunctions*

The conjunctions normally used to introduce final clauses are ὡς, ὅπως and ἵνα. In addition μή by itself can introduce such clauses when negatived. Uses counted with regard to the following mood are: (a) ὡς with subjunctive or optative, 54; ὡς with indicative, 2 (1 aorist, 1 future); ὡς ἄν with subjunctive, 6. (b) ὅπως with subj. or opt., 28; ὅπως with indic., 3 (1 past, ἔχεισο *E.* 1134; 2 fut.); ὅπως ἄν with subj., 2. (c) ἵνα with subj. or opt., 13; ἵνα with indic., 1 (past, ἦ *OT* 1389). (d) μή with subj. or opt., 20. (Statistics according to Weber, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Absichtssätze* 1, 27 ff.; but cf. Monteil 402, who has some modification, also I. Knuenz, *De enuntiatis Graecorum finalibus* (1913). I have found it necessary in particular to modify the figure for ὡς (excluding ὡς ἄν) at 56, against 52 in Weber, 49 in Knuenz.)

	ὡς	ὡς ἄν	ὅπως	ὅπως ἄν	ἵνα
Aesch.	23	11	11	2	2
Soph.	56	6	31	2	14
Eur.	182	27	19	24	71

Use of conjunctions in final clauses. Figures for Aesch. and Eur. as given by Knuenz, Appdx. 2.

The predominance of ὡς in Tragedy is notable, when set against earlier use: Homer ὄφρα 237, ἵνα 145, ὡς 62, ὅπως 9; Hesiod ὄφρα 10, ἵνα 11, ὡς 6; Pindar ὄφρα 11, ὡς 4, ὅπως 1. Still more striking is the preference for alternatives in Aristophanes (ἵνα 183, ὅπως 42, ὡς 17). (Statistics after Weber) Monteil 347, quoting 13 examples for ὡς in Aristophanes, finds affectation of tragic style and parody in 10 of these cases. Prose writers also have either reduced, or no, use of ὡς: Thucydides ἵνα 52, ὅπως 114, ὡς 2. In Plato and Demosthenes ὡς final is absent.

§ 2. *Modal use: the pure subjunctive*

The subjunctive without ἄν is by origin voluntative, but with ἄν prospective. All cases of the subjunctive are after primary tenses in the principal, with the exception of *E.* 390 f. τίν(α) ... τόνδ' ἐπηράσω λόγον;—ἐλθεῖν ἐκεῖνον, εἴ τι τῶνδε δρᾶν νοεῖ.—ὅπως πάθῃς τί χρῆμα; ... ὅπως ἀφ' ὑμῶν ...

ἐκφύγω. The aor. ἐπηράσω here is used with contemporary sense: see Ch. 11 § 16. Cf. Kühner-Gerth 380, 3 (a) for other exx. of subj. after an aorist which has present sense; and Humbert §§ 375, 382. Exx. of subj. after historic verbs are in Aesch. 2, in Eur. 26 (Knuenz 16 f.). On the moods generally in finals see Calboli 333 ff. with reff.

ὡς and ὅπως seem to be both modal in origin ('in what way, how'): Monteil 346, 368 f.; ἵνα is local or instrumental, ibid. 380 f. *An.* 760 ἄγετε τὸ μῖσος ὡς ... θνήσκῃ πλησία τῷ νυμφίῳ 'bring forth the hated creature, that she may die (as I desire her to die) at the side of her bridegroom'. *T.* 493 ἀλλ' εἴσω στέγης [χωρῶμεν, ὡς λόγων τ' ἐπιστολὰς φέρῃς .... Ib. 1110 προσμόλοι, ἵν' ἐκδιδαχθῇ. *P.* 880 σύ με κατάστησον ... ἵνα ... ὁρμώμεθα ἐς ναῦν. *E.* 56, *An.* 776. In all these cases (the majority type) the principal clause expresses a command, exhortation, or intention of the speaker, so that his will is naturally further expressed and related to this in the final clause. But in some cases the use of the final subj. is necessarily extended to cover the will of a subject other than the speaker. *P.* 1206* (Philoct.) ξίφος ... προπέμψατε. (Chorus) ὡς τίνα δὴ ῥέξῃς παλάμαν ποτέ; 'Bring me a sword'. 'That you may commit *what* violence?' (a transform of a use of ὡς ῥέξω ... by the first speaker). Cf. *An.* 643, *OC* 399, *A.* 744, 1056 (opt.), *OT* 762 (opt.). The use of a preceding correlative before the ὡς- (or ὅπως-) clause should be noted, as marking the full acceptance of the subord. clause as expressing purpose: *An.* 19 τοῦδ' οὕνεκ' ἐξέπεμπον, ὡς μόνη κλύοις, ib. 643, *OT* 1005 (so first in 5th. cent., Monteil 347).

§ 3. *Subjunctive with ἄν*

The subjunctive with ἄν occurs after both ὡς (6 exx.) and ὅπως (2), but not ἵνα. The use of ὡς ἄν goes back to Homer, but ὅπως ἄν is first in Aesch. Of the tragedians, Soph. employs ἄν least in finals: the proportion of ὡς ἄν and ὅπως ἄν to ὡς and ὅπως in Aesch. is 1:2.6, in Soph. 1:11, in Eur. 1:4. Monteil 346 suggests that ἄν gives a potential meaning, though without removing the notion that the result is something desired: cf. Wackernagel 1, 238, ἄν indicates expectancy or supposition. J. F. Dobson, *Class. Rev.* 24, 1910, 143 f., on the use of ἄν with final ὡς and ὅπως in Tragedy, finds that ἄν comes usually after a main verb expressing an order, exhortation, or intention of the speaker, though admitting another category where the final clause is in parenthesis in an elliptical sentence (*OT* 329); and that the use expresses a purpose of the speaker which is capable of fulfilment in the future (so not after a past main verb, or a verb in second or third person expressing the speaker's observation of facts). The examples are the following. *P.* 129 ἐκπέμψω πάλιν [τοῦτον τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα ... [μορφὴν

δολώσας, ὡς ἂν ἀγνοίᾳ προσῇ 'I shall send this very man back, disguising him ... so that there may be no recognition'. Ib. 826 ἐάσωμεν ... ἔκηλον αὐτόν, ὡς ἂν εἰς ὕπνον πέσῃ. Also ὡς in *OC* 72 (after expression of desire), *E*. 1496 (after order), *A*. 655 (after expression of intention). With ὅπως: *E*. 41 ἴσθι πᾶν τὸ δρώμενον, [ὅπως ἂν εἰδὼς ἡμὶν ἀγγείλῃς σαφῆ, *OC* 575 (after order). Apart from these is *OT* 329 ἐγὼ δ' οὐ μή ποτε [τἄμ', ὡς ἂν εἴπω μὴ τὰ σ', ἐκφήνω κακά 'never shall I reveal my troubles, not to speak of yours' (= 'to say nothing of yours'). (*An*. 215 is probably not final: see below.) It will be seen that, apart from *OT* 329, the examples fall within Dobson's main category, but it is probably accidental that it is so. (a) No reason is advanced for the supposed restriction, based on the meaning of ἄν. (b) The majority of all the final clauses do in any case follow a command, or expression of intention, as has been mentioned. So, in addition to examples of the pure subjunctive (minus ἄν) after such main verbs which have already been quoted, some further cases are at *A*. 67, 530, 827, 1003, *P*. 465, 492, 534, 559, 635, *OT* 359, *OC* 1130. (c) ὅπως ἄν with subj. is found in Classical Attic inscrr. as almost the only type of final clause (Meisterhans, *Gramm. d. Att. Inschr.* 253 f.), without restriction of use. It seems in view of this hazardous to look for an explanation of the use of ἄν in these clauses in Tragedy other than stylistic variation, as also found in earlier use including that of Homer (see Chantraine 270 on κε and ἄν in finals).

§ 4. *Optative*

The optative (either potential or cupitive in origin) occurs after historic leading verbs. Knuenz 16 ff. gives the following figures of use after these verbs. Aesch. 9 opt., 2 subj.; Soph. 18 opt., 2 subj.; Eur. 56 opt., 26 subj. (See above on the two subjj. at *E*. 390 f.). So for opt.: *A*. 1056 νύκτωρ ἐπεστράτευσεν, ὡς ἕλοι δορί. *T*. 360 οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν φυτοσπόρον [τὴν παῖδα δοῦναι, κρύφιον ὡς ἔχοι λέχος (v.l. ἔχῃ). Ib. 190, *OT* 71, 762, 1143 (after οἶσθα δούς), *An*. 19, *A*. 1016 ἐρεῖ κακὸν ... τὸν δειλίᾳ προδόντα (aor.) σε ... ὡς νέμοιμι δόμους.

The optative is also used after a primary tense, where the leading verb is an optative of wish (Goodwin § 181): in such cases the final clause is also something wished for. *A*. 1221* γενοίμαν ... τὰς ἱερὰς ὅπως προσείποιμεν Ἀθάνας. *P*. 325, *T*. 957*, fr. 476*. Modal attraction has been seen in these cases, but it is no less possible that the subordinate optatives share the sense of wish. So Humbert 233, 235 f. in favour of the latter view; cf. Schwyzer 322 f. However, Humbert's proposal (cf. Kühner-Gerth 2, 383) that this applies where the wish is purely fanciful, but not where it is

realisable, is contradicted by *P.* 325, which *is* realisable: θυμὸν γένοιτο χειρὶ πληρῶσαί ποτε, [ἵν' αἱ Μυχῆναι γνοῖεν ... (θυμῷ ... χεῖρα codd.) 'may it happen one day that I satisfy my anger with my hand, that Mycenae may learn ...'. But a subj. is also possible in such a case: *T.* 1110 προσμόλοι μόνον, [ἵν' ἐκδιδαχθῇ .... The subj. of will is particularly suitable here, rather than the opt. of wish; the speaker is the tormented and dying Heracles, anxious to have revenge on Deianeira, and the subj. expresses his strong feeling and will that it should be so, better than would an opt. The subj. alone is used after opt. in the main clause other than those of wish: *E.* 1441* δι' ὠτὸς ἂν παῦρά γ' ... ἐννέπειν πρὸς ἄνδρα τόνδε συμφέροι, λαθραῖον ὡς ὀρούσῃ ἀγῶνα.

In addition, three cases of optative after a primary leading verb (which is not itself optative) have strong manuscript support. (i) *E.* 57 ἡμεῖς δὲ ... ὡς ἐφίετο ... ἥξομεν πάλιν, [τύπωμα ... ἠρμένοι χεροῖν, [ὃ ... οἶσθά που κεκρυμμένον, [ὅπως λόγῳ κλέπτοντες ἡδεῖαν φάτιν [φέροιμεν αὐτοῖς (φέροιμεν LA, -ωμεν v.l.). The optative can be justified by a previous historic tense—not that of τυπ. ἠρμένοι χεροῖν (as Kaibel), but rather of the parenthetic ὡς ἐφίετο (the whole action of the sentence being furtherance of that order, to win revenge by guile, and the purpose clause itself taking up the aspect of deceit which the oracle had stressed in its advice (36 ff.). Cf. Humbert 232: 'il suffit qu'une considération de passé, qui peut ne faire que traverser l'esprit, intervienne, pour que l'optatif apparaisse'. (ii) *E.* 760 καί νιν πυρᾷ κέαντες εὐθὺς ἐν βραχεῖ [χαλκῷ ... [φέρουσιν ἄνδρες Φωκέων τεταγμένοι, [ὅπως πατρῴας τύμβον ἐκλάχοι χθονός (ἐκλάχοι LA, -ῃ v.l.). φέρουσιν is not a historical present (so Humbert 235), but the past notion which accounts for the optative lies behind, beneath the surface of, the phrase φέρουσιν ... τεταγμένοι: the opt. therefore relates neatly to the purpose of the *senders*, rather than to that of the *carriers* of the urn (cf. Campbell ad loc. and *P.S.* 141; Kühner-Gerth 2, 382: Jebb mentions the possibility, but turns it down). (iii) *OC* 11 θάκησιν εἴ τινα βλέπεις [... στῆσόν με κἀξίδρυσον, ὡς πυθοίμεθα [ὅπου ποτ' ἐσμέν. This is the most difficult case, since no imputation of past sense can be made. Campbell, translating ὡς πυθοίμεθα 'and then, haply, we may learn', speaks of the uncertainty of mood which accords with the feeling of the blind and weary Oedipus: but against a potential use of the opt. must be set the absence of ἄν. We should rather see an opt. of wish as the source: so Schneidewin ('the speaker strongly desires the attainment of the end'). Cf. *A.* 1221* etc. (quoted above), with a cupitive opt. in the final clause, but there linked with a wish also in the principal. Notice that such an interpretation can produce by different means the uncertain, hesitant effect which Campbell proposed:

contrast the forceful use of the subj. where an opt. could have been expected at *T.* 1110 (above). See Stahl 482 for examples of the wish optative in finals: he would not allow examples in Tragedy (on the ground that none is metrically guaranteed), preferring to emend where possible. His first examples are in Aristophanes (e.g. *Ra.* 24 αὐτὸς βαδίζω καὶ πονῶ, τοῦτον δ' ὀχῶ, [ἵνα μὴ ταλαιπωροῖτο). A possible case is E. *IT* 1210 καὶ πόλει πέμψον τιν' ὅστις σημανεῖ ... ἐν δόμοις μίμνειν ἅπαντας.—μὴ συναντῷεν φόνῳ; (but here past reference is possible, the questioner thinking of what was in the mind of the other speaker in giving the order). Homer has examples of cupitive final opt. in primary sequence: Chantraine 271. For Aristophanes, see Poultney, *A.J.P.* 84, 1963, 359 ff.: he finds 9 cases of opt. in finals (7 in fact in pure finals: ἵνα, *V.* 109 f., *Av.* 1524, *Th.* 588, *Ra.* 24 (twice), *Ec.* 347: ὅπως, *Ec.* 917) after a primary leading verb, generally discovering a past reference.

§ 5. *Use of secondary indicative tenses*

Secondary tenses of the indicative are used in a final clause with past reference, which depends on a principal relating to an action not performed or completed. The final clause itself refers to the purpose which has not been realised. In Soph. an example occurs with each of the conjj. ἵνα, ὡς and ὅπως. *OT* 1389 ('if I could make myself deaf') οὐκ ἂν ἐσχόμην [τὸ μὴ ἀποκλῇσαι τοὐμὸν ἄθλιον δέμας, [ἵν' ἦ τυφλός τε καὶ κλύων μηδέν 'I should not have refrained from sealing off my wretched frame, that I might have been both blind and deaf' (past unreal condition). Ib. 1392 τί μ' οὐ λαβὼν [ἔκτεινας εὐθύς, ὡς ἔδειξα μήποτε ... 'why did you not take and kill me at once, that I might never have revealed ...?' (a question equivalent to an unfulfilled wish, 'would that you had killed me'). *E.* 1134 ὡς ὤφελον πάροιθεν ἐκλιπεῖν βίον, [πρὶν ἐς ξένην σε γαῖαν ἐκπέμψαι ... ὅπως θανὼν ἔκεισο τῇ τόθ' ἡμέρᾳ 'would that I had died first ... so that you might have lain in death on that day' (unfulfilled wish). This use occurs first in Aeschylus. Knuenz 22 f. gives the following statistics: Aesch. 3 (ὡς 1, ὅπως 2), Soph. 3 (ἵνα, ὡς, ὅπως 1 each), Eur. 5 (ἵνα 3, ὡς 2). The genesis of this construction is as explained by Wackernagel 1, 229 f. The impf. and aor. indic. are both used with past unfulfilled sense, as in unfulfilled wishes and unreal past conditions; a dependent clause attached to such apodoses is drawn into their sphere, and adopts the same mood. The subj. (or oblique opt.) was felt unsuitable, since the volitive aspect could play no part in a purpose clause which referred to the unattainable. The negative remains μή, on the analogy of that in realisable final clauses (and also as found in unfulfilled wishes).

§ 6. *Use of the future indicative*

The future indicative occurs rarely with ὅπως and ὡς (Goodwin § 324). *P.* 1069 μὴ πρόσλευσσε ... ἡμῶν ὅπως μὴ τὴν τύχην διαφθερεῖς 'do not look at him, lest you ruin our fortunes'. Fr. 314, 260 κέκρυπται τοὔργον ... Ἥραν ὅπως μὴ πύστις ἵξεται λόγου 'the deed is concealed, that report of it may not come to Hera'. ?*E.* 955 εἰς σὲ δὴ βλέπω, [ὅπως τὸν αὐτόχειρα ... μὴ κατοκνήσεις κτανεῖν (-ῃς v.l.) 'I look to you, that you may not shrink from killing the perpetrator'. Also possibly with ὅπως *A.* 698* (ὅπως ἰάψεις, with v.l. -ῃς). With ὡς: *OC* 1724* πάλιν, φίλα, συθῶμεν.—ὡς τί ῥέξομεν; (v.l. -ωμεν, but *contra metrum*). Knuenz 23 f. gives these figures: future with ὅπως, Aesch. 2, Soph. 2 (but this could be 4, as shown: his examples for Soph. are *A.* 698* and *P.* 1069), Eur. 2; future with ὡς, Aesch. 0, Soph. 1, Eur. 1. The parallel is close with object clauses after verbs of *striving*, *taking care* (*that*), which were the source of the construction, and the types are not always easily separable (Humbert 236 f.). But the four Sophoclean exx. (four, if the future reading is taken at *A.* 698*, *OC* 1724) are clearly final. μή is used, not οὐ, just as μή occurs with ὅπως after verbs of *striving*, etc. (Goodwin § 339: μή because the result is willed).

§ 7. *Independent use of ἵνα, ὡς, ὅπως with injunctive sense*

There may be three cases of independent use of ἵνα, ὡς, and ὅπως with the subjunctive, employed with injunctive sense in a way parallel to that of ὅπως with the future (*E.* 1296, *OT* 1518: see Ch. 20 § 4).

With ἵνα: *OC** 155 ἀλλ' ἵνα ... μὴ προπέσῃς ..., κάθυδρος οὗ κρατὴρ μειλιχίων ποτῶν ῥεύματι συντρέχει· τῶν, ξένε πάμμορ', εὖ φύλαξαι· μετάσταθ', ἀπόβαθι 'do not rush forward ... where the bowl of water is combined with the stream of honied libations; guard well against that, unhappy stranger; depart, retire'. The construction is clumsy if the ἵνα-clause is subordinated to the concluding imperatives μετάσταθ', ἀπόβαθι: final clauses normally follow the leading clause, and the precedence of ἵνα μὴ προπέσῃς would be made still more marked by the intervention of τῶν ... φύλαξαι. An alternative is to suppose ellipse of εὐλαβοῦ, *vel sim.*; or of a verb of entreaty or exhortation (as in *Od.* 3, 327 λίσσεσθαι δέ μιν αὐτός, ἵνα νημερτὲς ἐνίσπῃ: Lys. 1, 29 ὅπως μὲν μὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἠντεβόλει): cf. Burguière 158. In later Greek (papp. of iii B.C., *N. T.*: see LSJ) there would be no difficulty in taking ἵνα μὴ προπέσῃς independently, as the equivalent of a prohibition (Funk 195 f.; Moule 144 f.; B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek non-literary Papyri* (Athens, 1973), 263): can *OC* 155* show an early anticipation of this construction? The possibility, accepted by Kalén, is denied, e.g. by C. J.

Cadoux, *Journal of Theol. Studies* 42, 1941, 165 ff., and it is true that it is only well after Sophocles' time that the construction became firmly established. But if the explanation based on ellipse is felt to be acceptable, then we are already halfway to answering the question in the affirmative, since presumably the source of the later construction is the same.

The examples with ὡς and ὅπως both have ἄν and the subj.: the models of each type would be the dependent finals with ἄν listed above (§ 3). With ὡς: *An.* 215 ὡς ἂν σκοποὶ νῦν ἦτε τῶν εἰρημένων 'be guardians of what has been commanded'. See Monteil 348, in support of independent use; Kalén 33 f. (who finds the presence of ἄν embarrassing, and favours the change to πῶς ἂν ... εἶτε ...;). (*P.* 492 and *T.* 1253, both with ὡς and the pure subj., are better taken as depdt. finals.) With ὅπως: *T.* 618 φύλασσε πρῶτα μὲν νόμον, [τὸ μὴ 'πιθυμεῖν ... περισσὰ δρᾶν· [ἔπειθ' ὅπως ἂν ἡ χάρις ... διπλῆ φανῇ 'first keep this rule, not to be eager to exceed your orders; then see that you win double gratitude'. Cf. Monteil 370. Against taking the ὅπως-clause as dependent on a middle φυλάσσου, supplied from φύλασσε, it has to be noted that this verb is followed by a *negatived* clause (since it indicates what is to be guarded *against*): it would therefore be necessary to understand from the context a verb such as ἐπιμελοῦ, if the ὅπως-clause is subordinate.

§ 8. *Finals with μή*

Negatived final clauses are also introduced by μή alone, with the subjunctive (originally paratactic use). According to Knuenz, the figures are: (a) μή alone: Aesch. 7, Soph. 20, Eur. 50; (b) μή used with a conjunction: Aesch. 10, Soph. 9, Eur. 40. *A.* 1395 τάφου μὲν ὀκνῶ τοῦδ' ἐπιψαύειν ἐᾶν, [μὴ τῷ θανόντι τοῦτο δυσχερὲς ποιῶ. *E.* 641, 898, *An.* 281, *P.* 124, 890, etc.

§ 9. *Other forms of finals*

For final clauses introduced by relatives (pronouns and adverbs), see Ch. 15 § 13. For the use of the future participle, see Ch. 14 § 3. For τοῦ μή with infinitive, see Ch. 8 § 18.

§ 10. *Clauses after verbs of 'fearing'*

Clauses after verbs of *fearing* have close links with finals. See Schwyzer 674 ff.; Stahl 575 ff.; Knuenz 36 ff.; Calboli 336.

For analysis of the modal use (subj. and opt.), see Ch. 12 § 12(iv), § 16(iv).

The most common introductory conjunction is μή, generally with subjunctive after primary verbs of *fearing*, and optative after historic. Knuenz 37 analyses modal use in historic sequence as follows: Aesch. subj. 0, opt. 2; Soph. subj. 0, opt. 4; Eur. subj. 5, opt. 9. *T*. 550 φοβοῦμαι μὴ πόσις μὲν Ἡρακλῆς | ἐμὸς καλῆται, τῆς νεωτέρας δ' ἀνήρ (v.l. καλεῖται: see below) 'I fear that Heracles may be called my husband, but the lover of that younger woman'. *An*. 1113 δέδοικα μὴ ... ἄριστον ᾖ. *A*. 533 μή σοί γέ που δύστηνος ἀντήσας θάνοι (sc. ἐφοβεῖτο). *T*. 482 δειμαίνων τὸ σὸν | μὴ στέρνον ἀλγύνοιμι ... | ἥμαρτον.

There are disputed cases of opt. in primary sequence. (i) *A*. 279 δέδοικα μὴ 'κ θεοῦ | πληγή τις ἥκοι (-οι LA: -ει v.l.: -ῃ conj.). Ajax is under suspicion of having already suffered divine affliction, and the sense expected is 'I fear that a heaven-sent affliction has struck him'. ἥκει (or subj. ἥκῃ) would give this sense. With ἥκοι an independent wish would be possible: 'I am afraid: may it not be that ...'. (ii) *P*. 494 ... ὃν δὴ παλαιὸν ἐξ ὅτου δέδοικ' ἐγὼ | μή μοι βεβήκοι (-οι LA: -ῃ v.l.: -ε conj.) '... about whom I have long feared that he may have departed from life'. In this case an indepdt. wish is ruled out (since it would leave ὃν ... δέδοικα with an impossible construction). Schwyzer 323 supports the dependent use of the opt. in *A*. 279 as a rarity, while admitting that the independent constr. is also possible; but does not discuss *P*. 494, where it is not possible. Kühner-Gerth 2, 394.4 condemns the dependent opt. construction. The case against it is not a weak one: the best parallel advanced, after a verb of *fearing*, is *Il*. 9, 244 (where a subj. precedes the opt.): ταῦτ' αἰνῶς δείδοικα ... μή οἱ ἀπειλὰς | ἐκτελέσωσι θεοί, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ αἴσιμον εἴη | φθίσθαι ἐνὶ Τροίῃ. Yet MS support for the optative is strong. If the optatives are kept, the influence of wish could be seen, just as in the similar cases of optative in finals discussed above (§ 4).

ἄν with optative denotes a mild expression of fear. *T*. 631 δέδοικα | μὴ πρῴ λέγοις ἂν τὸν πόθον τὸν ἐξ ἐμοῦ 'I fear you might perhaps be premature in speaking of my longing': Deianeira speaks with caution and reserve. Here in primary sequence.

μή with future indic. is attested as v.l. at *T*. 551 (καλεῖται: quoted above with subj. καλῆται). But the future indic. would give a strong sense, 'I fear that he will be called ...', which is less suitable in the context.

ὅπως μή occurs once, with future indic., or aorist subj.: *OT* 1074 δέδοιχ' ὅπως | μὴ 'κ τῆς σιωπῆς τῆσδ' ἀναρρήξει κακά (-ρήξῃ v.l.) 'I fear that trouble will erupt from this silence' (or perhaps more closely, 'I am anxious that it shall not': see below). Goodwin § 370. Alternatively, subj. ἀναρρήξῃ can stand here equally well: cf. E. *Hipp*. 518 δέδοιχ' ὅπως μοι μὴ λίαν φανῇς σοφή. *IT* 995

With ὡς followed by the future indic., after a negatived main clause (Goodwin § 371): *E.* 1309 μή δείσῃς ποθ' ὡς [... ὄψεται 'do not fear that she will see'. Ib. 1427 μηκέτ' ἐκφοβοῦ ... ὥς σε ... ἀτιμάσει.

Though these two constructions (with ὅπως μή and with ὡς) appear similar, they are distinguished by the presence of μή in the subord. clause only in the former: the latter type, if negatived, takes οὐ. The latter is based on an object clause as found after verbs of *knowing*, and so the verb of *fearing* is itself regularly negatived ('do not fear' = 'be assured concerning'). The former has its analogy with the constr. after verbs of *striving, taking care that* (Goodwin § 339), so that here 'I fear that trouble will erupt' is equivalent to 'I am anxious that trouble shall not erupt' (μή in the subord. clause, since it expresses the speaker's will that it shall not happen). Notice that at *OT* 1076 Oedipus answers the remark with bold indifference as to the outcome—ὁποῖα χρῄζει ῥηγνύτω 'let what will erupt'— and then adds what is *his* desire (βουλήσομαι).

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

TEMPORAL CLAUSES

§ 1. *Of time 'when', with historic indicative tenses*

Temporal clauses indicating the time of an occurrence take past indicative tenses (aorist and imperfect) in reference to definite past events. The temporal connection of the subord. clause with the principal may be prior ('after the time when') or contemporary ('at the time when'), and this can be indicated lexically by the choice of conjunction. Thus ἐπεί, ἐξ οὗ (ἀφ' οὗ, ἐξ ὅτου) are prior, and ἕως 'while', ἐν ᾧ, ἦμος are contemporary. But distinctions of chronology need not be sharply drawn: so ὅτε (chiefly contemporary) and ὡς (chiefly prior) are used in contexts of either sort. It should be noted that the aorist refers to the past absolutely, and not in a relative sense. For closer analysis of uses of the individual conjunctions, see Monteil 237 ff. *passim*.

With the aorist (usually prior). *E*. 777 καί μ', ἐπεὶ τῆσδε χθονὸς [ἐξῆλθεν, οὐκέτ' εἶδεν 'since he left this land, he has not seen me again'. *A*. 490 ἐπεὶ [τὸ σὸν λέχος ξυνῆλθον, εὖ φρονῶ τὰ σά 'since the time when I came to share your bed, my thoughts are for your welfare'. The line position of ἐπεί here is notable: *OT* has similar exx. at 326, 370, 376, 433, 613, 705, 985, 1417. εὖτε *E*. 508*. ἐξ ὅτου *An*. 12, *OC* 345. ὅπως 'after' *P*. 614, *T*. 917. ἡνίκα *E*. 32, *T*. 562. ὅτε *E*. 683, *A*. 167*. Notice the use correlative with νῦν: *E*. 936 ἀλλὰ νῦν, ὅθ' ἱκόμην, [τά τ' ὄντα πρόσθεν ἄλλα θ' εὑρίσκω κακά 'but now, on my arrival (now that I have come), I find ...'. Similarly ὡς coupled with νῦν, *A*. 274. As correlative to νῦν, these temporal clauses indicate what has immediately preceded the present situation: compare νῦν δ' ὡς followed by present indic., further specifying the contemporary situation, *E*. 519 νῦν δ' ὡς ἄπεστ' ἐκεῖνος, οὐδὲν ἐντρέπῃ [ἐμοῦ γε 'now that he is away, you take no heed of me', *T*. 90 (Monteil 363). *E*. 1264* τότ' εἶδες, ὅτε θεοί μ' ... ὤτρυναν μολεῖν 'you saw it at the time when the gods urged me to come'. Ib. 533 ... οὐκ ἴσον καμὼν ἐμοὶ [λύπης, ὅτ' ἔσπειρ', ὥσπερ ἡ τίκτουσ' ἐγώ '... he who had not a share of pain, when he begat her, equal to mine, her mother's' (ἔσπειρε aor.).

With the imperfect (contemp.). *OC* 356 ... φύλαξ δέ μου [πιστὴ κατέστης, γῆς ὅτ' ἐξηλαυνόμην 'you became my faithful guardian at the time when I was being banished'. ἡνίκα *A*. 285. ἦμος *T*. 155. ἕως ib. 601.

§ 2. *With present indicative*

The present indic. refers not only to present time, but also to the past. Present time, of what is now occurring: *E.* 789, *OC* 393, etc. Past time: *E.* 736 ὅπως δ' ὁρᾷ μόνον νιν ἐλλελειμμένον [... πώλοις διώκει (v.l. ὅδ' ὡς, or ὁ δ' ὡς) 'when he saw him alone left in (the course) ... he drove after him with his colts'. Further exx. with ὅπως, ὡς, ἦμος and ἡνίκα have been quoted in Chapter 11 § 5: there the semantic grouping of the verbs in the subord. clauses was noted (verbs of *seeing, hearing, declaring, showing*), which suggests that the presents are examples of *praesens pro perfecto* (historic present, according to Schwyzer 666). To these cases should be added *An.* 1093 ἐπιστάμεσθα δ', ἐξ ὅτου λευκὴν ἐγὼ [τήνδ' ἐκ μελαίνης ἀμφιβάλλομαι τρίχα, [μή πώ ποτ' αὐτὸν ψεῦδος ἐς πόλιν λακεῖν 'I know that never yet has he prophesied falsely to our city, since this hair which I wear has changed from black to grey (since I have worn it so)'.

§ 3. *With perfect and pluperfect*

More rarely with the perfect: *P.* 493 ἐξ ὅτου δέδοικα, *T.* 326 ἐξ ὅτου λέλοιπεν, *An.* 482 ἐπεὶ δέδρακεν (but with a causal sense *OT* 1503 ἐπεὶ λέλειψαι, *T.* 83 ἡνίκα σεσώσμεθα).

With the pluperfect: *OC* 1590 ἐπεὶ ἀφῖκτο.

§ 4. *Indefinite clauses, with subjunctive*

Indefinite temporal clauses take the subjunctive (usually with ἄν) and optative: 'indefinite' implies that the time of occurrence (in the future) is unknown, or that it is repeated (including general or gnomic utterance).

With subjunctive, of a single future occurrence, with primary main verb. *A.* 846 πατρῴαν τὴν ἐμὴν ὅταν χθόνα [ἴδῃς ... [ἄγγειλον ἄτας τὰς ἐμάς. *OT* 1492 ἀλλ' ἡνίκ' ἂν δὴ πρὸς γάμων ἥκητ' ἀκμάς, [τίς οὗτος ἔσται; *E.* 627. Repeated: ib. 267 ἔπειτα ποίας ἡμέρας δοκεῖς μ' ἄγειν, [ὅταν θρόνοις Αἴγισθον ἐνθακοῦντ' ἴδω [τοῖσιν πατρῴοις; *An.* 1166 τὰς γὰρ ἡδονὰς [ὅταν προδῶσιν ἄνδρες, οὐ τίθημ' ἐγὼ [ζῆν τοῦτον. Ib. 495 μισῶ ... χὤταν ἐν κακοῖσί τις [ἁλοὺς ἔπειτα τοῦτο καλλύνειν θέλῃ 'I hate it too when a man, caught in wrong-doing, desires thereafter to make things seem fair': here the ὅταν-clause provides the object for μισῶ. Cf. *E.* 1007 οὐ γὰρ θανεῖν ἔχθιστον, ἀλλ' ὅταν θανεῖν [χρῄζων τις εἶτα μηδὲ τοῦτ' ἔχῃ λαβεῖν, where the ὅταν-clause provides a subject (as also possibly at ib. 59). Without ἄν, generalising: *An.* 1025 ἐπεὶ δ' ἁμάρτῃ, κεῖνος οὐκέτ' ἔστ' ἀνὴρ [ἄβουλος οὐδ' ἄνολβος, ὅστις ..., *OC* 1225* ἐπεὶ φανῇ 'when a man has been born' (cf. Ch. 12 § 12(ii)).

In some cases reference is to situations which have been re-occurring *in the past*, but it is implied that they may equally be repeated in the present

or future. *P.* 307 ff. οὐτοί μ', ὅταν μόλωσιν, ὦ τέκνον, λόγοις [ἐλεοῦσι μέν, καί πού τι καὶ βορᾶς μέρος [προσέδοσαν οἰκτίραντες ...· [ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐδείς, ἡνίκ' ἂν μνησθῶ, θέλει, [σῶσαί μ' ἐς οἴκους 'whenever these men come, they commiserate with me in word, and perhaps even have given me a portion of food in pity' (aor. -έδοσαν); 'but none, whenever I mention it, is willing to do this, to take me safely home'. *E.* 63 εἶθ', ὅταν δόμους [ἔλθωσιν αὖθις, ἐκτετίμηνται πλέον '(I have observed many cases of men falsely reported dead); then, when they have come home again, they have been held in greater honour'. So even with an historic main verb alone: ib. 91 πολλὰς μὲν θρήνων ᾠδάς, [πολλὰς δ' ἀντήρεις ᾔσθου [στέρνων πλαγὰς ... [ὁπόταν δνοφερὰ νὺξ ὑπολειφθῇ 'many are the chants of lament, many the outright blows on the breast that you have observed, when dark night ends'.

§ 5. *Indefinites with optative*

The optative is used in an indefinite past clause, where the main verb is historic. *P.* 705* εἷρπε δ' ... ἂν ..., παῖς ἄτερ ὡς φίλας τιθήνας, ὅθεν εὐμάρει' ὑπάρχοι πόρου, ἀνίκ' ἐξανείη ... ἄτα (ἐξανείη *per emend.*) 'he would creep, like a child without its dear nurse, to where he might have supply of resources, whenever the anguish abated'. But also exceptionally in a gnomic utterance with present main verb: *T.* 93 καὶ γὰρ ὑστέρῳ τό γ' εὖ [πράσσειν, ἐπεὶ πύθοιτο, κέρδος ἐμπολᾷ 'even for one who is late good fortune brings gain, when he learns of it': the optative (in origin potential) is comparable with that of *An.* 666 ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις στήσειε, τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν (cf. Ch. 12 § 16(i)(c)). Optative also found by assimilation to an opt. main verb (*OC* 779, with ὅτε); and in the oblique use, after an historic main verb (*T.* 824* ὁπότε ἐκφέροι; on ib. 165 see below, § 10).

§ 6. *Of duration 'while', with indicative*

Duration of time ('while, so long as') is shown by the indicative (imperf. or prest.) where definite, i.e. of past or present time. *T.* 601 ἕως ἠγορῶ 'while you were talking', *E.* 951 ἕως εἰσήκουον 'so long as I heard reports', *T.* 929 ἐν ᾧ ἐξορμώμεθα 'while we were going' (historic prest.).

§ 7. *Of duration, with subjunctive*

Subjunctive (present, usually with ἄν) is used where the duration is indefinite, lying in the future or belonging to a repeated or customary action, or a general statement. *P.* 1000 οὐδέποτέ γε ... ἕως ἂν ᾖ μοι γῆς τόδ' αἰπεινὸν βάθρον 'never (shall I do it) so long as I have the lofty pedestal of this land under my feet'. *E.* 106 οὐ ... λήξω θρήνων ... ἔστ' ἂν ... λεύσσω δὲ τόδ' ἦμαρ. Ib. 225* οὐ σχήσω ταύτας ἄτας, ὄφρα με βίος ἔχῃ (ὄφρα confined to lyric in Tragedy, so here and twice in *A.*).

Three cases are uncertain, where ὡς, read by codd., is generally changed to ἕως (scanned with synizesis). *A*. 1117 τοῦ δὲ σοῦ ψόφου | οὐκ ἂν στραφείην, ἕως ἂν ᾖς οἷός περ εἶ (ὡς codd.) 'I shall pay no heed to your clamour, so long as you are such as you are'. Campbell, keeping ὡς, offers a modal interpretation, 'However (to whatever extent) you may be the man you are' (implying παρὰ προσδοκίαν in οἷός περ εἶ). *P*. 1330 ... ἕως ἂν αὑτὸς ἥλιος | ταύτῃ μὲν αἴρῃ, τῇδε δ' αὖ δύνῃ πάλιν (ὡς codd.) ('you will not have your sickness ended) so long as this very sun rises here, and in turn sets over there'. Here too Campbell keeps ὡς, suggesting that the ordinary temporal sense of ὡς is made indefinite by the subj. with ἄν ('what time the sun unchanged shall rise ...'): but the stress on duration, which the passage requires, is not present in that ordinary temporal sense. There *are* exx. of ὡς = 'while' (including e.g. *T*. 697 ὡς ἐθάλπετο), but these are all linked with the use of the imperfect in the temporal clause (Monteil 363), and the durative sense arises from the verb. We should expect the usual temporal sense of ὡς to give us, when made indefinite with ἄν and the subj., an equivalent of ὅταν 'at whatever time', but this would be inappropriate in our passage. *OC* 1361 ἐμοὶ μὲν οἰστέα | τάδ', ἕωσπερ ἂν ζῶ (ὥσπερ codd.). 'I must bear this so long as I live': the modal interpretation 'whatever may be my life' (so Campbell) is much less suitable. It seems best to give all three passages the temporal sense 'so long as'. Whether the form ὡς can have this sense in Soph. must remain doubtful, though such use occurs later in *N. T.* (on which see Funk § 455 (2) and (3); LSJ s.v. ὡς A (d) 2; Schwyzer 650 fn. 5; also Monteil 363, accepting ὡς 'so long as' for *A*. 1117, *P*. 1330).

§ 8. *Conjunctions meaning 'until' other than πρίν, with indicative*

The use is of action continuing, or, if negatived, not taking place until the time of the action of the 'until'-clause.

With the indicative (aorist) of definite past time. *An*. 415 χρόνον τάδ' ἦν τοσοῦτον, ἔστ' ἐν αἰθέρι | μέσῳ κατέστη λαμπρὸς ἡλίου κύκλος 'so it was for such length of time, until the bright orb of the sun stood in mid-heaven'. Also with ἔστε, *A*. 1031, *E*. 753. With ἕως, fr. 236.

§ 9. *The same, with subjunctive*

With subjunctive (aorist) of future time. With ἄν: *OC* 114 σύ μ' ἐξ ὁδοῦ πόδα | κρύψον ... ἕως ἂν ἐκμάθω | τίνας λόγους ἐροῦσιν 'conceal me away from the road ... until I learn what they will say'. *OT* 834 ἕως ἂν ... ἐκμάθῃς, ἔχ' ἐλπίδα. Without ἄν: *P*. 764 ἕως ἀνῇ | τὸ πῆμα τοῦτο ... | σῷζ'

αὐτά 'until this anguish abates ...' (or else one may read as ἕως ἂν ᾖ with the sense of 'so long as it lasts': Monteil 305 n. 2). *A*. 555 ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἥδιστος βίος, [ἕως τὸ χαίρειν καὶ τὸ λυπεῖσθαι μάθῃς. *T*. 148. *A*. 1183 ἀρήγετ', ἔστ' ἐγὼ μόλω 'give him aid until I return'. The use without ἄν is favoured in Tragedy (Goodwin § 620): in some of these cases the context is general or gnomic (so *A*. 555, *T*. 148), but in others it is particular (so *A*. 1183, *OC* 77). A doubtful case is *A*. 571 ... ὥς σφιν γένηται γηροβοσκὸς εἰσαεὶ [μέχρις οὗ μυχοὺς κίχωσι τοῦ κάτω θεοῦ (μέχρις οὗ: ἔστ' ἂν Hermann). Syntactically the passage is paralleled (the subj. with μέχρις οὗ is found in prose, e.g. in Herodotus and Thucydides, Goodwin § 620). The principal objection to the use of μέχρι(ς) is, that it is not found elsewhere in Tragedy: this, coupled with the metrical point (the harshness of the anapaest μέχρις οὗ, and its division), should probably lead us to reject the line as interpolated (so Jebb, and Fraenkel, *Due Seminari Romani* ... 17).

§ 10. *The same, with optative*

Optative use: *T*. 687 καί μοι τάδ' ἦν πρόρρητα καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἔδρων· [τὸ φάρμακον ... σῴζειν ἐμέ, [ἕως ἂν ἀρτίχριστον ἁρμόσαιμί που (ἕως ἂν codd., ἕως νιν edd.) 'this was enjoined on me, and so did I perform—to keep the unguent ... until I might make some application of it, freshly spread'. If the reason for the optative is the introduction of the clause by the historic form of the command, the use of ἄν with opt. instead of simple opt. to replace subj. with ἄν must be regarded as dubious, and so ἄν here has regularly been replaced by νιν (though not by Schneidewin, nor Longo; also Campbell ad loc., though with more reserve in *Paralip*. 176). The use of ἄν with opt. in such cases is accepted by Goodwin § 702, Smyth § 2421. Justification might be found for ἄν if there is a potential sense which the speaker wishes to stress. In the situation envisaged in *T*. 687, it was not certain that Deianeira would in fact want to use the unguent, there was nothing inevitable about it. Compare (with ἡνίκα) ib. 165 (εἶπε) ... χρόνον προτάξας ὡς τρίμηνος ἡνίκ' ἂν [χώρας ἀπείη κἀνιαύσιος βεβώς, [τότ' ἢ θανεῖν χρείη σφε ... (ἡνίκ' ἂν codd., ἡνίκα edd.). It was not certain that Heracles would be away for so long, and the sense could equally well have been given as a condition ('when, and if, he should have been away for a year and three months'). With these contrast ib. 3 οὐκ ἂν αἰῶν' ἐκμάθοις βροτῶν, πρὶν ἂν [θάνῃ τις ... (θάνοι A) 'you cannot tell about a mortal's life until he dies (whether it is good or bad)', where the πρίν-clause relates to what will certainly take place: hence the opt. θάνοι cannot be supported as being potential.

§ 11. *πρίν 'before' and 'until': introduction*

The use of πρίν, with the meaning of both 'before' and 'until', has both resemblances to, and differences from, that of ἕως 'until'. See Calboli 328 ff. for general survey, and especially on πρίν with infinitive 329-31. Also C. Wooten, *Glotta* 48, 1970, 81 ff.: he stresses the conditional character of πρίν-clauses (in Attic prose), where 'until' = 'if not'. ἕως and πρίν indicate a similar temporal relation between the main clause (preceding in time) and the subordinate (following in time); but whereas with ἕως the action in the former clause continues up to the time of the latter, with πρίν such action (or regularly non-occurrence of action, when negatived) is basically denoted as being merely previous. Thus in *OT* 834 ἕως ἂν ... ἐκμάθῃς, ἔχ' ἐλπίδα 'go on maintaining hope until (up to the time when) you learn'; after a negative this could appear with πρίν as μὴ ἀθυμήσῃς πρὶν ἂν ἐκμάθῃς 'do not give up hope (at any time) before (until) you learn'. Duration of action in the main clause associates with ἕως, the absence of action (including its prohibition), which has a punctual aspect, consorts with πρίν.

§ 12. *πρίν with indicative*

With the indicative (aorist) there is one example after a positive main clause (Goodwin § 633: Aesch., one ex., after negative; Eur., 7 exx., after positive). *OT* 775 ἠγόμην δ' ἀνὴρ [ἀστῶν μέγιστος τῶν ἐκεῖ, πρίν μοι τύχη [τοιάδ' ἐπέστη 'I was held the most important of the citizens in that place, until there befell me an event of such a sort'. The use is parallel to that with ἔστε and ἕως seen above. Jebb detects an underlying negative sense, but this is purely fanciful, and in any case not needed. An alternative expression would have been with the infinitive (πρὶν τύχην τοιάνδ' ἐπιστῆναι), but this would have directed attention more to the thought in the main clause (as in 'I was held the most important before ...'); with the indic. the stress is on the event in the πρίν-clause, showing that it really happened ('I was held ... until this event occurred', equivalent to 'but then this event occurred'). See Humbert 217 n.; Stahl 468; Calboli 328.

§ 13. *πρίν with subjunctive*

With the subjunctive (aorist), of future and repeated (general, gnomic) situations: with ἄν 14 times, without ἄν 7 (Jebb on *P.* 917). Always after a negative main clause. The aorist tense of the subj. does not indicate in itself priority (which is expressed by πρίν), but the limit of the action (seen as a point of time). *A.* 107 f. ('I do not yet want him to die')—πρὶν ἂν τί δράσῃς ...; 'Until you have performed what act?'—πρὶν ἂν δεθεὶς ... μάστιγι

πρῶτον νῶτα φοινιχθεὶς θάνῃ 'until he has been bound ... and had his back lashed and bloodied before he dies'. The force of the predicate is in the participles δεθείς and φοινιχθείς, not in θάνῃ. *An.* 176 ἀμήχανον δὲ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐκμαθεῖν [ψυχήν ... πρὶν ἂν [ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ νόμοισιν ἐντριβὴς φανῇ. *P.* 332. *A.* 742 τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπηύδα Τεῦκρος ... [μὴ 'ξω παρήκειν, πρὶν παρὼν αὐτὸς τύχῃ 'T. forbade that he should pass without, until he himself should be present': here, with a historic main verb (ἀπηύδα), the subj. of the direct speech is kept (Goodwin § 639 for Homeric parallels: contrast *P.* 551 below, with opt.). *P.* 1409 μήπω γε, πρὶν ἂν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀίῃς μύθων 'do not do it yet, before you hear my speech': ἀίῃς exceptionally prest. subj., but this defective verb has no aorist. *A.* 965, *T.* 946, *An.* 619* (all gnomic, without ἄν).

§ 14. *πρίν with optative*

The optative (replacing the subj.) is found referring to the future, after negatived main clauses which themselves have an opt. So after an opt. of wish: *T.* 657* μὴ σταίη ... ὄχημα ναὸς αὐτῷ, πρὶν τάνδε πρὸς πόλιν ἀνύσειε 'may the ship which bears him not pause, until he reaches this city'. *P.* 961. After potential opt. with ἄν: *OT.* 505 οὔποτ' ἔγωγ' ἄν, πρὶν ἴδοιμ' ὀρθὸν ἔπος, μεμφομένων ἂν καταφαίην 'never would I agree when men blame him, until I see their accusation justified'. Both these types show assimilation (opt. in place of subj.). Also in the oblique use, of what was expected in the past, in dependence on a historic main verb of *oratio obliqua*: *P.* 551 ἔδοξέ μοι μὴ σῖγα, πρὶν φράσαιμί σοι, [τὸν πλοῦν ποιεῖσθαι 'I decided not to continue my sailing in silence, not until I had spoken to you': πρὶν φράσαιμι is an amplification of σῖγα. Ib. 199 καὶ νῦν ἃ πονεῖ δίχα κηδεμόνων, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὡς οὐ θεῶν του μελέτῃ (sc. ἐπιβαίνει, or πονεῖ, *vel sim.*, making a phrase parallel to θεῖα ἐπέβη preceding), τοῦ μὴ πρότερον τόνδ' ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ τεῖναι τὰ θεῶν ... βέλη, πρὶν ὅδ' ἐξήκοι χρόνος ᾧ .... Here the immediate main clause has a primary verb (οὐκ ἔσθ' ὡς οὐ ... (ἐπιβαίνει)), but the sentence has to be viewed as a whole, starting with v. 192. Both Philoctetes' former sufferings (τὰ παθήματα κεῖνα) and his present ones are due to divine planning, and that belongs to the past; the *oratio obliqua* is virtual, involved in the gods' intention (cf. Kühner-Gerth 2, 548).

§ 15. *πρίν with infinitive*

πρίν with the infin. (generally aorist) denotes temporal precedence of the action in the main clause, which is usually positive. The subject of the infin., if different from that of the main verb, is in the accus. *T.* 1253 τὴν χάριν [ταχεῖαν ... πρόσθες, ὡς πρὶν ἐμπεσεῖν [σπαραγμὸν ..., ἐς πυράν με θῇς

'render your service quickly, so as to put me on the pyre before the spasm assails me'. *An.* 280, *E.* 1132. A prest. infin. shows durative aspect: *OC* 36 πρίν νυν τὰ πλείον' ἱστορεῖν ... [ἔξελθε 'leave that place, before you go on with further questions'. *OT* 104. With a negative main clause: *A.* 1419 πρὶν ἰδεῖν δ' οὐδεὶς μάντις τῶν μελλόντων 'before he sees it, no one can prophesy the future' (Goodwin § 628: the sense requires stress on the priority). *T.* 632 δέδοικα γὰρ [μὴ πρῲ λέγοις ἂν ... [πρὶν εἰδέναι ...: the main clause is equivalent to μὴ πρῲ λέξῃς, a prohibition.

§ 16. *πρόσθεν ἤ 'before'*

πρόσθεν ἤ occurs with infin. as equivalent to πρίν with the sense 'before': *OT* 832 ἐκ βροτῶν [βαίην ἄφαντος πρόσθεν ἢ τοιάνδ' ἰδεῖν [κηλῖδα. Also with indic. (impf.): ib. 736 σχεδόν τι πρόσθεν ἢ σὺ τῆσδ' ἔχων χθονὸς [ἀρχὴν ἐφαίνου, τοῦτ' ἐκηρύχθη.

§ 17. *Causal use*

For temporal conjunctions used with causal sense, see Ch. 19 § 1.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

CAUSAL CLAUSES

§ 1. *Use of conjunctions*

Some of the principal conjunctions introducing causal clauses are listed by Monteil 401: ὡς 56 uses (58 on my count); οὕνεκα 4 (*P*. 586, *OC* 34, 738, 1293); ὁθούνεκα 7 (this figure, rather than Monteil's 8: examples at *A*. 123, 553, 1052, *T*. 277, 571, *OT* 1016, *E*. 1190); ὅτι 1 (*T*. 464). To these can be added uses of the originally temporal conjj.: ἐπεί 74 (cases quoted by Ellendt—not all introduce hypotaxis);εὖτε 3 (*A*. 716*, *P*. 1098*, *OC* 84: the causal use is confined to Soph.); ὅτε 9 (*A*. 1095, 1231, *An*. 170, *OT* 918. *E*. 38, 1318, 1329, *P*. 428, *OC* 203*). The list for ὅτε differs from, and is larger than, that of Monteil 280, which has 6 cases: of these, *E*. 789 should be excluded, where ὅτε is correlative to νῦν (cf. *A*. 710*), so with stress on the temporal connection. I add to his list *An*. 170, *OT* 918, *E*. 38, *OC* 203. But opinions may reasonably vary as to the temporal or causal element in a number of these cases. Thus I am doubtful whether ὅταν should be admitted. Possible examples are *A*. 137 (the strongest case, according to Nilsson 93), *P*. 451, *E*. 59, fr. 84, 2 (supported by Pearson ad loc.), but in all of these a wholly, or largely, temporal (circumstantial) sense is adequate. So *A*. 137 σὲ μὲν εὖ πράσσοντ' ἐπιχαίρω· σὲ δ' ὅταν πληγὴ Διὸς ... [... ἐπιβῇ, [μέγαν ὄκνον ἔχω καὶ πεφόβημαι: the contrast between εὖ πράσσοντα and ὅταν κ.τ.λ. must be circumstantial, not causal. Finally, ἀνθ' ὧν 1 (*An*. 1068), subject to contextual limitation (see below). See further Calboli 341 ff.; M. P. Nilsson, *Die Kausalsätze im Griech.* 1, *Die Poesie* (1907), 79-100 on Soph.

The rarity of ὅτι is notable, but this is paralleled by its single appearance also in Aesch. (*Eum*. 971): this is in contrast with its frequency in Classical prose, also in Aristoph. Even the use at *T*. 464 is not unambiguous: ... σφ' ἐγὼ [ᾤκτιρα ..., ὅτι [τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς τὸν βίον διώλεσεν. Such cases are not infrequent, with ὅτι serving to introduce a complement to a verb of *feeling* (Monteil 251). This ὅτι-clause can be seen as standing in the same relation as an accus. of respect, with ὅτι in its substantivising role: 'I pitied her with regard to the fact that her beauty brought her to ruin'. Compare for such substantivising use *P*. 1022 ἀλγύνομαι [τοῦτ' αὖθ' ὅτι ζῶ σὺν κακοῖς πολλοῖς (ὅτι-clause correlative to τοῦτο); *An*. 160 ('what plan has he') ὅτι σύγκλητον

τήνδε γερόντων προὔθετο λέσχην 'as to his proposing this special meeting of elders?'. *OC* 605 (ὅτι-clause takes up preceding πάθος).

Sophocles' preference for ὁθούνεκα is marked (7 uses, against Aesch. 1, Eur. 3): the use is restricted to Tragedy. Similarly his use of the word to substantivise is preponderant (12, against Aesch. 1, Eur. 1: Monteil 399). But his use of the simpler form οὕνεκα is not so exceptional: the usage, almost wholly poetical, goes back to Homer.

ὡς is the most used causal conj., apart from ἐπεί: it first came into favour in the latter part of C. 5th., and was adopted in colloquial speech (Monteil 358). The frequency of use is given as follows by Monteil: Aesch. 14, Soph. 56 (my figure 58), Eur. 120 c. The clause introduced by ὡς can usually be seen as paratactic (see § 3 below): a clear exception is *An.* 66 αἰτοῦσα τοὺς ὑπὸ χθονὸς [ξύγγνοιαν ἴσχειν, ὡς βιάζομαι τάδε, [τοῖς ἐν τέλει βεβῶσι πείσομαι. The most common context is following an imperative (Nilsson 96), where it justifies the giving of the order: *OT* 1050 σημήναθ', ὡς ὁ καιρὸς ηὑρῆσθαι τάδε, *T.* 453, *A.* 789, *An.* 1337. But an imperative is not found in the ὡς- clause (*pace* Nilsson): at *P.* 567 it is better to take ὡς with the participle (so Jebb). A striking series is found at *OT* 41 ff.: ἱκετεύομέν σε ... [ἀλκήν τιν' εὑρεῖν ἡμίν ...· ὡς τοῖσιν ἐμπείροισι καὶ τὰς ξυμφορὰς [ζώσας ὁρῶ μάλιστα τῶν βουλευμάτων. [... ἀνόρθωσον πόλιν· [ἴθ', εὐλαβήθηθ'· ὡς σὲ νῦν μὲν ἥδε γῆ [σωτῆρα κλῄζει ... (53) καὶ τανῦν ἴσος γενοῦ· [ὡς ... ξὺν ἀνδράσιν κάλλιον ἢ κενῆς (sc. γῆς) κρατεῖν· [ὡς οὐδέν ἐστιν οὔτε πύργος οὔτε ναῦς [ἔρημος ἀνδρῶν .... The first of these cases of ὡς follows, not an imper., but a request for aid, a close parallel to one: cf. ib. 922, where ὡς is after a prayer for assistance. In summary, ὡς following an imper. numbers 31 cases; after δεῖ, χρή, 2 (*P.* 53, *T.* 592); after verbal adj. in -τέος, 2 (*E.* 17, *P.* 117); after subj. in exhortation, 2 (*P.* 464, 635); after other passages implying an order, prohibition, or request, 7 (*P.* 812, *OT* 44, 365, 922, *OC* 1016, *E.* 369, *An.* 66); after opt. of wish, 3 (*OC* 425, 1691, *T.* 596): total, 47. The other uses are after questions, justifying their asking, 8 (*P.* 914, *OC* 937, 1074*, 1229*, *An.* 499, *T.* 385, *E.* 1112, 1446); and after statements, in explanation and justification, 3 (*OC* 1028, 1528, *A.* 141). What seems to lie at the root of this pattern of use is a form of asseveration, linked with the modal sense of ὡς ('how, as (surely as), to the extent that'): so, typically, a command, request, or prayer are supported by a statement vouched for by the speaker.

ἀνθ' ὧν is usual in the sense 'wherefore', where ὧν refers backwards to give the reason for what it introduces (e.g. *OC* 1295 ('I have been banished because I claimed the right to the throne, being the elder') ἀνθ' ὧν μ' Ἐτεοκλῆς ... γῆς ἐξέωσεν). In *An.* 1068 ἀνθ' ὧν refers forwards, itself

introducing a reason: ('soon you will pay the price of the death of one sprung from you in return for death', νέκυν νεκρῶν ἀμοιβὸν ἀντιδοὺς ἔσῃ) ἀνθ' ὧν ἔχεις μὲν τῶν ἄνω βαλὼν κάτω, | ψυχήν τ' ἀτίμως ἐν τάφῳ κατῴκισας ... 'because you have despatched below those of the living and placed a living soul with dishonour in the tomb'. ὧν (τούτων ἅ = τ. ὅτι) includes by assimilation an accus. ἅ which is in a loose adverbial relation to the following clauses; there is a parallel in Ar. *Pl.* 434 σφὼ ποιήσω ... δοῦναι δίκην | ἀνθ' ὧν ἐμὲ ζητεῖτον ἐνθένδ' ἀφανίσαι. In both examples the special sense of ἀντί 'in return for, retribution for' is in evidence, and contextually supported (ἀμοιβὸν ἀντιδούς, δοῦναι δίκην). Hence we have not here reached the stage where ἀνθ' ὧν can be a general equivalent of ὡς, ἐπεί, as in Hellenistic (Funk 112, cf. Mayser 2, 2, 375).

§ 2. *Modal usage*

Modal use in causal subordinates follows that of statements in principals, i.e. normally with tenses of the indicative. ἄν with indic. is used for a past (or present) unreal hypothesis: *P.* 1037 ἔξοιδα δ' ὡς μέλει γ', ἐπεὶ οὔποτ' ἂν στόλον | ἐπλεύσατ' ἂν τόνδ' ... εἰ μή τι κέντρον θεῖον ἦγ' ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ. A similar use with ἐπεί, with omission of the protasis, gives ἐπεί the value of 'since otherwise': *E.* 323 πέποιθ', ἐπεὶ τἂν οὐ μακρὰν ἔζων ἐγώ. 'I believe it, since otherwise (i.e. if I did not) I would not have lived so long'.

§ 3. *ἐπεί and ὡς in paratactic use*

Special note must be taken of cases with ἐπεί used paratactically, first with an optative of wish and with imperative. Optative: *OT* 661* οὐ τὸν πάντων θεῶν θεὸν πρόμον | Ἅλιον· ἐπεὶ ἄθεος ἄφιλος ὅ τι πύματον ὀλοίμαν, φρόνησιν εἰ τάνδ' ἔχω. Imperative: *E.* 352 οὐ ταῦτα πρὸς κακοῖσι δειλίαν ἔχει; | ἐπεὶ δίδαξον, ἢ μάθ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ, τί μοι | κέρδος γένοιτ' ἂν ..., *OC* 969 ἐπεὶ δίδαξον ... 'for (otherwise, if it is not so) tell me ...'. *OT* 390 ('what envy possesses you, that you so serve Creon, you, a blind seer, with your eye only on profit?') ἐπεὶ φέρ' εἰπέ, ποῦ σὺ μάντις εἶ σαφής; In these the ἐπεί-clause (which follows the expression that it justifies) has the status of an independent clause, and this permits the modal syntax. The paratactic use of ἐπεί is noted by Kühner-Gerth 2, 462, and has been studied by M. P. Nilsson, op. cit. 79 ff., who sees such use as originally taking precedence over the hypotactic use. Compare also G. Knebel, *Glotta* 38, 1960, 38-43, on ἐπεί in Homer where the ἐπεί-clause is not semantically linked with the grammatically principal clause (commenting on G. M. Bolling, ib. 18-38). Such use is not, of course, confined to passages with the special modal employment of optative and imperative (but it is worth while to note that

employment, since it is not found with the other causal conjunctions, and so serves to distinguish the parataxis specially clearly). Other examples are with the indic. in statement (*E.* 530, 1093*, *OT* 705, 1417, *OC* 1215*) or in question (*T.* 139*); with a potential optative with ἄν (*OC* 966); and with past unreal apodosis (*OT* 433, *P.* 948). Knebel analyses the Homeric uses into five types semantically, finding a common feature in ellipse. But all the above Sophoclean exx. belong to one only of his categories, that where ἐπεί introduces a fact which proves the correctness of what has been said (and which was not previously known to, or adequately recognized by, the person addressed). So *E.* 352: 'would not your advice add cowardice to our sorrows? (I can say this) for it would be cowardly to give in to our enemies, despite the comfortable life that would ensue'. Knebel notes that this type is found in *Odyssey*, but not in *Iliad*: thus *Od.* 1, 209 αἰνῶς μὲν κεφαλήν τε καὶ ὄμματα καλὰ ἔοικας [κείνῳ, ἐπεὶ θαμὰ τοῖον ἐμισγόμεθ' ἀλλήλοισι 'you are very like him ...: (I can say this) for we were often together'.

ὡς is also regularly used with weakening or absence of subordination. *A.* 131 τοιαῦτα τοίνυν εἰσορῶν ὑπέρκοπον [μηδέν ποτ' εἴπῃς αὐτὸς ἐς θεοὺς ἔπος, [μηδ' ὄγκον ἄρῃ μηδέν', εἴ τινος πλέον [ἢ χειρὶ βρίθεις ἢ μακροῦ πλούτου βάθει· [ὡς ἡμέρα κλίνει τε κἀνάγει πάλιν [ἅπαντα τἀνθρώπεια. Here subordination is not impossible, but gives the sentence an awkward length; hence editors have preferred to punctuate with a pause before ὡς. Another type is found in stichomythia: *P.* 812 οὐ μήν σ' ἔνορκόν γ' ἀξιῶ θέσθαι, τέκνον.—ὡς οὐ θέμις γ' ἐμοὔστι σοῦ μολεῖν ἄτερ 'I do not think it needful to put you on oath'.—'No, for it is not right for me to go without you'. *A.* 39 ('is my labour to good purpose?') ὡς ἔστιν ἀνδρὸς τοῦδε τἄργα ταῦτά σοι 'yes, for be assured (σοι) that these deeds are his'. Also *P.* 117. Alternatively such cases are taken as with ellipse of ἴσθι; but this would make σοι in *A.* 39 redundant. Cf. E. *Med.* 609, *Ph.* 625, 720 for similar use of ὡς.

CHAPTER TWENTY

COMPARATIVE CLAUSES

§ 1. *ὡς, ὅπως etc. introducing a noun, nominal phrase, etc.*

The conjunctions used to introduce clauses of comparison (and phrases, with which ellipse of a verb may often be supposed) are ὡς and ὅπως (the most common), ὥσπερ, ὥστε, ὡσεί, οἷα (-ον), ἅτε, ἅπερ, ἁπερεί, and exceptionally τώς. Kühner-Gerth 2, 490 ff.; Chantraine 250 ff.; Calboli 344; Monteil 237 ff.

In the simplest, and most wide-spread, form the conjunction introduces for purpose of comparison a noun, pronoun, adjective, or nominal phrase. *A*. 140 πεφόβημαι πτηνῆς ὡς ὄμμα πελείας. *P*. 777 ('pray') μή σοι γενέσθαι πολύπον' αὐτά, μηδ' ὅπως [ἐμοί τε .... *E*. 533 οὐχ ἴσον χαμὼν ἐμοὶ [λύπης ... ὥσπερ ἡ τίκτουσ' ἐγώ. Ib. 444 θανὼν ἄτιμος ὥστε δυσμενής. *An*. 653 ἀλλὰ πτύσας ὡσεί τε δυσμενῆ μέθες [τὴν παῖδ' ... νυμφεύειν τινί. *P*. 293 πάγου χυθέντος οἷα χείματι 'when frost has spread abroad, as (it spreads) in winter': cf. οἷον *T*. 130. ἅτε possibly only at *A*. 168 (anap.) παταγοῦσιν ἅτε πτηνῶν ἀγέλαι (ἅπερ v.l.): ἅτε conjectured at *OT* 478. *OT* 175* ἄλλῳ δ' ἂν ἄλλῳ προσίδοις ἅπερ εὔπτερον ὄρνιν ... ὄρμενον ... (Monteil 242: use as conjunction of ἅπερ only in Aesch. and Soph. in cases where the pronominal base is disregarded). *E*. 189* ἁπερεί τις ἔποικος ἀναξία [οἰκονομῶ θαλάμους πατρός. τώς at fr. 314, 296 ὡς αἰέλουρος εἰκάσαι πέφυκεν ἢ τὼς πόρδαλις; 'is it like a cat to look at, or like a panther?': parallels for this rare form in the satyr-play in Ar. *Ach*. 762 (spoken by a Megarian), and *A*. *Th*. 637 (see Schwyzer 577: τώς = οὕτως, ὥς 'thus', then τώς 'as' on the analogy of ὡς).

A sense of limitation can be conveyed. *OT* 1078 φρονεῖ γὰρ ὡς γυνὴ μέγα: 'she, as a woman, has proud thoughts' is equivalent to 'she, viewed as a woman, and not as a man, is too proud'. Ib. 1118 πιστὸς ὡς νομεὺς ἀνήρ 'trustworthy for a shepherd'. *OC* 20 μακρὰν γαρ ὡς γέροντι προὐστάλης ὁδόν (dative of γέροντι linked with μακράν 'distant for an old man', rather than independently as Monteil 342). The dative of the person making a judgement is found: *OC* 76 εἶ [γενναῖος ὡς ἰδόντι 'you are noble, to judge by appearance'. *A*. 395* ὡς ἐμοί. *E*. 761 ὡς μὲν ἐν λόγῳ [ἀλγεινά 'painful if only in report' (contrasted with the effect on those who saw it). *A*. 537 τί δῆτ' ἂν ὡς ἐκ τῶνδ' ἂν ὠφελοῖμί σε; here ὡς ἐκ τῶνδε 'in the present situation' hints at the limitation which the speaker feels in making the offer, because of the possible dangers. *OC* 15 πύργοι ... [... ὡς ἀπ' ὀμμάτων πρόσω 'at a

distance, to judge by the evidence of sight'. With οἷα: *P.* 584 πόλλ' ... [δρῶν ἀντιπάσχω χρηστά θ', οἷ ἀνὴρ πένης 'I receive many benefits, for a poor man'. οἷα also *OT* 751, 763.

§ 2. *Introducing a participle*

With a participle (circumstantial, or supplementary) the basic sense of 'as, in the manner of' (Lat. *quemadmodum*) survives, but also gives rise to further development. See Ch. 14 §§ 7, 13.

With participle in agreement with the subject: *T.* 160 ἀλλ' ὥς τι δράσων εἷρπε κοὐ θανούμενος 'he used to go like one about to do great deeds, and not about to die'. Ib. 161 νῦν δ' ὡς ἔτ' οὐκ ὢν εἶπε ... 'he said, as if on the point of death' (Heracles was then not in fact in such a situation). *OC* 732 ἥκω γὰρ οὐχ ὡς δρᾶν τι βουληθείς 'I have come not with the will to use force': the clause ὡς ... βουλ. shows the guise in which he appears, and how his hearers are to view him. *An.* 242 δηλοῖς δ' ὥς τι σημανῶν νέον 'it is plain that you have news to tell': cf. *A.* 326 δῆλός ἐστιν ὥς τι δρασείων κακόν. *E.* 804 ἆρ' ὑμὶν ὡς ἀλγοῦσα κὠδυνωμένη [δεινῶς δακρῦσαι ... δοκεῖ ...; 'do you think she wept bitterly, as expected from (in the manner of) one who is stricken by pain and grief?': this can (but need not) have a causal sense 'because she felt ...'. *A.* 284 ἅπαν μαθήσει τοὔργον, ὡς κοινωνὸς ὤν 'you will learn all, as being (since you are) involved'. *An.* 1063 ὡς μὴ 'μπολήσων ἴσθι τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα 'be assured you will not profit from my purpose': ὡς ... 'μπολ., of the light in which the one addressed is to view himself (but ὡς adds nothing to the sense, since ἴσθι serves the same purpose: see the exx. with ἴσθι etc. to be treated next).

With participle in oblique case: *OT* 353 ('I bid you abide by your proclamation ...') ὡς ὄντι γῆς τῆσδ' ἀνοσίῳ μιάστορι (causal). *OC* 465 ὡς νῦν πᾶν τελοῦντι προξένει 'be my protector, in the knowledge that I shall fulfil every function' (circumstantial). Ib. 1155. *P.* 202* κτύπος φωτὸς ὡς τειρομένου (modal). With genitive absolute: *E.* 316 ὡς νῦν ἀπόντος ἱστόρει (circumstantial/causal). *OT* 11, 145, *An.* 1179.

After verbs of *knowing*, *saying*. *P.* 415 ὡς μηκέτ' ὄντα κεῖνον ... νόει. The transl. 'think of him as of one who sees the light no more' (Jebb) is at first sight natural, and gives a clear value to ὡς: but is it right? It suggests enjoining a curiously detached reflection and contemplation. Dain has 'sache qu' Ajax a quitté le jour'. We cannot separate the passage from *T.* 289 φρόνει νιν ὡς ἥξοντα, where 'think of him as about to come' would be absurd; rather, it is 'know that he will come' (Dain, 'compte qu'il reviendra'). For φρονῶ with the value 'be aware, have knowledge', cf. *T.* 1145 φρονῶ δὴ ξυμφορᾶς ἵν' ἕσταμεν, and *A.* 942 with contrast between δοκεῖν and

φρονεῖν. So then *P.* 415 'understand that he is no more' (for νοεῖν with this sense, cf. *OC* 1034 νοεῖς τι τούτων ...; 'do you understand anything of what I say?'). With ἀγγέλλω: *OT* 956 ('he has come from Corinth') πατέρα τὸν σὸν ἀγγελῶν [ὡς οὐκέτ' ὄντα, *E.* 1341 ἤγγειλας ... ὡς τεθνηκότα (sc. με). With οἶδα: *P.* 253 ὡς μηδὲν εἰδότ' ἴσθι με. With ἐπίσταμαι: *OT* 848 ὡς φανὲν τοὔπος ὧδ' ἐπίστασο 'know that the story was so told', *P.* 567 ὡς ταῦτ' ἐπίστω δρώμεν', οὐ μέλλοντ' ἔτι. These cases, where ὡς is essentially redundant, are to be understood as an extension of the use where ὡς with participle supplies the background of knowledge which the speaker, or another, possesses, as in *OT* 353 and *OC* 465 (quoted above). In *OT* 353 ὡς ὄντι ... μιάστορι refers to the knowledge that the speaker (Teiresias) has about Oedipus, which enables him to give his command; in *OC* 465 ὡς ... τελοῦντι refers to what the person addressed (the Coryphaeus) is to assume, in doing what he is bidden. But where the governing verb is *itself* an imperative of *knowing* (φρόνει νιν ὡς ἥξοντα, ὡς μηδὲν εἰδότ' ἴσθι με), the addition of ὡς serves as a repetition of the injunction to 'know': its effect may be to emphasise (so Goodwin § 916), but it may have become no more than a stylistic mannerism. In use with ἀγγέλλω (*OT* 956 πατέρα ἀγγελῶν ὡς οὐκέτ' ὄντα) ὡς may have more point, possibly adding an assurance (that the death has occurred) to the plain statement of the message. Cf. Kühner-Gerth 2, 94 f.; Schwyzer 397.

ὡς with prepositional phrases also is used of what is in mind, of purpose. *P.* 58 πλεῖς ὡς πρὸς οἶκον 'you sail with intention to go home'. *T.* 532 θροεῖ ... ὡς ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ 'he speaks ... intending to depart'. *A.* 44.

§ 3. *Summary of other subordinate uses*

(1) Exclamation. *An.* 320 οἴμ' ὡς ἄλημα ... εἶ, ib. 82. Without introductory interjection: ib. 997, *E.* 808. (2) In parenthesis, to qualify. *E.* 566 πατήρ ποθ' οὑμός, ὡς ἐγὼ κλύω, ... ἐξεκίνησεν ποδοῖν [... ἔλαφον. Ib. 1114, *OT* 114. *T.* 1238 ἀνὴρ ὅδ' ὡς ἔοικεν οὐ νεμεῖν ἐμοὶ [φθίνοντι μοῖραν (νέμειν codd.): blending of ἔοικεν οὐ νεμεῖν and ὡς ἔοικεν οὐ νεμεῖ. (3) Relative and interrogative use, serving also as completive clauses. *OT* 1376 ('offspring') βλαστοῦσ' ὅπως ἔβλαστε 'born as they were born'. *OC* 974 φανεὶς δύστηνος, ὡς ἐγὼ 'φάνην. *A.* 1369 ὡς ἂν ποήσῃς (indef.) 'in whatever way you do it'. ὥστε used so rarely (Epicism): *T.* 699 ῥεῖ πᾶν ἄδηλον ... [μορφῇ μάλιστ' εἰκαστὸν ὥστε πρίονος [ἐκβρώματ' ἂν βλέψειας ἐν τομῇ ξύλου. Ib. 112*, frr. 474. 4 (see Pearson), 840. These uses are all in simile, as commonly in Homer. Cf. A. fr. 39, E. *Ba.* 1066. ὥσπερ: *P.* 889 μ' ἔπαιρ' ὥσπερ νοεῖς. *An.* 750 ταύτην ποτ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὡς ἔτι ζῶσαν γαμεῖς 'there is no way in which ..., you cannot ...', *P.* 196 (conj.). This phrase more often as οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως: *P.*

522, *An.* 329, etc. *OT* 543 οἶσθ' ὡς πόησον 'do you know how you must act?' (πόησον = χρὴ ποῆσαι). *OC* 75 οἶσθ' ... ὡς νῦν μὴ σφαλῇς; '... how you must avoid disaster?' (μὴ σφαλῇς = χρὴ μὴ σφαλῆναι, the whole abbreviated for ὡς χρὴ ποῆσαι ἵνα μὴ σφαλῇς): see Kühner-Gerth 1, 239, and Ch. 12 § 7 (imperative in subordinates). *OT* 547 ἄκουσον ὡς ἐρῶ. *A.* 347 προσβλέπειν ... ὡς ἔχων κυρεῖ. Ib. 270 οὐ κάτοιδ' ὅπως λέγεις. (4) Of the object of *effort, contriving*, etc., with future verb. In a number of cases the ὅπως-clause conveys an order, which is introduced by varied expressions of exhortation, appeal and command. *P.* 78 τοῦτο δεῖ σοφισθῆναι, κλοπεὺς [ὅπως γενήσῃ τῶν ... ὅπλων '... to contrive how you will steal the arms'. *A.* 1040 ὅπως κρύψεις τάφῳ [φράζου τὸν ἄνδρα (v.l. κρύψῃς) 'take thought how you will bury ...', so 'contrive the burial'. *E.* 955 εἰς σὲ δὴ βλέπω [ὅπως ... μὴ κατοκνήσεις κτανεῖν [Αἴγισθον (v.l. -οκνήσῃς) 'I look to you not to shrink from killing A.'. *A.* 567 ... κείνῳ τ' ἐμὴν ἀγγείλατ' ἐντολήν, ὅπως [τὸν παῖδα τόνδε ... [Τελαμῶνι δείξει (v.l. δείξῃ) 'give him my order, that he shows ...'. *T.* 604 φράζ' ὅπως μηδεὶς βροτῶν [κείνου πάροιθεν ἀμφιδύσεται χροΐ [μηδ' ὄψεταί νιν ... (v.l. -δύσηται: but future guaranteed by following ὄψεται) 'tell him that no one is to put it on before him ...': there is no need to suppose ellipse of σκοπεῖν (Kamerbeek, Longo) to introduce the ὅπως-clause, any more than in *A.* 567 where it is obviously inappropriate (cf. Goodwin § 355). Compare further δεῖ σ' ὅπως with future. *A.* 556 δεῖ σ' ὅπως πατρὸς [δείξεις ... οἷος ἐξ οἵου 'τράφης (v.l. δείξῃς) 'you must show what sort of man you are, sprung from what sort of father': the force of the injunction is increased by the sense of obligation in δεῖ (Jebb speaks of the 'admonitory tone'). *P.* 55 similarly. Kalén finds the use colloquial; see Cratin. fr. 108K δεῖ σ' ὅπως ... ἀλεκτρυόνος μηδὲν διοίσεις (Goodwin § 360). Syntactically it is a blend of δεῖ plus infin. with the ὅπως-clause of exhortation. With the subjunctive the use is equivalent to a final clause: *E.* 1402 (ἧξα) φρουρήσουσ' ὅπως [Αἴγισθος ἡμᾶς μὴ λάθῃ μολὼν ἔσω '... to keep watch that A. does not enter unobserved' (Goodwin § 339).

§ 4. *Independent injunctive use of ὅπως*

Independent use of ὅπως with the future occurs in an injunctive sense, probably by extension from the uses just examined. *E.* 1296 οὕτω δ' ὅπως μήτηρ σε μὴ 'πιγνώσεται [φαιδρῷ προσώπῳ 'let not our mother find you out by the sight of your shining face'. The presence of οὕτω suggests ellipse of such a verb as πρᾶσσε (so Kamerbeek): so too Ar. *Ran.* 905 οὕτω δ' ὅπως ἐρεῖτον [ἀστεῖα. Without οὕτω: *OT* 1518 γῆς μ' ὅπως πέμψεις ἄποικον (v.l. πέμψῃς) 'send me away from the land'. Cf. fr. 697. The use is colloquial Attic, especially favoured by Aristophanes (Goodwin § 273, Monteil 370).

(T. Kalén, *Skrifter K. Hum. Vet.-Samf. i Uppsala*, 1940, 34, 2, regards such clauses, to which he ascribes a sense of wish, as derived from a 'free' final clause which is not logically subordinate to the principal: he compares the final clause of *P.* 989 Ζεὺς ἔσθ', ἵν' εἰδῇς, Ζεύς ... ᾧ δέδοκται ταῦθ', with the imperative ib. 977 'Οδυσσέως, σάφ' ἴσθ', ἐμοῦ γ', ὃν εἰσορᾷς. But rather, more simply, take ἵν' εἰδῇς as elliptical: '(I tell you) that you may know, it is Zeus ...': cf. Schwyzer 674. The unusual early placing of this final clause may be associated with its logical independence: compare with this *T.* 678 ὡς δ' εἰδῇς ἅπαν, ... μείζον' ἐκτενῶ λόγον, Theoc. 2, 142.)

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES

§ 1. *Introduction*

Consecutive clauses introduced by ὥστε are the most frequent. Monteil 349 gives the following statistics of occurrence of ὡς and ὥστε: Aesch. ὡς 12, ὥστε 29; Soph. ὡς 5, ὥστε 83; Eur. ὡς 1, ὥστε 105. In modal use the infinitive in all consecutives, uniform before C. Vth., shows regression in Tragedy: Aesch. 36 infin. out of 38, Soph. 33 infin. out of 87, Eur. 89 infin. out of 106 (Monteil 350). Where the infin. is not used, its place is generally taken by the indicative (so first used in C. Vth.). A semantic distinction is often sought, with the indic. used for an actual result (or, in the future, what is regarded as a certain consequence), and the infin. for a natural or likely consequence. But a firm separation is not in fact possible, since (a) what is a natural result is also often what actually occurs, and (b) some continued use of the infin. for actual result would be expected (and is still found in *N. T.*). See Schwyzer 677 ff.; Burguière 78 f.; Calboli 338.

§ 2. *ὥστε and infinitive*

Of a likely or natural result, usually viewed in its generality. *E.* 322 πέφυκεν ἐσθλὸς ὥστ' ἀρκεῖν φίλοις 'his nature is noble, so that he will help his friends' (this consequence is to be expected). Ib. 355 λυπῶ δὲ τούτους, ὥστε τῷ τεθνηκότι | τιμὰς προσάπτειν 'I cause them annoyance, and as a result pay honour to the dead'. *OT* 1460 ἄνδρες εἰσίν, ὥστε μὴ | σπάνιν ποτὲ σχεῖν ... τοῦ βίου 'they are men, and so will never lack sustenance'. But the result can be a definite, single event in the past: *A.* 1325 τί γάρ σ' ἔδρασεν, ὥστε καὶ βλάβην ἔχειν; 'what did he do to you, so as actually to cause hurt?'. Ib. 453 ('the goddess led me astray with wild frenzy') ὥστ' ἐν τοιοῖσδε χεῖρας αἱμάξαι βοτοῖς 'so that I stained my hands with the blood of these creatures'. *OC* 1624. The negative is regularly μή (e.g. *OT* 1460); but exceptionally with οὐ *E.* 780 (see Ch. 23 § 4(c)).

The infin. with ἄν replaces a potential optative with ἄν (first in C. Vth.). *OT* 374 μιᾶς τρέφει πρὸς νυκτός, ὥστε μήτ' ἐμὲ | μήτ' ἄλλον ... βλάψαι ποτ' ἄν 'you live in unbroken night, and so would never be able to do hurt to me, nor to any other ...'. The expression is close in meaning to that with the simple infin., giving in each case the inevitable conclusion (cf. *OT* 1460 above without ἄν); the addition of ἄν makes the conclusion (being nega-

tived) more unrealisable: 'you could never hurt me, no matter how you tried'. *E.* 1316 (linked with optative in a protasis). Replacing aor. indic. with ἄν (past unreal condition): ib. 755 νιν ... ἔλυσαν αἱματηρόν, ὥστε μηδένα [γνῶναι φίλων ἰδόντ' ἂν ἄθλιον δέμας '... in such a state that none of his intimates, seeing him, would have recognized his poor body' (the protasis expressed by ἰδόντα).

ὥστε can have a limiting, conditional sense. *P.* 1392 οὐδέποθ' ἑκόντα γ' ὥστε τὴν Τροίαν ἰδεῖν '(never will they save my life) if the result is to be (i.e. on the condition) that I consent to see Troy'. *OC* 602 πῶς σ' ἂν πεμφαίαθ' ὥστ' οἰκεῖν δίχα; 'how could they have you summoned, if you have to live apart?'.

Where the subject of the infinitive is different from that of the leading clause, it is put in the accus. *OT* 1045 ἦ κἄστ' ἔτι ζῶν οὗτος, ὥστ' ἰδεῖν ἐμέ; 'is he still living, so that I can see him?'. *A.* 453, *E.* 780, *OC* 1624. This usage appears first in Soph.

In *OC* 1191 ὥστε ... θέμις εἶναι, θέμις is treated as indeclinable.

§ 3. *ὥστε and finite moods*

ὥστε with the indicative (first in C. Vth.) states the actual result objectively. *OT* 533 τοσόνδ' ἔχεις [τόλμης πρόσωπον ὥστε τὰς ἐμὰς στέγας [ἵκου; *T.* 255, *OC* 82, *E.* 275. The fut. indic. is used of what will (in the speaker's view) certainly happen: ib. 1204 ἀλλ' ἐστὶν εὔνουν, ὥστε πρὸς πιστὰς ἐρεῖς. *A.* 98 ('have you taken arms against the Atreidae also?') - ὥστ' οὔποτ' Αἴανθ' οἵδ' ἀτιμάσουσ' ἔτι 'yes, so that never again will they dishonour Ajax'. *OT* 135; ib. 411 (fut. perf.). The negative, normally οὐ, is exceptionally μή at *T.* 576: see Ch. 23 § 4(c).

With ἄν and optative a potential result in the future is expressed (also first in C. Vth.): the difference from the infin. (replacing opt.) with ἄν is that the possibility, or likelihood, is stated without implying that it is a natural and inevitable conclusion. *OT* 857 ('my son could not have killed Laius') ὥστ' οὐχὶ μαντείας γ' ἂν οὔτε τῇδ' ἐγὼ [βλέψαιμ' ἂν οὕνεκ' οὔτε τῇδ' ἂν ὕστερον 'and so hereafter I would not be guided in one direction or another with regard to prophesy'. *E.* 333 ('I am pained by these conditions') ὥστ' ἄν, εἰ σθένος [λάβοιμι, δηλώσαιμ' ἂν οἷ' αὐτοῖς φρονῶ. *OC* 565, *A.* 213.

§ 4. *Redundant use of ὥστε with infinitive*

A weakened use of ὥστε with infin. sees it as substituting for the simple infin., in an objective relationship, or as complement of impersonal verbs (Burguière 88 f.). *P.* 901 οὐ δή σε δυσχέρεια τοῦ νοσήματος [ἔπεισεν ὥστε μή μ' ἄγειν ναύτην; (ἔπαισεν v.l.) 'it was not disgust at my disease, was it, which

persuaded you not to take me on the ship?'. So after δικαιῶ 'think fit' *OC* 1350; παρίημι 'allow' ib. 570; ἐξαναγκάζω 'compel' fr. 314, 214; θέσφατον ἱκνεῖτο 'it was prophesied' *OC* 970; ἔστιν 'it is possible' *P.* 656; πάρεστι 'id.' *E.* 1454; συμβαίνει 'it happens' *T.* 1152.

§ 5. *ὥστε in parataxis*

ὥστε is found introducing clauses with independent status (Schwyzer 680). We should so explain imperative after ὥστε: *E.* 1172 θνητὸς δ' Ὀρέστης· ὥστε μὴ λίαν στένε. Other examples at *A.* 213, 1342, *P.* 75, *OT* 65. For *OT* 1529 (of doubtful authenticity) see Ch. 13 § 7.

§ 6. *ὡς with infinitive and indicative*

ὡς consecutive occurs chiefly with the infin. *OT* 84 ξύμμετρος γὰρ ὡς κλύειν 'he is within range so as to hear us'. *An.* 303 χρόνῳ ποτ' ἐξέπραξαν ὡς δοῦναι δίκην 'in time they achieve such an end as to suffer punishment' (gnomic). With indic.: *T.* 590 οὕτως ἔχει γ' ἡ πίστις, ὡς τὸ μὲν δοκεῖν | ἔνεστι, πείρᾳ δ' οὐ προσωμίλησά πω 'my confidence is such, that there is appearance (of success), but I have not yet put it to the test'. This last use is paralleled by A. *Pers.* 730 (Goodwin § 608). It is like that of ὥστε with indic. in referring to a particular conclusion which is not inevitable or naturally expectable.

§ 7. *ὅπως with infinitive*

Exceptionally ὅπως is used. *A.* 378 οὐ γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν ταῦθ' ὅπως οὐχ ὧδ' ἔχειν 'this could not turn out so as not to be thus'. This is built upon ὅπως with indic. (e.g. *OT* 1058 οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο τοῦθ' ὅπως ... οὐ φανῶ τοὐμὸν γένος 'it cannot happen that I shall not disclose my birth'), where ὅπως substantivises its clause; the infin. ἔχειν is the result of blending with constructions with ὡς or ὥστε and infin. (Kühner-Gerth 2, 377, n. 7 and 13, n. 11). As Jebb points out, an important factor is the attraction of the phrase οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ (e.g. *E.* 1479).

§ 8. *Other consecutive uses*

Consecutive clauses are also introduced by relative pronouns: see Ch. 15 § 14.

For the use of the infinitive alone (with and without article) in a consecutive context, see Ch. 13 §§ 2, 12.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

SUBSTANTIVE CLAUSES

§ 1. *After verbs of 'saying' and 'thinking', introduced by a conjunction*

Clauses after verbs of 'saying' and 'thinking' are introduced by the conjunctions ὅτι, οὕνεκα, ὁθούνεκα, ὡς and ὅπως. Schwyzer 546 ff.; Humbert 182 ff.; Calboli 338 ff.; Monteil 249 ff.; Fournier, *Les verbes 'dire' en grec ancien*.

ὅτι occurs more after verbs of 'knowing, thinking' etc. than after verbs of 'saying', in the proportion of 23:6. Similar figures for Aesch., 4:1; for Eur., 6:4 (Monteil 250). The clause introduced by ὅτι is generally expressed objectively, the basic sense of the conj. being 'the fact that'. So often with οἶδα: *OT* 59 εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι | νοσεῖτε πάντες 'I know well the fact that you are all afflicted'. *OC* 666, *An*. 98, *T*. 439. Also parenthetically οἶδ' ὅτι *An*. 276, ἴσθ' ὅτι ib. 758. With γιγνώσκω *P*. 405, *An*. 188; ἐπίσταμαι *A*. 678. With φρονῶ: *OC* 872 φρονοῦσ' ὅτι | ἔργοις πεπονθὼς ῥήμασίν σ' ἀμύνομαι 'they are aware that I, a sufferer in deeds, protect myself from you with words'. *An*. 61 ἐννοεῖν χρὴ τοῦτο μὲν γυναῖχ' ὅτι | ἔφυμεν. With *verba declarandi* etc.: *E*. 1106 δήλωσον εἰσελθοῦσ' ὅτι | Φωκῆς ματεύουσ' ἄνδρες Αἴγισθόν τινες 'go in and report that men from Phocis are looking for A.'. The report is in fact false, but the one addressed (Electra) is not to know this at this stage: it is presented therefore as being the truth. ἐξερῶ *An*. 325; ἀγγέλλω *T*. 1110. In such cases what is reported etc. is stated objectively, as being true (or what is regarded as certain: *An*. 325). But contrast *E*. 44 λόγῳ δὲ χρῶ τοιῷδ', ὅτι ξένος μὲν εἶ ... 'use such a story as this, that you are a stranger': the Paedagogus is instructed to give a false story. So too ib. 47 ἄγγελλε ὁθούνεκα. (Hardly to be explained as by Stahl 550, on the ground that the Paedagogus must *represent* it as true: this is always the case with intentional deceit, as in E. *Ba*. 335 καταψεύδου καλῶς | ὡς ἔστι (sc. θεός), which is one of the cases quoted by Stahl to illustrate the use of ὡς in deception.) So also *OT* 525 τοὔπος δ' ἐφάνθη ταῖς ἐμαῖς γνώμαις ὅτι | πεισθεὶς ὁ μάντις τοὺς λόγους ψευδεῖς λέγοι; (τοῦ πρὸς δ' v.l.): the speaker rejects the idea in the ὅτι-clause.

οὕνεκα and ὁθούνεκα are basically causal, and are used in similar contexts by analogy with ὅτι (Monteil 268 f.). So οὕνεκα with οἶδα *P*. 232, μανθάνω *OT* 708, αἰσθάνομαι *E*. 1478, διδάσκω *T*. 934, ἐξαγγέλλω *OC* 1395. The

form ὁθούνεκα is restricted to Tragedy, and especially to Soph.: *OT* 572, *E.* 47, 617, 1308, *T.* 813, *OC* 944, 1006. Note an exceptional use of ὁθούνεκα at *OT* 1271 (describing Oedipus' self-blinding): ('he stabbed his eyes') αὐδῶν τοιαῦθ', ὁθούνεκ' οὐκ ὄψοιντό νιν .... In this highly charged context the usually matter-of-fact ὁθ. is a surprising use.

ὡς, which has a modal sense, is much used in contexts which may be grouped under the general head 'subjective' (see Stahl 548 ff., Fournier 156 ff.). After negatived verbs (of what is rejected or forbidden): *E.* 1289 μήτε μήτηρ ὡς κακὴ δίδασκέ με. *A.* 481 οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ ποθ' ὡς ὑπόβλητον λόγον ... ἔλεξας 'no one will be able to claim that ...'. *OT* 1369, *E.* 552, *OC* 1096. Otherwise, where what is said is false, or uncertain: *E.* 57 ('we shall bring an agreeable, but false, report') τοὐμὸν ὡς ἔρρει δέμας [φλογιστὸν ἤδη. Ib. 521, 560. *OT* 843 λῃστὰς ἔφασκες αὐτὸν ἄνδρας ἐννέπειν [ὥς νιν κατακτείνειαν. *E.* 347 ('you claim this, but do not live up to it'). *P.* 346 ... λέγοντες, εἴτ' ἀληθὲς εἴτ' ἄρ' οὖν μάτην, [ὡς οὐ θέμις γίγνοιτο ... [... τὰ πέργαμ' ἄλλον ἢ 'μ' ἑλεῖν: what was reported to him is true, but the speaker of the lines is uncertain of its truth. In others, the governing clause has affect, there is affective involvement of the speaker in the situation. *An.* 694 ἀκούειν ... τάδε, [τὴν παῖδα ταύτην οἵ' ὀδύρεται πόλις, [πασῶν γυναικῶν ὡς ἀναξιωτάτη [... φθίνει. *A.* 998 ὀξεῖα γάρ σου βάξις ... [διῆλθ' Ἀχαιοὺς πάντας ὡς οἴχῃ θανών: the report (in fact true) is ὀξεῖα, which may be 'swift', but can equally carry the sense 'bitter'. *E.* 526 (after πρόσχημα 'your claim, pretext'—also of what is true, and admitted). In a situation of threat: *A.* 727, *T.* 265, 267. Of taunting: *OT* 780.

ὡς is also used looking to the future. So of what needs to be done: *An.* 272 ἦν δ' ὁ μῦθος ὡς ἀνοιστέον [σοὶ τοὔργον εἴη. Similarly with πείθω, *OT* 555. In prophesy and replies of oracles: *OT* 713 χρησμὸς ἦλθε ... ὡς αὐτὸν ἥξοι μοῖρα πρὸς παιδὸς θανεῖν (ἥξει v.l.), ib. 791, *P.* 611, 1340. In a proverbial expression: *T.* 2.

ὅπως is similar in use to ὡς, and may retain a strong modal sense. All examples are after a negatived main verb. On this association with a negative, see Monteil 372, Fournier 161: it is suggested that a question is implied in the subordinate clause, only to be rejected or denied. *OT* 548 τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μή μοι φράζ', ὅπως οὐκ εἶ κακός 'do not try to tell me just this, that (or, in what way) you are not base' (parodying the previous line, in which ὡς (ἄκουσον ὡς ἐρῶ) is modal). *An.* 223 ἐρῶ μὲν οὐχ ὅπως σπουδῆς ὕπο [δύσπνους ἱκάνω 'I shall not say that (or, how) I have come breathless through haste'. Ib. 685, *E.* 963. Notice here the elliptical use of οὐχ ὅπως (Goodwin § 708): *E.* 796 πεπαύμεθ' ἡμεῖς, οὐχ ὅπως σὲ παύσομεν '*we* have been silenced—still less have we thought of silencing *you*'

§ 2. *Associated modal use*

The subord. clause introduced by ὅτι etc. takes the indicative, or potential optative with ἄν, retained from direct speech, after primary leading verbs. After historic verbs the usual mood is optative. *OT* 780 καλεῖ (hist. prest.) ... πλαστὸς ὡς εἴην πατρί. *T.* 432 ἤκουσεν ὡς ταύτης πόθῳ [πόλις δαμείη πᾶσα. For further examples see Ch. 12 § 16(vi).

Special note may be taken here of the use of the future optative for fut. indic., as in *OT* 713 ἥξοι (quoted above). This use, first found in C. Vth., was specially favoured in Tragedy by Soph. (Fournier 178). Aesch. has it after λέγω (*Pers.* 360 ἔλεξε ... ὡς ... ἐκσωσοίατο and in a subsidiary conditional clause in indirect speech (ib. 369). Soph. has similar use consistently. Thus in a subord. clause after ὡς in addition to *OT* 713, ib. 538-9, *A.* 727; after ὁθούνεκα *OT* 1271, *T.* 941. Further (virtual *oratio obliqua*) in a conditional protasis, where the apodosis (which would be in indirect speech) is replaced by an alternative expression. *P.* 353 ἔπειτα μέντοι χὠ λόγος καλὸς προσῆν, [εἰ τἀπὶ Τροίᾳ πέργαμ' αἱρήσοιμ' ἰών 'then too there was attraction in their reasoning, if I should go and capture the citadel at Troy' (his thought had been, 'I shall win glory if I capture Troy', *vel sim.*). *A.* 313 (with reading φανοίην), *An.* 414, *P.* 376.

For further examples in virtual indirect speech, see Ch. 12 § 16 (vi).

The indic. is rarely used instead of the opt. after historic verbs. *A.* 999 ὀξεῖα γάρ σου βάξις ... [διῆλθ' Ἀχαιοὺς πάντας ὡς οἴχῃ θανών (of what is true). *E.* 521 ἐξεῖπας ὡς θρασεῖα ... [ἄρχω (of what is rejected).

Finally, a mixed construction (ὡς with accus. and infin.) is seen at *OC* 385 ἤδη γὰρ ἔσχες ἐλπίδ' ὡς ἐμοῦ θεοὺς [ὤραν τιν' ἕξειν. See Fournier 180 with examples after λέγω, εἶπον with ὡς, ὅτι from Hdt., Thuc., Lys.

§ 3. *Indirect questions*

Indirect questions are introduced by a variety of forms: interrogative pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs, and relatives, as well as εἰ and μή. Notice the equivalence of τίς, ὅστις and ὅς in the following: *P.* 238 ὅπως εἰδῶ τίς εἶ, *T.* 321 ξυμφορά τοι μὴ εἰδέναι σέ γ' ἥτις εἶ, *OT* 1068 μή ποτε γνοίης ὃς εἶ. Cf. further *OC* 1171, *A.* 1259 for ὅς. ποῦ *P.* 544, 833* (with ποῖ); ὅπου *OT* 924, etc. πῶς *T.* 991, *OC* 1711 (cf. A. *Eum.* 677, E. *IT* 256); ὅπως *An.* 272, etc. μή can introduce an indirect question after verbs of *knowing*, *inquiring*, and has been said to be used where there is an underlying sense of fear and apprehension: this notion is connected with derivation from the construction after verbs of *fearing* (so Goodwin § 369, Jebb on *An.* 1253). But such derivation is unnecessarily involved, and mistaken. The source

is, more simply, μή in introduction of a direct question (see Ch. 23 § 3). *An.* 278 ἐμοί τοι μή τι καὶ θεήλατον [τοὖργον τόδ' ἡ ξύννοια βουλεύει πάλαι 'I have long been considering whether perhaps this deed is a god's work'. Goodwin § 369 wrongly writes of 'anxiety lest this is the work of the Gods'; in fact, the Chorus is making a tentative suggestion which would provide a way out of a difficult situation. Cf. for such absence of apprehension Plat. *Lach.* 196 c ὁρῶμεν μὴ Νικίας οἴεταί τι λέγειν. On the other hand, apprehension *may* be felt: so at *An.* 1253 ἀλλ' εἰσόμεσθα μή τι καὶ κατάσχετον [κρυφῇ καλύπτει καρδίᾳ, and at *E.* 898 (if the reading ἐγχρίμπτει is taken).

In alternative questions there is doubt concerning *OC* 80 κρινοῦσί γε [ἤ (εἰ edd.) χρή σε μίμνειν, ἢ πορεύεσθαι πάλιν. The use of ἤ in the first of such questions is Homeric, and a few examples occur in the MSS of Tragedy (A. *Cho.* 755, 890, *PV* 780; S. *OC* 80; E. *Med.* 493). Emendation to εἰ is generally a simple solution (*PV* 780 need not be a question), and is probably right: it is hard to see what would be the point in imitating Homeric use in this small feature. See Jebb ad loc. (App.), also Page on E. *Med.*

Modal use in indirect questions follows the same pattern as in the substantive clauses just treated. In primary sequence, *An.* 41, *T.* 401, *P.* 22, ib. 338 (with delib. subj.); in historic sequence, *A.* 314, *OC* 362, *An.* 272, *OT* 71 (these two last with optative for delib. subj.).

§ 4. *Substantive clauses with the infinitive*

Substantive clauses employing the infinitive provide an additional construction after verbs of *saying* and *thinking*. With φημί the infin. is obligatory; with λέγω the infin. is more usual than the construction with finite verbs after ὡς or ὅτι etc. in the proportion of 10:4 (Fournier 146 ff., who also quotes the proportion of 14:2 for Aesch.). F. describes the use of the infin. as not only more concise, but also archaic and sententious. The infin. also has a subjective note, contrasted with the objective construction with ὅτι.

First, the infin. is used without expression of the subject (which is usually the same for both principal and subordinate clauses). *An.* 443 φημὶ δρᾶσαι 'I admit I did it'. *E.* 1209 οὔ φημ' ἐάσειν. Ib. 9 φάσκειν Μυκήνας ... ὁρᾶν 'you may say' (imperatival) 'it is Mycenae you see'. *T.* 422 τίς ... μαρτυρήσει ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κλύειν παρών; (παρών nominative, in agreement with the unexpressed subject). *P.* 941 ὀμόσας ἀπάξειν ... με. *T.* 255 (ὅρκον διώμοσεν). *OC* 626 (ἐρῶ). Then, with change of subject: *OC* 91 ... ὅς μοι ... ταύτην ἔλεξε παῦλαν ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ ...· ἐνταῦθα κάμψειν τὸν ταλαίπωρον βίον 'he spoke of this rest for me after a long time .... (He said that) I would

end the course of my unhappy life there'. Cf. the use of the articular infin. (Goodwin § 794; Burguière 107 f.): *P.* 118 οὐκ ἂν ἀρνοίμην τὸ δρᾶν 'I would not deny the doing' (i.e. 'that I did it'). *An.* 535 τοῦδε τοῦ τάφου [φήσεις μετασχεῖν, ἢ 'ξομῇ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι;. Both of these have identity of subject.

The accus. with infin. normally marks a change of subject. *An.* 282 λέγεις γὰρ οὐκ ἀνεκτὰ δαίμονας λέγων [πρόνοιαν ἴσχειν τοῦδε τοῦ νεκροῦ πέρι. Ib. 1054 καὶ μὴν λέγεις (κακῶς), ψευδῆ με θεσπίζειν λέγων. *OT* 87, 799, *OC* 1299, *T.* 408, *E.* 266 (δοκῶ), *A.* 497 (νομίζω), *An.* 668 (θαρσῶ). After verbs of *knowing* (which can also take a participle): *E.* 616 εὖ νῦν ἐπίστω τῶνδέ μ' αἰσχύνην ἔχειν. *An.* 1092 ἐπιστάμεσθα ... μή πώ ποτ' αὐτὸν ψεῦδος ... λακεῖν. Ib. 473, 293, *OT* 691, 1455, *P.* 1329, *E.* 907. The regular use of μή instead of οὐ with the infin. is notable here (*An.* 1092, *OT* 1455, *P.* 1329, *E.* 907): it may be associated with the tone of confident belief (as in *An.* 1092, with ἐπιστάμεσθα in the indicative), or with the imperative of the governing verb (*P.* 1329).

The accus. of the subject of the infin. also occurs where there is identity of subject in the two clauses (Schwyzer 376). *A.* 606* ἐλπίδ' ἔχων ἔτι μέ ποτ' ἀνύσειν τὸν ... Ἅιδαν 'I, nursing expectation that one day I shall pass to Hades'. *E.* 65 κἄμ' ἐπαυχῶ ... ἐχθροῖς ἄστρον ὣς λάμψειν ἔτι. Jebb (on *T.* 706) finds a 'contrast of persons' usual in such cases: for *E.* 65 perhaps it would be better called an emphasis on the subject's own position (note καί with ἐμέ), which is likened to that of τοὺς σοφούς (v. 62). There *is* contrast at *A.* 606*, with the vision of blest Salamis compared with the speaker's unhappy lot at Troy, but it is a contrast of places, not of persons. In the remaining example there does not seem equal justification: *E.* 471 πικρὰν [δοκῶ με πεῖραν τήνδε τολμήσειν ἔτι (and notice the unemphatic enclitic με: on such enclitic use of pronouns see to Kühner-Gerth 2, 32).

§ 5. *Personal and impersonal use of the verb of 'saying'*

The personal construction (Fournier 151 f.) is seen at *OT* 39 λέγῃ νομίζῃ θ' ἡμὶν ὀρθῶσαι βίον 'it is said and believed that you restored our life'. Ib. 292 θανεῖν ἐλέχθη πρός τινων ὁδοιπόρων (probably so, rather than impersonal, because of the absence of a pronoun with θανεῖν). *OC* 1105 τὸ μηδαμὰ [ἐλπισθὲν ἥξειν σῶμα 'the person who was not expected to come' (= ὃ μηδαμὰ ἥξειν ἤλπισα). But *An.* 504 may be impersonal: τούτοις τοῦτο πᾶσιν ἁνδάνειν [λέγοιτ' ἄν. Impersonal are *P.* 199* λέγεται χρῆναι, *An.* 203 τοῦτον ἐκκεκήρυκται τάφῳ [μήτε κτερίζειν μήτε κωκῦσαί τινα (-ῦχθαι codd.). But not ib. 27, where τὸ μὴ [τάφῳ καλύψαι μηδὲ κωκῦσαί τινα must be substantivised.

§ 6. *The participial construction*

Use of the participle is most common after verbs of *knowing* and *perceiving*. So with ἐπίσταμαι: *OT* 848 ἀλλ' ὡς φανέν γε τοὖπος ὧδ' ἐπίστασο 'be assured that the story was so told' (on this use of ὡς, see Goodwin § 916, Schwyzer 397, Kühner-Gerth 2, 93 f., and Ch. 14 § 13: ὡς underlines the fact that a mental attitude is to be adopted by the person addressed, and is therefore redundant when coupled with an imperative such as ἐπίστασο); *P.* 567, *T.* 182, *A.* 1080. With οἶδα, *P.* 79, *E.* 836*. Ib. 610 ὁρῶ μένος πνέουσαν 'I see that she is breathing anger': cf. *T.* 1112 for absence of the subject of the participle. *A.* 1 δέδορκά σε ... θηρώμενον. Ib. 626* μάτηρ νιν ὅταν νοσοῦντα ... ἀκούσῃ. *E.* 293 ὅταν κλύῃ τινὸς [ἥξοντ' Ὀρέστην 'when she hears from someone that O. is about to come'. The nominative of the participle is used with identity of subject: *An.* 460 θανουμένη γὰρ ἐξῄδη, ib. 532, 1063, *E.* 298, 1330. But even here the accus. can be found (as with the infin., § 4 above): *T.* 706 ὁρῶ δέ μ' ἔργον δεινὸν ἐξειργασμένην.

The participle also occurs by extension with verbs of *saying* and *thinking*, both with and without ὡς, in a construction which is rare and essentially poetical (Fournier 184 f.). *T.* 289 αὐτὸν δ' ἐκεῖνον ... φρόνει νιν ὡς ἥξοντα 'as for himself, reckon that he will come'. *E.* 1443 ... οὕς φασ' Ὀρέστην ἡμὶν ἀγγεῖλαι βίον [λελοιπότα 'who they say have brought us the news that O. has lost his life'. Ib. 676 θανόντ' Ὀρέστην νῦν τε καὶ τότ' ἐννέπω. *OT* 79 Κρέοντα προσστείχοντα σημαίνουσι. *A.* 471 πεῖρα ... ἀφ' ἧς ... δηλώσω πατρὶ [μή τοι φύσιν γ' ἄσπλαγχνος ἐκ κείνου γεγώς (nom. of part. with identical subject). Other examples (a) with ὡς: *E.* 882 (with λέγω, if not accus. absolute), 1341 (ἀγγέλλω), 1370 (φροντίζω: nom. of part.); (b) without ὡς: *E.* 1452 (ἀγγέλλω), *OT* 464* (εἶπον), *OC* 1580 (λέγω). Fraenkel (on A. *Ag.* 269 Τροίαν Ἀχαιῶν οὖσαν (sc. φημί)) finds that some of these cases suggest more emphasis than the use of the infin. would imply, and points to *E.* 676, spoken in answer to τί φῄς; τί φῄς, ὦ ξεῖνε (and stressed also by νῦν τε καὶ τότε): *Ag.* 269 answers similarly πῶς φῄς;. From this point of view notice also the stress in *E.* 1452 ἦ καὶ θανόντ' ἤγγειλαν ὡς ἐτητύμως;. Such emphasis could naturally arise from the objective nature of the participle, establishing a fact, contrasted with the more abstract infinitive (cf. Schwyzer 395, 4).

Personal use with a passive verb of *saying*: *T.* 73 ποῦ δῆτα νῦν ζῶν ἢ θανὼν ἀγγέλλεται;. Probably impersonal, *An.* 447 ᾔδησθα κηρυχθέντα μὴ πράσσειν τάδε;.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

NEGATIVES

§ 1. *Introduction*

Negatives are of two types, commonly called sentence and word negatives: I prefer the terms nexal and special (terms used by O. Jespersen, *Negation in English and other languages*, 42; Moorhouse, *Studies*, 1 ff.). In Greek there are differences between them in syntax, including word-order, as well as in form. The nexal negative applies negation to the *nexus*, the link or relationship between subject and predicate, and so is primarily the negative of the verbal element. The special negative negatives generally, but not always, nominal or adverbial elements, and does not affect the whole sentence. When a clause is negatived, a nexal negative will be either οὐ or μή, as required by the type of sentence. But a special negative is not subjected to the same requirement, and so occur cases of special οὐ in sentences which need μή as a nexal negative. Nevertheless, the process of attraction sometimes produces a change of special οὐ to μή.

A special negative may be attached to any word in a sentence on a purely *ad hoc* basis, according to the needs of the particular context. But certain combinations of negative with adjectives, adverbs or even verbs occur more regularly, and make unified phrases which may be compared to the formally closer association found in the negative compound: thus οὐχ ἑκών, compared with ἀέκων (neg. compound). Litotic expressions also fall under this head: οὐκ ὀλίγος, οὐκ εὖ. Verbs also can make this kind of combination: οὐκ ἐῶ, ἐθέλω, δύναμαι, φημί. Semantically such verb combinations can develop a sense other than plain negation of the act described: οὐκ ἐῶ 'forbid, prevent', οὔ φημι 'deny'. All such phrases may be called 'negative combinations'.

§ 2. *οὐ and μή generally in principals*

οὐ, as the objective negative of denial and contradiction, is found as a nexal negative in principals with the indicative of statement; with indicative with ἄν (unreal hypothesis); with optative with ἄν (future potential); and in all these uses in questions. μή, the subjective negative implying will and feeling, occurs with the imperative; with the subjunctive in prohibition, exhortation and deliberation; with the optative and past

indicative in wish; and with the indicative in questions. In general, examples of these uses will be found under the head of the relevant modal use.

§ 3. *οὐ and μή in questions*

The use in questions, where both οὐ and μή occur, requires brief consideration.

οὐ with ἆρα introduces a question expecting the answer 'Yes', or implying that it should be so. *OC* 791 ἆρ' οὐκ ἄμεινον ἢ σὺ τἀν Θήβαις φρονῶ; *OT* 823 ἆρ' οὐχὶ πᾶς ἄναγνος; So too generally οὐ by itself: *A.* 1099 οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐξέπλευσεν ὡς αὑτοῦ κρατῶν; *E.* 351 οὐ ταῦτα πρὸς κακοῖσι δειλίαν ἔχει; Ib. 1041, *An.* 738, *P.* 1382. οὐ with the future derives its equivalence to an order similarly: *A.* 593 οὐ ξυνέρξεθ' ὡς τάχος; *An.* 885 οὐκ ἄξεθ' ὡς τάχιστα; *P.* 975, *OC* 847. As for ἆρα μή, the use is very rare: once (possibly) in Aesch. (*Th.* 208), and twice in Soph., and not elsewhere in Classical poetry (Denniston 47). Denniston argues that a negative reply is not necessarily expected, but that what is suggested is difficult to accept. Either interpretation would suit the Sophoclean passages. *E.* 446 ἆρα μὴ δοκεῖς | λυτήρι' αὐτῇ ταῦτα τοῦ φόνου φέρειν; 'canst thou believe ...?' (Jebb). It is argued by Collinge, *Arch. Ling.* 1960, 80 f., that, while it is true that Chrysothemis *does* so believe, it is possible for Electra to put such a question purely ostensibly inviting the answer 'No', thus expressing incredulity. *An.* 632 ἆρα μὴ ... πατρὶ λυσσαίνων πάρει; 'can it be that ... (you come in anger against your father)?' (Jebb). J. E. Harry, *Rev. Phil.* 1940, 5 ff., finds this colloquial, with Creon reluctant to express a disagreeable idea. We may get light on the point from two other passages, where μή is used alone to introduce a question (Kühner-Gerth 2, 524; Schwyzer 629; Funk 220. Cf. further F. C. Babbitt, 'The use of μή in questions', *Harvard Stud. Class. Phil.* 12, 1901, 307 ff.: μή would indicate a cautious way of questioning.). *T.* 316 μὴ τῶν τυράννων; (sc. ἐστι, ἦν) Εὐρύτου σπορά τις ἦν; 'can she be of royal birth? was she a daughter of Eurytus?' (or, 'did E. have offspring?'). μὴ τῶν τυρ. cannot assume an answer 'No', or else Deianeira would not have continued with her second question. *OC* 1502 μή τις Διὸς κεραυνός, ἤ ...; 'can it have been a thunderbolt from Zeus, or ...?'. Theseus is making surmises about the reason for alarm, and so mention of κεραυνός is to raise, doubtfully, a possibility—but not implying rejection of it. There is therefore some support here for Denniston's view of ἆρα μή.

μῶν is used where a negative answer is expected or hoped for. *P.* 734 μῶν ἄλγος ἴσχεις ...; Ib. 1229 μῶν τι βουλεύῃ νέον; Coupled with οὐ, the meaning is reversed: *OC* 1729* μῶν οὐχ ὁρᾷς; 'surely you understand?'.

§ 4. *οὐ and μή in subordinates*

Generally the lines drawn between uses of οὐ and μή in subordinate clauses are clearly marked, but some overlapping exists, most notably in relative clauses. The tendency is for the use of μή to expand; and though it is not always possible to see an indisputable reason, it is the generalising or characterising power of μή, its ability to suggest a link between a particular situation and others of the same kind, which gives it strength. οὐ is tied to the concrete, the immediate circumstance: μή, as the negative of the notional and ideal, looks further afield.

(a) *Causal and declarative clauses.* Neg. οὐ. *T.* 1120 ὡς ἐγὼ νοσῶν [οὐδὲν ξυνίημ' ὧν σὺ ποικίλλεις. *A.* 553 ὁθούνεκ' οὐδὲν τῶνδ' ἐπαισθάνῃ κακῶν. *OC* 1040 πιστωθεὶς ὅτι ... οὐχὶ παύσομαι. *E.* 561 λέξω δέ σοι [ὡς οὐ δίκῃ γ' ἔκτεινας. *OT* 548 μή μοι φράζ' ὅπως οὐκ εἶ κακός.

A remark on dependent questions may be made here. These normally in Greek take the same negative as they would have if independent. The second of two alternative questions introduced by εἴτε can take either μή or οὐ (Kühner-Gerth 2, 191): the Sophoclean example has οὐ, *A.* 7 ... ὅπως ἴδῃς [εἴτ' ἔνδον εἴτ' οὐκ ἔνδον. There is no distinction of sense between μή and οὐ in such cases: μή, where found, is due either to the influence of εἰ in conditions, or to avoidance of hiatus (εἰ οὐ or ἢ οὐ).

(b) *Conditional protasis.* See Goodwin § 384; Kühner-Gerth 2, 189 ff.; Schwyzer 593; B. T. Koppers, *Negative Conditional Sentences*, especially 34 ff.

Protases normally take μή when negatived; where οὐ is found, I accept the general view that the negative is special, or the clause is used in a causal sense and so not truly conditional (as in θαυμάζω εἰ ... 'I am amazed on the ground that ...'). The attempt, e.g. by Koppers, to find a sense distinction between μή and οὐ here (μή being more stressed and 'dynamic', implying thought of the positive opposite) has not succeeded.

Sophoclean examples of οὐ are as follows. *A.* 1131 ('you do dishonour to the gods') εἰ τοὺς θανόντας οὐκ ἐᾷς θάπτειν παρών: οὐκ ἐῶ makes a negative combination (but the rule is not inflexible, cf. ib. 1108 εἴτε μὴ σὺ φῂς [εἴθ' ἅτερος στρατηγός). So too οὐχ ἑκὼν in *OC* 935 ('I command the presence of the girls') εἰ μὴ μέτοικος τῆσδε τῆς χώρας θέλεις [εἶναι βίᾳ τε κοὐχ ἑκών: here special οὐχ appears in the same clause as nexal μή. Similarly fr. 144, 2 νέμ' εἴ τις οὐ πάρεστιν (s.v.l.).

E. 244* εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θανὼν γᾶ τε καὶ οὐδὲν ὢν κείσεται τάλας, οἱ δὲ μὴ πάλιν δώσουσ' ... δίκας, ἔρροι τ' ἂν αἰδὼς .... The negative in οὐδὲν ὢν 'being naught' is not a nexal negative as is μή in the second protasis οἱ δὲ μή ...: γᾶ

τε καὶ οὐδὲν ὢν make an apposition of (ὁ μὲν) θανών, and θανών itself is attributive, and not predicative. The meaning is not 'if he is to die and lie in wretchedness' (though the Greek *could* mean that without the negative), but 'if he, who has died, who is dust and naught, is to lie ...'. If the man's death were itself hypothetical, μηδὲν ὢν would have been in order. (Jebb sees the point that οὐδὲν ὢν is not really hypothetical, but is wrong in applying that remark to the whole clause εἰ γὰρ ... τάλας: cf. Koppers 80). Similarly *OT* 885* εἰ δέ τις ... πορεύεται, Δίκας ἀφόβητος οὐδὲ δαιμόνων ἕδη σέβων .... *E.* 869* ('unimaginable his suffering')—πῶς γὰρ οὔχ; εἰ ξένος ἄτερ ἐμᾶν χερῶν ... κέκευθεν, οὔτε του τάφου ἀντιάσας οὔτε γόων παρ' ἡμῶν: causal (of what is actual). Also causal *A.* 1268. Ib. 1242 πικροὺς ἔοιγμεν ... ἀγῶνας ... κηρῦξαι τότε, [εἰ ... φανούμεθ' ἐκ Τεύκρου κακοί, [κοὐκ ἀρκέσει ποθ' ὑμὶν οὐδ' ἡσσημένοις [εἴκειν ... ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἡμᾶς ... βαλεῖτε 'it seems that we must regret proclaiming the contest ... if we are to be denounced ... and you will never be content to yield ... but will always abuse us'. Koppers 70 sees here an example of paratactic protasis (see Goodwin § 387; Humbert 351 f.), but this is doubtful: there is no sense of incompatibility in the three clauses following εἰ, but the first is repeated by the third, and the second presents a further statement entirely compatible with them. Rather, we have here the type of protasis found after θαυμάζω etc., i.e. after expressions of *wonder*, *anger*, *pity*, etc. (Goodwin § 494). When such have reference to past or present events, the εἰ-clause is not properly conditional but causal and could be substituted by ὅτι-...: reference to the future (as here) carries by extension the same construction, with οὐ. Emphatic initial πικρούς gives the key to the sentence.

Contrast with this last a use of μή at *A.* 512 οἴκτιρε ... παῖδα τὸν σόν, εἰ ... σοῦ διοίσεται μόνος [ὑπ' ὀρφανιστῶν μὴ φίλων, ὅσον κακὸν [κείνῳ τε κἀμοὶ τοῦθ' ... νεμεῖς. We might have expected οὐ φίλων on two grounds: (a) as being in an εἰ-clause introduced by οἴκτιρε, so comparable to ib. 1242 (as Jebb takes the clause: but it can also, or alternatively, be the protasis of ὅσον ... νεμεῖς), and (b) as a special negative ('brought up by unfriendly guardians'). μὴ φίλων can be taken as a protasis by itself, 'if they are not friendly': Jebb finds μή generic, '(guardians) of no friendly kind'. (It is better therefore not to take μή as due to εἰ, in whichever of the two ways we understand the εἰ-clause).

(c) *Consecutive clauses.* ὥστε with finite verb forms normally takes οὐ, with the infinitive μή. But exceptions occur to each rule.

(i) οὐ with infin. *E.* 780 δεῖν' ἐπηπείλει τελεῖν, [ὥστ' οὔτε νυκτὸς ὕπνον οὔτ' ἐξ ἡμέρας [ἐμὲ στεγάζειν ἡδύν, ἀλλ' ὁ προστατῶν [χρόνος διῆγέ μ' αἰὲν ὡς θανουμένην. Emendation would be easy (ἔμ' ἐστέγαζεν ἡδύς: Donaldson), but

should be resisted when we take into account Soph.'s propensity for blending constructions. He is combining here the ideas of the likely consequence and the actual result, and stressing the latter. Cf. E. *Hel.* 108 ('Troy has been destroyed') ὥστ' οὐδ' ἴχνος γε τειχέων εἶναι σαφές: here Kannicht looks for justification to Jebb's account of *E.* 780, that there is 'prominence of the negative fact in the speaker's mind'. Id. *Phoen.* 1358 οὐ μακρὰν γὰρ τειχέων περιπτυχαί, | ὥστ' οὐχ ἅπαντά σ' εἰδέναι τὰ δρώμενα 'the circuit of the walls is not so distant as to prevent you from knowing all that occurred': Eur. goes further here, since an actual result is not expressed. Dem. 9, 48 also has a likely consequence. (See Jebb on *E.* 780, with App. 217 f.).

(ii) μή with indic. *T.* 576 ('this will be a charm for you to use on Heracles') ὥστε μήτιν' εἰσιδὼν | στέρξει γυναῖκα κεῖνος ἀντὶ σοῦ πλέον (στέρξαι v.l.). Two explanations of μή are possible. (a) There is blending of the notions of result and purpose: for the use of μή, cf. the final clauses introduced by the relative ἔνθα and ὅπου (e.g. *E.* 380 ('they will send you') ἔνθα μή ποθ' ἡλίου | φέγγος προσόψῃ, *T.* 800 ('put me') ἐνταῦθ' ὅπου με μή τις ὄψεται βροτῶν). Cf. Jebb ad loc., Goodwin § 606. (b) μή is used in strong asseveration or oath (Kühner-Gerth 2, 183, 4 (ζ)). There would be absence of affirmation by a deity, but this might be allowed in a wild creature such as Nessus.

(d) *Final clauses.* With μή, as is standard. So with subj., *OC* 1278 (ὡς); with subj. with ἄν, *OT* 329 (ὡς); with fut. indic., *P.* 1069 (ὅπως); with past indic., *OT* 1389 (ἵνα), 1392 (ὡς). Also ὅπως-clauses with fut. indic., after expressions of *exhortation*: *E.* 955, *T.* 604, *A.* 572.

(e) *Temporal clauses.* With reference to action at a definite time, οὐ is normal. *A.* 285 ἡνίχ' ἕσπεροι | λαμπτῆρες οὐκέτ' ᾖθον, ... | ἐμαίετ' ... ἐξόδους ἕρπειν κενάς. *T.* 359 ἡνίχ' οὐχ ἔπειθε ... ἐπιστρατεύει πατρίδα. *An.* 268, *P.* 8. Note *OC* 779 ὥσπερ τις εἴ σοι ... | μηδὲν διδοίη ..., | πλήρη δ' ἔχοντι θυμὸν ὧν χρῄζοις, τότε | δωροῖθ', ὅτ' οὐδὲν ἡ χάρις χάριν φέροι (v.l. φέρει). The opt. φέροι is by assimilation to the preceding moods: cf. Mimn. 1, 2 τεθναίην ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι. But in contrast with that passage, where ὅτε = 'at any time when' with conditional nuance, in *OC* 779 the time is definitely marked (τότε ... ὅτε 'at the very time when ...'): hence οὐδέν, not μηδέν.

μή occurs with the subjunctive in indefinite time reference. *An.* 91 οὐκοῦν, ὅταν δὴ μὴ σθένω, πεπαύσομαι 'whenever I have not the strength' (with implication 'if ever ...'). *E.* 1007 (also with ὅταν).

(f) *Relative clauses* (including adverbial relatives). In these both οὐ and μή are found (i.e. in constructions which do not *per se* require a certain negative, such as μή in prohibition, *E.* 1309). μή occurs especially where

there is a generic implication; but we must agree with Gildersleeve (*A.J.P.* 1, 54), who remarked that 'of classic authors Soph. is especially free in using μή with the relative'. Metrical reasons for using μή (or οὐ) cannot always be ruled out. οὐ is also sometimes found where μή could be justified.

(i) ὅς. (a) With οὐ. *A.* 318 οἰμωγὰς ... [ἃς οὔποτ' αὐτοῦ πρόσθεν εἰσήκουσ' ἐγώ. *OT* 1252 Οἰδίπους, ὑφ' οὗ [οὐκ ἦν τὸ κείνης ἐκθεάσασθαι κακόν. *P.* 1227 ἔπραξας ἔργον ποῖον ὧν οὔ σοι πρέπον; : a generic μή would not have been out of place. Ib. 443, *A.* 644*, *OC* 763, *T.* 158. (b) With μή. *T.* 730 τοιαῦτα δ' ἂν λέξειεν οὐχ ὁ τοῦ κακοῦ [κοινωνός, ἀλλ' ᾧ μηδέν ἐστ' οἴκοι βαρύ: the generic reference in the rel. clause is to any one who fits the description. So too *OT* 296 ᾧ μή 'στι δρῶντι τάρβος, οὐδ' ἔπος φοβεῖ: generic in gnomic context. *P.* 648 τί τοῦθ' ὃ μὴ νεώς γε τῆς ἐμῆς ἔπι; (ἔνι codd.) 'what type of thing is this which is not on my ship?'. τοιόσδε, τοιοῦτος antecedent to the relative also draw attention to the type: *OT* 1427 τοιόνδ' ἄγος [ἀκάλυπτον οὕτω δεικνύναι, τὸ μήτε γῆ [μήτ' ὄμβρος ἱερὸς μήτε φῶς προσδέξεται (τό equivalent to ὅ). *An.* 691 λόγοις τοιούτοις οἷς σὺ μὴ τέρψῃ κλύων. Further generic examples: *P.* 409, 583, *OT* 875*, 1520, *T.* 384, *OC* 1186.

Generic sense can have causal implication, with reference to a definite antecedent. *P.* 255 ὦ πόλλ' ἐγὼ μοχθηρός, ... [οὗ μηδὲ κληδὼν ὧδ' ἔχοντος οἴκαδε [μηδ' Ἑλλάδος γῆς μηδαμοῦ διῆλθέ που '... wretched, being such as to have had no report of me reach home ...' (= 'I say μοχθηρός because ...'). Ib. 179* ὦ δύστανα γένη βροτῶν, οἷς μὴ μέτριος αἰών. *E.* 911 ('you did not do it') πῶς γάρ; ᾗ γε μηδὲ πρὸς θεοὺς [ἔξεστ' ἀκλαύτῳ τῆσδ' ἀποστῆναι στέγης. *OT* 817, *P.* 713*.

(ii) ὅστις. (a) There are two examples with οὐ, where μή could be justified. *T.* 323 ('if she speaks it will be different behaviour for her') ἥτις οὐδαμὰ [προὔφηνεν οὔτε μείζον' οὔτ' ἐλάσσονα: the relative has definite and causal reference (Lat. *ut quae*). Ib. 439 οὐ γὰρ γυναικὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐρεῖς κακῇ, [οὐδ' ἥτις οὐ κάτοιδε τἀνθρώπων ...: ἥτις = τοιαύτῃ ἥτις (Ellendt). The fact that μή would have been possible here does not, of course, mean that Soph. must be disregarding a distinction in the meaning of οὐ and μή. There could be no objection to using οὐ, the plain negative of denial, in these two cases: such use simply means that the causal, or generic, sense is not verbally expressed, as it would have been if μή had been used, while it has metrical advantage. (b) (α) Generalising or indefinite, with either conditional or generic sense. *An.* 178 ὅστις πᾶσαν εὐθύνων πόλιν [μὴ τῶν ἀρίστων ἅπτεται βουλευμάτων [... κάκιστος εἶναι ... δοκεῖ: 'any one who' = 'if any one', or 'any one of the type which'. Similarly ib. 716; *A.* 474 αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἄνδρα τοῦ μακροῦ χρῄζειν βίου, [κακοῖσιν ὅστις μηδὲν ἐξαλλάσσεται; ib. 1374. *A.* 1038 ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ τάδ' ἐστὶν ἐν γνώμῃ φίλα, [κεῖνός τ' ἐκεῖνα στεργέτω:

generic. Cf. E. *Ba.* 515 ὅ τι γὰρ μὴ χρεών, οὔτοι χρεὼν παθεῖν. With opt.: *T.* 1235 τίς ταῦτ' ἄν, ὅστις μὴ 'ξ ἀλαστόρων νοσοῖ, [ἕλοιτο; With subj.: *A.* 761. (β) With definite reference, containing a causal (explanatory) sense: *T.* 818 ὄγκον γὰρ ἄλλως ὀνόματος τί δεῖ τρέφειν [μητρῷον, ἥτις μηδὲν ὡς τεκοῦσα δρᾷ; *A.* 1011 ('Telamon would not welcome me gladly') πῶς γὰρ οὔχ; ὅτῳ πάρα [μηδ' εὐτυχοῦντι μηδὲν ἥδιον γελᾶν. Cf. *OC* 1679*, with ὅστις μή- similarly following interrog. τί γάρ;, and *E.* 911 above, with ὅς γε μηδέ after πῶς γάρ;. *An.* 697, *OT* 1335.

(iii) Some adverbial relative uses follow the same pattern. (a) Fr. 196, 2 πῶς οὖν μάχωμαι θνητὸς ὢν θείᾳ τύχῃ, [ὅπου τὸ δεινὸν ἐλπὶς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ; Here μηδέν might have been expected, with generic sense. *OT* 878* ἔνθ' οὐ ποδὶ χρησίμῳ χρῆται: in a gnomic passage which includes in the same sentence (875*) ἃ μὴ 'πίκαιρα μηδὲ συμφέροντα with generic μή. (b) Fr. 192, 1 ὅπου δὲ μὴ τὰ χρήστ' ἐλευθέρως λέγειν [ἔξεστι ... ἁμαρτίαι σφάλλουσι τὴν σωτηρίαν (gnomic). Similarly fr. 677, 2. *P.* 444 Θερσίτης ... ὃς οὐκ ἂν εἵλετ' εἰσάπαξ εἰπεῖν, ὅπου [μηδεὶς ἐῴη: '... in the kind of situation in which all were against him'. *E.* 1259 οὐ μὴ 'στι καιρὸς μὴ μακρὰν βούλου λέγειν. *An.* 685 ἐγὼ δ' ὅπως σὺ μὴ λέγεις ὀρθῶς τάδε, [οὔτ' ἂν δυναίμην μήτ' ἐπισταίμην λέγειν '... in what kind of way your words are wrong'. Needless difficulty has been felt over this (Goodwin § 686 takes ὅπως as ὅτι 'that', with doubtful coupling with μή; Humbert 348 finds influence of indirect question, but that would itself not need μή): the generic explanation (so Jebb, Müller) is sufficient. Cf. *P.* 170* (with the participles negatived) οἰκτίρω νιν ὅπως, μή του κηδομένου βροτῶν, μηδὲ ξύντροφον ὄμμ' ἔχων, ... νοσεῖ μὲν νόσον ἀγρίαν (= ὅπως μή τις κήδεται ... μηδὲ ... ἔχει ... καὶ νοσεῖ): 'I pity him, to think in what a way no one cares for him, etc.'. *OT* 316 φεῦ φεῦ, φρονεῖν ὡς δεινὸν ἔνθα μὴ τέλη [λύει φρονοῦντι. *A.* 1074 ἔνθα μή (gnomic). Distinguish *T.* 903, *OT* 1412, *E.* 380, where ἔνθα μή is final.

§ 5. *Special negation of nominal elements*

With adjectives (non-articular) οὐ is regularly used as a special negative, particularly in litotes and negativing individual and concrete entities. *A.* 438 ἐπελθὼν οὐκ ἐλάσσονι σθένει. *T.* 866 ἠχεῖ τις οὐκ ἄσημον. *P.* 360 οὐ μακρῷ χρόνῳ. With πολύς *P.* 348, 647; δίκαιος *OC* 1000; καλός *P.* 477; ἁγνός *OC* 37. With adverb: *T.* 442 οὐ καλῶς φρονεῖ. But μή is the negative in a conditional context: *E.* 993 εἰ φρενῶν [ἐτύγχαν' αὕτη μὴ κακῶν. *T.* 411 ποίαν ἀξιοῖς δοῦναι δίκην, [ἢν εὑρεθῇς ἐς τήνδε μὴ δίκαιος ὤν; (cf. *C.Q.* 42, 1948, 36). On *A.* 512, see § 4(b). But *OC* 935 εἰ μὴ μέτοικος τῆσδε τῆς χώρας θέλεις [εἶναι βίᾳ τε κοὐχ ἑκών: οὐχ kept with ἑκών, with which it makes a negative combination. Also μή generic or generalising: *T.* 722 ἥτις προτιμᾷ μὴ κακὴ πεφυκέναι. Fr. 839 οὐκ ἔστ' ἀπ' ἔργων μὴ καλῶν ἔπη καλά (gnomic).

With adjective plus article μή is generally used (generic or generalising). With attributive adj.: *T.* 725 οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς μὴ καλοῖς βουλεύμασιν [οὐδ' ἐλπίς. *OC* 1027 τὰ γὰρ δόλῳ [τῷ μὴ δικαίῳ κτήματ' οὐχι σῴζεται. But *T.* 772 Λίχαν, τὸν οὐδὲν αἴτιον τοῦ σοῦ κακοῦ: absence here of any generic sense, equivalent of ὃς οὐκ αἴτιός ἐστι. With adj. (neuter) in substantival use: *An.* 370* ἄπολις ὅτῳ τὸ μὴ καλὸν ξύνεστι, *OT* 682 δάπτει δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ 'νδικον.

With substantives (cf. my *Studies* 37 ff.). With οὐ: *E.* 321 ἔσωσ' ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ὄκνῳ 'I saved him with no hesitation': οὐκ ὄκνῳ stands in the same relation to ὄκνῳ (*P.* 225) as ἐν οὐ καιρῷ (E. *Ba.* 1287) to ἐν καιρῷ (*OC* 809). *P.* 1234 αἰσχρῶς γὰρ αὐτὰ κοὐ δίκῃ λαβὼν ἔχω: οὐ δίκῃ = ἀδίκως. *OT* 1256 γυναῖκά τ' οὐ γυναῖκα 'a wife who is not a wife': οὐ γυναῖκα makes a combination which is equivalent to a neg. compound adj., as in ib. 1214 τὸν ἄγαμον γάμον. *An.* 446 εἰπέ μοι μὴ μῆκος ἀλλὰ σύντομα (v.l. -τόμως): μή in imperative construction. (*P.* 91 εἴμ' ἑτοῖμος πρὸς βίαν τὸν ἄνδρ' ἄγειν [καὶ μὴ δόλοισιν. μή is best taken as nexal (sc. ἄγειν); not generic (as Jebb, 'by such means as are not guile'), but μή after a phrase indicating resolve, cf. ib. 551 ἔδοξέ μοι μὴ σῖγα ... τὸν πλοῦν ποιεῖσθαι. Schneidewin unnecessarily alters to οὐ μὴν δόλοισιν.)

With prepositional attributes and phrases. *OC* 78 αὐτοῦ μέν' ... ἕως ... τοῖς ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ μὴ κατ' ἄστυ δημόταις [λέξω: within the articular group μή negatives the prepositional attribute κατ' ἄστυ, and is characterising—'until I tell it to the people who are here, not in the town'. (Jebb links μή with the preceding imper. μένε, but this is unlikely when there is no imperative force in the ἕως-clause.)

OT 137 ὑπὲρ γὰρ οὐχὶ τῶν ἀπωτέρω φίλων [ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ 'not on behalf of far-off friends but for myself'. οὐχί ... ἀλλά are in antithesis (see *Studies* 141, 39 fn. on the position of the negative in the antithetic expression). We must reject the view (Jebb, Kamerbeek), at first sight attractive, that there is a second (unconscious) possible meaning: 'on behalf of a not-far-off friend', i.e. Oedipus' father, Laius. How could the sentence then continue logically with 'but for myself'? We must observe the antithesis.

Other prepositional phrases: *OC* 1636 οὐκ οἴκτου μέτα. *A.* 950 μὴ θεῶν μέτα: conditional, 'if without the aid of the gods'. *P.* 467 καιρὸς καλεῖ [πλοῦν μὴ 'ξ ἀπόπτου μᾶλλον ἢ 'γγύθεν σκοπεῖν: μή required after καλεῖ (e.g. as with κελεύω).

§ 6. *οὐ and μή with infinitives*

οὐ negatives the infinitive after verbs of *saying* and *thinking*. *P.* 1389 φημὶ δ' οὔ σε μανθάνειν. *OT* 1051 (οἶμαι). *An.* 378 (ἀντιλογῶ). For the (rare) use after ὥστε, see § 4 (c) above.

Normally an infin. takes μή in a sentence of the type αἰσχρόν ἐστι μὴ λέγειν (where the infin. can be seen as subject, if not as standing in a supplementary relation to αἰσχρόν ἐστι). But with οὐ *OC* 1203 οὐ καλὸν ... οὐδ' αὐτὸν μὲν εὖ [πάσχειν, παθόντα δ' οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι τίνειν 'it is not right ... that a man should be well treated but after that not know how to make return'. οὐκ makes a combination with the verb (cf. οὐ with δύναμαι, *Studies* 29, also ib. 88 with reference to the union in Sanskrit of neg. *na* with *jñā* 'know', with *çak* 'be able').

μή is also usual with the infin. depending on a verb expressing *will* (on such verbs, Kühner-Gerth 2, 193 ff.). But *OT* 623 θνῄσκειν, οὐ φυγεῖν σε βούλομαι 'I desire your death, not your banishment'. οὐ is explained by Stahl 774 as belonging to βούλομαι, not to φυγεῖν; but it is better to see the cause in the contrasting of the two infinn. In such antithesis the neg. is special (*Studies* 3, 126; Smyth § 2738c: cf. Thuc. 1, 39, 2 ὑμᾶς νῦν ἀξιοῦντες οὐ ξυμμαχεῖν ἀλλὰ ξυναδικεῖν).

μή is more generally the neg. of the infinitive. (i) Infin. after a verb of *saying*, of *knowing*, or of *thinking*. μή in such cases is due to various semantic factors, to notions of emphatic statement (as with ὄμνυμι), of strong conviction (as with οἶδα), of will and resolve (as with ἐλπίζω). *An.* 1094 ἐπιστάμεσθα ... μή πώ ποτ' αὐτὸν ψεῦδος ἐς πόλιν λακεῖν (cf. μή with supplementary participle after verbs of *knowing*, § 8(c) below). *OT* 1455, *OC* 656, *P.* 1329 (with οἶδα, ἴσθι). *OT* 462 φάσκειν ἐμ' ἤδη μαντικῇ μηδὲν φρονεῖν (not necessary to look to the influence of imperatival φάσκειν: it has a bold tone, 'declare, assert'). *OC* 281 ἡγεῖσθε (imper.) ... φυγὴν δέ του [μήπω γενέσθαι φωτὸς ἀνοσίου βροτῶν 'consider (that the gods look on the pious and impious) and that never yet has any wicked mortal found escape': μή better suits the generalising aspect. ?*E.* 495* θάρσος followed by μήποτε πελᾶν τέρας τοῖς δρῶσι (*lect. incert.*). *T.* 1160 ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἦν πρόφαντον ἐκ πατρὸς πάλαι [πρὸς τῶν πνεόντων μηδενὸς θανεῖν ὕπο 'it was foretold long ago by my father (Zeus) that I should die at the hands of none of the living': μη- indicates strong assurance (here certainty) about what is to happen, and is so found after phrases of oracular response.

P. 1058 ἐγώ θ', ὃς οἶμαι σοῦ κάκιον οὐδὲν ἂν [τούτων κρατύνειν, μηδ' ἐπιθύνειν χερί '... and I, who think I can control this bow no worse than you, and direct its aim'. Jebb explains οὐδέν (in contrast to μηδέ) as a special neg. with κάκιον, and the order of words is in favour: the comparison (Schneidewin) with E. *Andr.* 586 δρᾶν εὖ, κακῶς δ' οὔ, μηδ' ἀποκτείνειν βίᾳ '(they are yours) to benefit, not harm, and not to put to death', is apposite (*pace* Jebb). Cf. also Plat. *Prot.* 319b ὅθεν δὲ αὐτὸ ἡγοῦμαι οὐ διδακτὸν εἶναι, μηδ' ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων παρασκευαστὸν ἀνθρώποις, δίκαιός εἰμι

εἰπεῖν. A logical irregularity remains in Soph. in the use of the neg. connective μηδέ, where a positive would have been in order. Since κάκιον is not repeated, οὐδέ would have been out of place, and the nexal μηδέ is used instead—but it does not strictly negative ἐπιθύνειν.

OT 6 ἁγὼ δικαιῶν μὴ παρ' ἀγγέλων ... [ἄλλων ἀκούειν ...: δικαιῶ may generally be followed by either μή or οὐ, the use of μή arising from the sense of urging someone to perform an act, but extended here to cover the view of one's own act (*Studies* 129).

(ii) μή is usual after consecutive ὥστε, ὡς (§ 4(c) above).

(iii) μή accompanies the articular infin., and infin. phrases. *T.* 458 τὸ μὴ πυθέσθαι, τοῦτό μ' ἀλγύνειεν ἄν. *An.* 27 τὸ μὴ τάφῳ καλύψαι. *T.* 617, *P.* 197, 299, *OT* 1388.

Also with the infin. without article, in equivalent function (Burguière 102 f.): *OC* 1224* μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νικᾷ λόγον.

(iv) μή is often used, possibly pleonastically, after verbs of *denying*, *forbidding*, *preventing*, etc., both with the simple and with the articular infin. *An.* 442 καταρνῇ μὴ δεδρακέναι τάδε; 'do you deny you have done this?'. Ib. 535 ἐξομῇ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι; 'do you deny knowledge of it, on oath?'. (But ib. 376 πῶς εἰδὼς ἀντιλογήσω τήνδ' οὐκ εἶναι παῖδ' Ἀντιγόνην; 'how can I say, knowing her as I do, that this is not Antigone?'. Here, in a simple statement, in contrast with the preceding which involve denial of what another says, or believes.)

Forbid: *A.* 742 τὸν ἄνδρ' ἀπηύδα Τεῦκρος ἔνδοθεν στέγης [μὴ 'ξω παρήκειν. *OT* 236, *OC* 1761. *Avoid*: Ib. 1740 ἀπεφύγετον ... τὸ μὴ πίτνειν κακῶς. *Prevent*: *E.* 518 ὅς σ' ἐπεῖχ' ἀεὶ [μή τοι θυραίαν γ' οὖσαν αἰσχύνειν φίλους. *P.* 349, 1303. But without μή: ib. 1241 ὅς σε κωλύσει τὸ δρᾶν, 1407 εἴρξω πελάζειν, *OT* 129 κακὸν δὲ ποῖον ... [εἶργε τοῦτ' ἐξειδέναι;

Though commonly μή in these cases is regarded as pleonastic (so Kühner-Gerth 2, 207), it is possible that it is not so, especially after verbs of *forbidding*, *preventing*, etc. This would follow if the infin. has a basic consecutive function. Thus in *A.* 742 (above) ἀπηύδα ... μὴ 'ξω παρήκειν, the sense could be 'forbad him so as not to go out'; in *E.* 518 σ' ἐπεῖχε ... μὴ ... αἰσχύνειν φίλους 'restrained you so as not to shame your friends'. See *C.Q.* 34, 1940, 71 f.

§ 7. *μὴ οὐ with infinitives*

μὴ οὐ, and τὸ μὴ οὐ, are used optionally with the infin. in two sorts of construction, which need separate consideration. (i) The leading clause, on which the infin. depends, expresses *denial*, *refusal*, *doubt*, *prevention*, etc. (see Kühner-Gerth 2, 210 for fuller list); and is itself negatived, or inter-

rogative implying negation. So οὐ κωλύω σε μὴ οὐκ ἀδικεῖν 'I do not stop you from doing wrong': the positive form would be κωλύω σε μὴ ἀδικεῖν. (ii) The leading clause, which is itself negatived, appears in a wide variety of forms, having in common that they are followed by an infin. A favoured form generally for the leading clause is one that expresses *possibility*, *propriety*, etc. (Kühner-Gerth 2, 212), but in fact this is not found in Soph. Type οὐχ οἷός τ' εἰμὶ μὴ οὐ λέγειν 'I am not able not to say'. Goodwin §§ 815 ff.; *C.Q.* 34, 1940, 70 ff. See also Ch. 13 § 12 for the use of the articular infin.

In type (i) μή is commonly regarded as redundant, though it has been suggested above (§ 6) that this may be mistaken. In either case the addition of οὐ to μή has a cancelling effect. The infin. may be seen as an object, as prolative, or as consecutive. *E.* 107 οὐ ... λήξω ... θρήνων ... μὴ οὐ ... ἠχὼ πᾶσι προφωνεῖν 'I will not cease from lament ... from raising a cry to all' (the sense would be the same if προφωνεῖν had no negative attached). *OT* 283 μὴ παρῇς τὸ μὴ οὐ φράσαι 'do not omit the telling'. *A.* 540 τί μέλλει μὴ οὐ παρουσίαν ἔχειν; 'why does he delay being present?' (implying 'he should not delay'): cf. A. *Pr.* 627 τί δῆτα μέλλεις μὴ οὐ γεγωνίσκειν τὸ πᾶν; *A.* 728 ... ὡς οὐκ ἀρκέσοι [τὸ μὴ οὐ θανεῖν '(saying) that he would not be able to avert dying ...'. Other examples at *E.* 133, *OT* 1232, *OC* 566, *T.* 622, *An.* 544 (μή μ' ἀτιμάσῃς = μή με κωλύσῃς). Also *OT* 1091* must be accommodated here: οὐ τὸν Ὄλυμπον ἀπείρων ... οὐκ ἔσῃ ... μὴ οὐ σέ γε καὶ πατριώταν Οἰδίπου ... αὔξειν. μὴ οὐ does not have the negative sense which would place it under type (ii). We must take ἀπείρων (properly 'without experience') not as implying hindrance or denial (so Jebb), but doubt, uncertainty: cf. the negative (μή in this case, but μὴ οὐ would have been possible) in Thuc. 1, 10, 1 οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ ἄν τις σημείῳ χρώμενος ἀπιστοίη μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλον τοσοῦτον ....

In type (ii) μὴ οὐ is of a different nature, since οὐ cannot cancel μή. I regard this use of μὴ οὐ as analogical, an extension of that in type (i): the point that they have in common is that they both can take μή with the infin. after a positive introduction. *OT* 1065 οὐκ ἂν πιθοίμην μὴ οὐ τάδ' ἐκμαθεῖν σαφῶς 'I would not agree *not* to learn'. *An.* 97 πείσομαι γὰρ οὐ [τοσοῦτον οὐδὲν ὥστε μὴ οὐ καλῶς θανεῖν 'I shall endure no suffering so great as *not* to die with honour'. Ib. 936 θαρσεῖν οὐδὲν παραμυθοῦμαι μὴ οὐ τάδε ταύτῃ κατακυροῦσθαι 'I can give you no encouragement to be confident that this will *not* be so fulfilled'.

Aesch. has 5 examples of μὴ οὐ with infin. (where the evidence of MSS is unanimous, or strong); Soph. 13; Eur. 5. I have pointed out (article referred to above, *C.Q.* 34, 74 f.) that in addition each tragedian has examples

where μὴ οὐ is grammatically and metrically possible, but μή is the reading supported (or, best supported) by MSS: editors have varied in treatment of these, and some have preferred to introduce οὐ. So *T*. 90 οὐδὲν ἐλλείψω τὸ μὴ [πᾶσαν πυθέσθαι ... ἀληθείαν: *P*. 349, *A*. 1339, *OT* 1085*, *T*. 226. Finally, each has a passage where μή is the reading of MSS and μὴ οὐ is grammatically possible, but not metrically so. In Soph. this last is at *OT* 1388 οὐκ ἂν ἐσχόμην [τὸ μὴ ἀποκλῇσαι τοὐμὸν ἄθλιον δέμας. Cf. A. *Th*. 874, E. *Heracl*. 882, *Or*. 478. It is thereby proved that the construction is optional, and an attempt at uniformity mistaken.

Finally, examples occur where either μή, or μὴ οὐ, would have been possible but neither is used (type (i)). *P*. 118 οὐκ ἂν ἀρνοίμην τὸ δρᾶν (v.l. τὸ μὴ δρᾶν, unmetrically). *T*. 1257 οὐδὲν εἴργει σοὶ τελειοῦσθαι τάδε.

§ 8. *οὐ and μή with participles*

With participles both οὐ and μή are found. The usage must be examined under a number of heads.

(a) *Attributive participles*. The participial use here is adjectival, and the negation of adjj. and of partt. may be compared.

With οὐ. *OC* 929 ἀξίαν οὐκ οὖσαν αἰσχύνεις πόλιν. *E*. 584 εἰσόρα μὴ σκῆψιν οὐκ οὖσαν τίθῃς '... a false pretext' (the negative with οὖσαν is not affected by μή which introduces its clause). *OT* 885* εἰ δέ τις ὑπέροπτα ... πορεύεται, Δίκας ἀφόβητος οὐδὲ δαιμόνων ἕδη σέβων ...: this (with *E*. 244*, with οὐδέν also in conditional protasis) has been referred to above (§ 4(b)), the conditional nature of the whole clause does not lead to μή in the attributive element. *An*. 852*, (ib. 618*, uncertain construction), *P*. 953, *OC* 983, *E*. 452 οὐ χλιδαῖς ἠσκημένον (in imper. sentence). In articular use, *An*. 1325 τὸν οὐκ ὄντα μᾶλλον ἢ μηδένα '(I) who am dead rather than at the final extremity' (see § 12 below on the use of μηδένα).

T. 384 ('may there perish') τὰ δὲ [λαθραῖ' ὃς ἀσκεῖ μὴ πρέποντ' αὐτῷ κακά: generic. So too *OC* 73 τίς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς μὴ βλέποντος ἄρκεσις; *OT* 57 οὐδέν ἐστιν οὔτε πύργος οὔτε ναῦς [ἐρῆμος ἀνδρῶν μὴ ξυνοικούντων ἔσω: the gnomic context justifies μή, without need to look to conditional sense (ξυνοικ. better taken as attributive, rather than in gen. absolute constr. with ἀνδρῶν). With article, generic: *P*. 864* πόνος ὁ μὴ φοβῶν, *T*. 828* ὁ μὴ λεύσσων, *OT* 269 ταῦτα τοῖς μὴ δρῶσιν. In *OT* 269 the reference is to any who so behave, with a clear idea of a class of people: in *T*. 828* one individual is in mind, but he is characterised by the description given (and this gives justification for what is said of him). The same pair of aspects in *OT* 397 ὁ μηδὲν εἰδὼς Οἰδίπους, and *An*. 33 ταῦτα τοῖσι μὴ εἰδόσιν. (But at *T*. 775 ὁ δ' οὐδὲν εἰδὼς δύσμορος ... ἔλεξεν, εἰδώς is to be taken as circumstantial, and ὁ (δέ) as

pronominal.) One must explain in the same way *P.* 1006 ὦ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ... φρονῶν, describing a fixed characteristic.

(b) *Circumstantial participles.* Kühner-Gerth 2, 198 ff.; W. F. Gallaway, 'On the use of μή with the participle in Classical Greek', Thesis: Baltimore, 1897; G. E. Howes, 'The use of μή with the participle, where the negative is influenced by the construction upon which the participle depends', *Harvard Stud. in Class. Phil.* 12, 1901, 277-85; A. C. Moorhouse, *C.Q.* 1948, 35-40; A. F. Braunlich, *A.J.P.* 1956, 415-8; W. K. Pritchett, ibid. 1958, 392-404; P. W. Wallace, ibid. 1968, 321-33.

These participles should be considered under two heads, according as their use is autonomous or conjunctive (see Ch. 14 § 1).

When the participle is autonomous, its negative is either οὐ or μή, basically as would be required if a construction with a finite verb replaced it. But further extension of μή occurs.

With οὐ. *P.* 545 ('I bade him tell me where you were') ἐπείπερ ἀντέκυρσα, δοξάζων μὲν οὔ ... 'when I met him, not expecting it' (concessive or temporal). *A.* 269 ἡμεῖς ἄρ' οὐ νοσοῦντες ἀτώμεσθα νῦν 'we then, though not suffering the sickness, are now distressed'. *T.* 193 ('he is absent') οὐκ εὐμαρείᾳ χρώμενος πολλῇ 'being denied the opportunity'. *E.* 1025 ὡς οὐχὶ συνδράσουσα νουθετεῖς τάδε 'you give advice as one not intending to share the deed' (i.e. 'implying that you will not ...'). *An.* 62 γυναῖκε ... ἔφυμεν, ὡς πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐ μαχουμένα 'we two are by birth women, not intended to contest with men'.

μή is used without exception in conditions. *OT* 1158 ἀλλ' ἐς τόδ' ἥξεις μὴ λέγων γε τοὔνδικον 'that will be your lot if you do not say the truth'. Ib. 77, *OC* 666. ὅσον μή with exclusive sense ('short of, without (so doing)') has conditional basis: *OT* 348 ('I think you shared the deed') ὅσον [μὴ χερσὶ καίνων 'short of actually murdering'. Ib. 289 πάλαι δὲ μὴ παρὼν θαυμάζεται 'his absence has long caused surprise': best taken as a transform of the active εἰ μὴ πάρεστι θαυμάζω (Kühner-Gerth 2, 369). So Jebb, Kamerbeek. Others take as causal: see most recently Braunlich and Wallace (reff. above) on causal use. This would be an early part of the general extension of the use of μή with participles which is seen in later Greek. It is notable that generic (characterising) sense appears in a number of the Classical examples, and this may be held responsible for the growth of the causal use: such sense, however, does not appear in *OT* 289. Cf. E. *Med.* 239 δεῖ μάντιν εἶναι, μὴ μαθοῦσαν οἴκοθεν, [ὅπως μάλιστα χρήσεται ξυνευνέτῃ (generalising), *Ion* 313 ('you pity me') ὡς μὴ εἰδόθ' ἥτις μ' ἔτεκεν ἐξ ὅτου τ' ἔφυν. So *OC* 1155 δίδασκέ με [ὡς μὴ εἰδότ' αὐτὸν μηδέν .... *P.* 935 ἀλλ' ὡς μεθήσων μήποθ', ὧδ' ὁρᾷ πάλιν 'he looks away, as one determined never to

give it up': cf. *E*. 1025 above, with οὐ in similar context. *P*. 1161* τίς ὧδ' ἐν αὔραις τρέφεται, μηκέτι μηδενὸς κρατύνων ὅσα πέμπει βιόδωρος αἶα; : the question implies a general statement 'there is no one able to find nurture in the winds like this (ὧδε), without command of the produce of the life-giving earth'. *A*. 261 (generalising). Ib. 1007 ποῖ γὰρ μολεῖν μοι δυνατόν ... τοῖς σοῖς ἀρήξαντ' ἐν πόνοισι μηδαμοῦ; : the characterising provides the reason.

When the participle is conjunctive, its negative is again either οὐ or μή, but now according to the syntactical role of the principal verb, whose predication it shares.

With οὐ. *A*. 1110 τόνδε ... ἐς ταφὰς ἐγὼ [θήσω δικαίως, οὐ τὸ σὸν δείσας στόμα. *P*. 691 ἵν' αὐτὸς ἦν πρόσουρος, οὐκ ἔχων βάσιν. Ib. 1106*, 1299. *OT* 430 οὐ πάλιν [ἄψορρος οἴκων τῶνδ' ἀποστραφεὶς ἄπει; (neg. with both verbs). Ib. 1484.

With μή. *An*. 1061 κίνει, μόνον δὲ μὴ 'πὶ κέρδεσιν λέγων 'bring them forth, only do so without speaking for profit' (neg. in prohibition, linked with positive order). *OT* 310. *OC* 489 αἰτοῦ σύ ... ἄπυστα φωνῶν μηδὲ μηκύνων βοήν. Ib. 976 εἰ δ' αὖ ... ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον πατρὶ καὶ κατέκτανον, [μηδὲν ξυνιεὶς ὧν ἔδρων ... 'if I assaulted and killed my father, and had no knowledge of what I was doing' (conditional). Ib. 1279 ὡς μή μ' ἄτιμον ... οὕτως ἀφῇ με μηδὲν ἀντειπὼν ἔπος (final). Ib. 1509 καί σ' ἅπερ ξυνῄνεσα [θέλω πόλιν τε τήνδε μὴ ψεύσας θανεῖν 'I wish to die without having deceived you and this city with respect to my promises' (μή as with an infin. after θέλω). *OT* 1530 ('call no man happy') πρὶν ἂν [τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ μηδὲν ἀλγεινὸν παθών: an example of the closely linked participle (*association étroite* of Oguse: Ch. 14 § 2), 'dies without suffering'. Two difficult examples can be dealt with similarly. *E*. 1014 αὐτὴ δὲ νοῦν σχὲς ἀλλὰ τῷ χρόνῳ ποτέ, [σθένουσα μηδὲν τοῖς κρατοῦσιν εἰκαθεῖν 'do you now at last have the sense to be weak and yield to those in authority'. This links σθένουσα μηδέν conjunctively with εἰκαθεῖν in its consecutive construction. The alternatives are, either to take σθέν. μηδέν as an example of μή with a causal part. (with which generic sense could be associated); or (less preferable), to attribute μή to the influence of the leading imper. (σχές) by attraction, with σθένουσα as attributive. *OT* 1110 εἰ χρή τι κἀμὲ μὴ ξυναλλάξαντά πω ... σταθμᾶσθαι, τὸν βοτῆρ' ὁρᾶν δοκῶ 'if I must make a guess without ever having met him': the condition of not having met him, is an integral part of the obligation. There is the alternative again of taking μὴ ξυναλλάξ. as equivalent to a generic relative clause.

(c) *Supplementary participles*. Examples occur especially after verbs of *knowing*. Generally in Classical the participle takes οὐ, but Soph. shows a preference for μή (Kühner-Gerth 2, 202 f.). With οὐ: *OT* 1014 ἆρ' οἶσθα

δῆτα πρὸς δίκης οὐδὲν τρέμων; *P.* 567 ὡς ταῦτ' ἐπίστω δρῶμεν', οὐ μέλλοντ' ἔτι. With μή: *OC* 1121 ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ τήνδε ... τέρψιν παρ' ἄλλου μηδενὸς πεφασμένην. Ib. 656 οἶδ' ἐγώ σε μή τινα | ἐνθένδ' ἀπάξοντα. *P.* 79 ἔξοιδα ... φύσει σε μὴ πεφυκότα | τοιαῦτα φωνεῖν. Ib. 253 ὡς μηδὲν εἰδότ' ἴσθι με. *An.* 1063 ὡς μὴ 'μπολήσων ἴσθι τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα, ib. 1064. *OC* 797 ἀλλ' οἶδα γάρ σε ταῦτα μὴ πείθων. Examples such as *P.* 253, *An.* 1063 have been explained as influenced by the imperative of the verb of *knowing*, but there are sufficient cases introduced by an indic. to make this uncertain. The sense of a strong conviction of knowledge can occasion μή, as after πιστεύω, πέπεισμαι with infin. (cf. οἶδα with μή and infin., *OT* 1455): Kühner-Gerth 2, 203, n. 5; Jebb on *OC* 1121, *P.* 1329, etc. It is notable that οὐ follows (a) imper. ἐπίστω at *P.* 567, and (b) interrog. ἆρ' οἶσθα at *OT* 1014, which is the one case where strong conviction is out of place.

Other examples. *OT* 956 ('he is here') πατέρα τὸν σὸν ἀγγελῶν | ὡς οὐκέτ' ὄντα (οὐ in indirect statement). Ib. 1368 κρείσσων γὰρ ἦσθα μηκέτ' ὢν (personal construction, for κρεῖσσόν σε μηκέτ' εἶναι). *A.* 472 πεῖρά τις ζητητέα | τοιάδ' ἀφ' ἧς ... δηλώσω πατρὶ | μή τοι φύσιν γ' ἄσπλαγχνος ἐκ κείνου γεγώς: μή under influence of the introductory purpose clause. Cf. *T.* 411 ἢν εὑρεθῇς ἐς τήνδε μὴ δίκαιος ὤν (influence of the protasis).

§ 9. *μὴ οὐ with participles*

μὴ οὐ linked with a participle is rarer than with an infinitive, and is used only by Soph. (three times) of the tragedians. It is based on a conditional use of μή, with οὐ added to it when the principal clause is negatived. Kühner-Gerth 2, 214; Goodwin § 818.

OT 13 δυσάλγητος γὰρ ἂν | εἴην τοιάνδε μὴ οὐ κατοικτίρων ἕδραν 'I should be unfeeling if I did not pity such supplication'. δυσαλγ. is not in fact negatived, but is treated as the equivalent of such: 'virtual negatives' of this type are adjectives (or adverbs) which have a 'bad' or depreciatory sense, such as αἰσχρός, κακός (see my *Studies* 36 f., 62 f.).

The other two examples are more difficult. *OC* 360 ἥκεις γὰρ οὐ κενή γε, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ σαφῶς | ἔξοιδα, μὴ οὐχὶ δεῖμ' ἐμοὶ φέρουσά τι. Jebb in his note translates 'you have not come empty-handed, i.e. without bringing some terror for me': Goodwin § 818 has a similar version. But, as Jebb himself has to admit, if μὴ οὐχὶ ... φέρουσα is to be taken as an expansion of κενή, we should expect οὐ φέρουσα 'empty-handed, not bringing bad news'. Why then is μή used? Because, says Jebb, there is a conditional sense implied: οὐκ ἂν ἦλθες μὴ οὐ φέρουσα ('you would not have *come* if not bringing bad news'). On the other hand, Goodwin sees μὴ οὐχὶ ... φέρουσα as a condition qualifying κενή (presumably as 'you would be *empty-handed* if you did not

bring bad news'). The explanations fail syntactically, since they do not justify the claimed conditional aspect of μή (the translation 'without' helps to conceal this): the condition only appears in the 'implied' versions. Further, are they what the context requires? Oedipus is addressing Ismene, who has just arrived bearing some news (333). In greeting her he pays tribute to the good services done to him by his daughters, in contrast to his sons. So he first praises his faithful companion Antigone (345-52), and then he turns to Ismene and her loyal acts: 353 πρόσθεν μέν ... introduces her past service and 357 ff. brings us to the present, νῦν δ' αὖ. Is he likely to say, for all his fears, 'I know you won't have come without bringing bad news'? Is this how he greets a devoted daughter? The key to the passage lies in the word κενή, which has here the sense 'unprofitable, purposeless'. Translate 'you have certainly not come to no purpose, of that I am very sure, unless you are bringing some cause for fear'. Oedipus allows himself to express his underlying uneasiness in a muted, and slightly illogical, manner; he hopes her purpose will be good news, but fears the opposite.

OT 221 οὐ γὰρ ἂν μακρὰν [ἴχνευον αὐτός, μὴ οὐκ ἔχων τι σύμβολον (v.l. αὐτό). This has given rise to very much discussion, to which I do not wish to add anything new. Take (with Jebb) the μὴ οὐκ clause as a secondary protasis linked with αὐτός (primary protasis): 'I should not trace' (or, 'should not have traced') 'the matter far if I were on my own, without a clue'. With the reading αὐτό one could follow R. Mathewson, *Mnemosyne* 1968, 1-6, paraphrasing as '(I am a stranger to the deed which has caused the plague. I say a stranger,) for I could not have traced the cause of our trouble to so remote a deed unless I had a clue (given by the oracle)'.

§ 10. *Repeated negatives*

The repetition of negatives occurs principally for the purpose of strengthening the negation, so that there is logical redundancy; much more rare is the case where a positive results by cancellation. Kühner-Gerth 2, 203 ff.; Schwyzer 597 f.; Chantraine 337 f.; my *Studies* 132 f.; O. Jespersen, *Negation in English and other languages* (1917) 62 ff.

Of the latter, positive, type there is a possible case of the rare οὐδεὶς οὐ = Lat. *nemo non*: fr. 935 χρυφαῖον οὐδὲν οὐ διέρχεται 'every secret passes through'. The rarity of the negative construction is not itself a damaging argument against the reading, but there are other difficulties (see Pearson ad loc.). More common is the construction οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ (Kühner-Gerth 2, 414), which Soph. has with the form ὅς: *OT* 373 ἃ σοὶ [οὐδεὶς ὃς οὐχὶ ... ὀνειδιεῖ 'taunts which everyone will bring against you'.

In the other, and frequently occurring, class one must try to distinguish between (a) repetition strictly within the same clause, and (b) the appearance of a second negative in a supplementary addition; but distinction can be difficult. Redundancy is present in (a), but not (b).

(a) (i) The simple negative precedes, and is followed by a second simple negative. *An*. 5 ... ὁποῖον οὐ [τῶν σῶν τε κἀμῶν οὐκ ὄπωπ' ἐγὼ κακῶν. Here the two negg. appear in positions which are traditional: first at the start of the clause, then later, before the verb (cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag*. 1634 f.). *T*. 1014 οὐ πῦρ, οὐκ ἔγχος τις ὀνήσιμον οὐκ ἐπιτρέψει; (ἀποτρέψει codd.).

Distinguish οὐ anticipating conjunctive οὔτε: *A*. 1073 οὐ γάρ ποτ' οὔτ' ἂν ... φέροιντ' ἂν ... οὔτ' ἂν στρατός ... ἄρχοιτ' ἔτι, *An*. 1156. Before οὐ μή: *P*. 416 ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Τυδέως γόνος [οὐδ' ... οὐ μὴ θάνωσι.

Much more commonly, after the simple negative the second neg. is a compound form. Jespersen (*Negation* ... 71 f.) proposes that the second neg. shows the attraction which tends to link the neg. particle with certain pronominal and adverbial forms. In the final analysis, therefore, there is similarity to the type seen in *An*. 5, the second neg. being linked with another form, in the one case a verb, in the other a pronominal/adverbial element. *An*. 68 οὐκ ἔχει νοῦν οὐδένα, ib. 702 οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν κτῆμα, ib. 678 κοὔτοι γυναικὸς οὐδαμῶς ἡσσητέα. *P*. 1083 οὐκ ἔμελλον ... οὐδέποτε. *OC* 651 οὔκουν ... οὐδέν. *A*. 1273 οὐ μνημονεύεις οὐκέτ' οὐδέν ...; *OT* 565, *An*. 458, 678, *A*. 648, 1246, *P*. 1020, *OC* 1605. οὐδέ as the second element emphasises the word which follows it, while οὐ negatives the whole sentence (Chantraine 337): *T*. 280 ὕβριν γὰρ οὐ στέργουσιν οὐδὲ δαίμονες, *OT* 287, *E*. 595, *A*. 1242. *P*. 1065 μή μ' ἀντιφώνει μηδέν. *A*. 1334 μηδὲ ... μηδαμῶς.

(ii) The simple negative follows a compound form. This is confined to the special case of conjunctive οὔτε (cf. *A*. 1073 above, οὔτε after οὐ). *T*. 323 ἥτις οὐδαμὰ [προὔφηνεν οὔτε μεῖζον' οὔτ' ἐλάσσονα 'who has declared nothing either great or small'. Ib. 1048 οὔπω ... οὔτ' ... οὔθ' .... *OT* 56 οὐδέν ('of no value') ἐστιν οὔτε πύργος οὔτε ναῦς .... *An*. 4 οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὔτ' ἄτης ἄτερ [οὔτ' αἰσχρὸν οὔτ' ἄτιμόν ἐσθ' .... There has been much discussion of οὔτ' ἄτης ἄτερ, which apparently gives exactly the opposite sense to what is wanted (which is, of a situation that *does* involve ἄτη). If the reading is right, perhaps best explained by Mazon (*Rev. Phil.* 25, 1951, 11 f.): οὔτε with ἄτης ἄτερ negatives ἄτερ, giving the sense 'with ἄτη', but at the same time it also has the function of linking with the preceding and following οὔτε (which repeat the negative of initial οὐδέν)—hence an illogical result. But the expression is so strained that corruption seems indicated.

(iii) Combination of two compound negatives is rare. *P.* 1161* μηκέτι μηδενὸς κρατύνων ὅσα πέμπει βιόδωρος αἶα. For *P.* 1197*, *A.* 416* see section (b).

(b) Supplementary negation can take various forms, but all have in common that the added matter, whether just the negative word (simple or compound) or a longer phrase containing a negative, can be omitted without destroying the sense. One could expect a difference in utterance (e.g. a pause) to mark off the added word or phrase. There is no redundancy.

Initially, in impassioned denial or appeal, with forceful repetition. *P.* 1197* οὐδέποτ' οὐδέποτ' (sc. βήσομαι). *A.* 416* ἀλλ' οὐκέτι μ', οὐκέτ' ἀμπνοὰς ἔχοντα (sc. καθέξετε). *OC* 210 μὴ μή μ' ἀνέρῃ τίς εἰμί (μὴ μὴ μή μ' codd.). Fr. 314, 241. *A.* 190*. So too with invocation: *OT* 1165 μὴ πρὸς θεῶν μή, δέσποθ', ἱστόρει πλέον. *E.* 1208 μὴ πρὸς γενείου μὴ 'ξέλῃ τὰ φίλτατα. *P.* 1300 ἆ, μηδαμῶς, μή, πρὸς θεῶν, μεθῇς βέλος. With οὐ in strong denial: *E.* 626 ἀλλ' οὐ μὰ τὴν δέσποιναν Ἄρτεμιν θράσους [τοῦδ' οὐκ ἀλύξεις, ib. 1063*, *OT* 1088*. (These three last could also be placed under (a) (i) above, and compared with *An.* 5.)

In medial position, adding weight to a denial. *OC* 587 οὐ σμικρός, οὔκ, ἀγὼν ὅδε 'this issue is not a light one, no'. οὔκ has independent status and is not a nexal negative: if initial οὐ were omitted, οὔκ could not take over its function while retaining its own position in the sentence. Cf. in final position *A.* 970 θεοῖς τέθνηκεν οὗτος, οὐ κείνοισιν, οὔ (cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1308 αὕτη ποθ' ἡ Μοῦσ' οὐκ ἐλεσβίαζεν, οὔ).

In a final supplement: fr. 330 τοῖς μὲν λόγοις τοῖς σοῖσιν οὐ τεκμαίρομαι, [οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ λευκῷ 'ν λίθῳ λευκῇ στάθμῃ.

§ 11. *Constructions with οὐ μή*

A number of these constructions arose in Classical Greek in line with the tendency (especially found in popular language) to find stronger forms of negative expression. Gildersleeve, *A.J.P.* 23, 1902, 137-8, suggests a colloquial character for οὐ μή: he notes the sparing use of it by orators and neglect in historians, compared with the frequency in *N.T.* (cf. Funk § 365). See Jebb, edn. of *A.*, pp. 213-7; Kühner-Gerth 1, 176 f., 2, 221 f.; Schwyzer 292 f., 317; Wackernagel 2, 305.

(i) With aorist subj., for strong denial. Earliest in Aesch. and Parmen. (Wackernagel, loc. cit.; Kühner-Gerth 2, 221; Goodwin § 295 and pp. 389 ff.). It is probably developed from a voluntative form such as μὴ πάθῃ 'let him not suffer': this may lead to an expression of fear, 'I fear he may suffer', or to a cautious assertion, 'I suspect he will suffer'. If οὐ then

negatives the whole, the result in either case is a denial: 'I have no fear, no suspicion that ...'. Normally the tense is aorist, expressing the neutral aspect of the verb (cf. the examples in Goodwin § 261). There is no need to suppose an ellipse of φοβοῦμαι *vel sim.*: on the contrary, the construction after such words has the same independent source. *T.* 621 οὔ τι μὴ σφαλῶ γ' ἐν σοί ποτε (οὔ τοι v.l.) 'I shall never fail in what concerns you'. *OC* 649 οὔ σε μὴ προδῶ 'I shall not fail you'. *P.* 381 οὐ μή ποτ' ... ἐκπλεύσῃς. *E.* 42 οὐ γάρ σε μὴ γήρᾳ τε καὶ χρόνῳ μακρῷ [γνῶσ', οὐδ' ὑποπτεύσουσιν. *OC* 450 οὔ τι μὴ λάχωσι τοῦδε συμμάχου, [οὐδέ σφιν ἀρχῆς ... ὄνησις ἥξει (οὔτε σφιν codd.) 'they shall not gain me as ally, and no profit shall come to them from their rule'. Note in the last two the coupling with a second clause with οὐ and the future; and compare such passages as *Il.* 22, 123 μή μιν ἐγὼ μὲν ἵκωμαι ἰών, ὁ δέ μ' οὐκ ἐλεήσει 'perhaps I may come as a suppliant to him, but he will have no pity for me', *Od.* 5, 415 (Chantraine 208), where the second clause shows the inevitable consequence of what is feared.

A present subj. instead of aorist occurs more rarely (Goodwin § 295; Gildersleeve, *A.J.P.* 3, 1882, 204). ?*OC* 1023 ἄλλοι γὰρ οἱ σπεύδοντες, οὓς οὐ μή ποτε [χώρας φυγόντες τῆσδ' ἐπεύχωνται θεοῖς (vv. ll. -χονται, -ξωνται) 'there are others who pursue them, from whom they will not escape out of this land to offer thanks to the gods'. If the prest. subj. is kept, it will best be justified as by Goodwin: it would express the state of thankfulness, following on the act of escape.

(ii) The future indic. also occurs with οὐ μή in strong denial or in prohibition: first in Soph., and principally in drama. The construction is perhaps due to blending: from the sense-equivalents οὐ μή plus subj. and οὐ plus fut. indic. is made οὐ μή plus fut. indic. In first person, denial: *E.* 1052 οὔ σοι μὴ μεθέψομαί ποτε 'I shall never follow you (however much you desire it)'. *An.* 1042 οὐδ' ... μὴ ... θάπτειν παρήσω κεῖνον 'I shall not allow his burial'. In second and third person either denial or prohibition is possible (Goodwin § 69 for second person fut. as command: cf. Eng. 'you shall not go'). Denial: *OC* 848 οὔκουν ποτ' ἐκ τούτοιν γε μὴ σκήπτροιν ἔτι [ὁδοιπορήσεις (-ῃς v.l., -ῃς edd. al.: in such a situation of variation between subj. and fut. there is no guidance to be found in MS authority) 'never again will you walk with the aid of these two crutches'. The subj. in -ῃς would give the same sense. Cf. in a subord. clause *P.* 611 ἐθέσπισεν ... ὡς οὐ μή ποτε [πέρσοιεν (opt. for *orat. rect.* πέρσετε). Prohibition: *T.* 978 οὐ μὴ 'ξεγερεῖς τὸν ὕπνῳ κάτοχον κἀκκινήσεις ... νόσον 'you are not to wake, don't wake him up and arouse his sickness'. If printed as a question (so by Pearson), this would be explained according to Elmsley's interpretation (on E. *Med.* 1151 (1120): cf. Goodwin § 300), by which the negatives cancel each other: οὐ

μὴ 'ξεγερεῖς ... 'will you not not wake?' = 'don't wake'. But note Goodwin's objections, especially that this theory must provide a quite different account of cases of clear denial such as *E.* 1052, *OC* 848. Less acceptable still is Humbert's view (366 f.), when applied to a passage such as *T.* 978, that it is a condensed form of co-ordinated questions introduced first by οὐ (looking for the answer 'yes') and then by μή (looking for the answer 'no'): we may fairly ask what the poor listener is to make of such a question. *OC* 176* οὔ τοι μή ποτέ σ' ἐκ τῶνδ' ἑδράνων ... ἄκοντά τις ἄξει (prohib., or else as denial). Fr. 827 (with οὐ added as supplement).

(iii) The future indic. with οὐ μή occurs also with prohibitive sense as the second of two co-ordinated questions, the first (with οὐ) being equivalent to an order. *A.* 75 οὐ σῖγ' ἀνέξῃ μηδὲ δειλίαν ἀρῇ; (ἀρεῖς codd.) 'endure in silence' (order) 'and do not gain the name of coward' (prohib.). *OT* 637 οὐκ εἶ σύ τ' οἴκους σύ τε ... καὶ μὴ τὸ μηδὲν ἄλγος εἰς μέγ' οἴσετε; 'go into the house ... and do not magnify a slight distress'. *T.* 1183 οὐ θᾶσσον οἴσεις μηδ' ἀπιστήσεις ἐμοί; 'give me your hand quickly, and do not disobey me'. There is much dispute and no certainty about this construction, even more than about the two preceding, and I do not wish to add to familiar arguments. An explanation which at least has the merit of simplicity is, that the first question with οὐ equals an order, the second adds a further negative μή to οὐ and this produces a prohibition instead of an order. I here part from the views of Goodwin § 299 and Schwyzer 292 f., that in *A.* 75 there is a separate question, μὴ δειλίαν ἀρῇ; (ἀρεῖς Goodwin), which is unaffected by οὐ. As Jebb notes (edn. of *A.* pp. 214-5), there are two objections. A question with indic. verb introduced by μή has a hesitant tone, 'can it be that ...?': thus *T.* 316, *OC* 1502 (in both of which the verb has to be supplied). This would make the form unsuitable for a question equivalent to a prohibition. Secondly, the connectives between the two questions are at least surprising (μη-δέ, καί): asyndeton would suit better.

It is preferable to distinguish as statements, and not questions, sentences where οὐ μή comes first, such as Ar. *Nub.* 505 οὐ μὴ λαλήσεις, ἀλλ' ἀκολουθήσεις ἐμοί 'don't prattle, but follow me', ib. 296 οὐ μὴ σκώψει ... ἀλλ' εὐφήμει (where the imper. is significant for the status of the sentence): Goodwin § 298. But this type does not occur in Soph.

§ 12. *οὐδὲν εἶναι, (τὸ) μηδὲν εἶναι, ὁ μηδείς, ὁ μηδέν*

A short note is desirable on the use of οὐδέν and μηδέν as predicates of εἰμί, and on allied use of nominal ὁ μηδείς, ὁ μηδέν.

In three examples οὐδὲν ὤν has the sense 'being of no account, worthless', referring to a particular person. Of one who is dead, *E.* 245* εἰ

γὰρ ὁ μὲν θανὼν γᾶ τε καὶ οὐδὲν ὢν κείσεται 'if he who has died and is only worthless dust is so to lie'; ib. 1129 νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄντα βαστάζω χεροῖν (σε). Of one living, *A*. 1231 ὅτ' οὐδὲν ὢν τοῦ μηδὲν ἀντέστης ὕπερ (see below for τοῦ μηδέν).

When coupled with finite forms of εἰμί, οὐδέν again has this or similar sense. Fr. 524, 3 (of women generally) οὐδέν ἐσμεν. Elsewhere 'be undone, brought to ruin': *P*. 951 οὐδέν εἰμ' ὁ δύσμορος, ib. 1030, 1217, *E*. 677.

A generic sense was provided initially by μηδέν. *A*. 767 ὁ μηδὲν ὢν 'the man of no worth' (general statement). Ib. 1094 ὃς μηδὲν ὢν γοναῖσιν εἶθ' ἁμαρτάνει (generic relative). So too μηδείς in articular (nominal) use: *OT* 1019 καὶ πῶς ὁ φύσας ἐξ ἴσου τῷ μηδενί; *OC* 918, *A*. 1114. ὁ μηδείς = 'any one who is of no account'.

τὸ μηδέν with a finite form of εἰμί, in use equivalent to οὐδέν εἰμι: *T*. 1107 κἂν τὸ μηδὲν ὦ. With ὤν: *A*. 1275 τὸ μηδὲν ὄντας (particular reference).

Lastly, ὁ μηδέν, ὁ μηδείς without participle, referring to an individual. Of a person in extremity, as good as dead: *E*. 1166 δέξαι μ' ἐς τὸ σὸν τόδε στέγος, [τὴν μηδὲν ἐς τὸ μηδέν: Electra speaks of herself as being now τὴν μηδέν, and asks her supposedly dead brother to receive her into 'nothingness': τὸ μηδέν is a regular equivalent for 'death'. *An*. 1325 ἀπάγετέ με ... τὸν οὐκ ὄντα μᾶλλον ἢ μηδένα: Creon calls himself 'the one who is dead' (οὐκ ὄντα) 'rather than at the final extremity' (by exaggeration going beyond calling himself ὁ μηδείς, and anticipating the next stage, death. In this passage τόν should be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with μηδένα as well as with οὐκ ὄντα.). *A*. 1231 ὅτ' οὐδὲν ὢν τοῦ μηδὲν ἀντέστης ὕπερ: we should reject the meaning 'dead' for τοῦ μηδέν (Kamerbeek), and give it the same sense as that of οὐδὲν ὤν.

I have suggested the way in which the phrases with οὐ- and μη- came to be equivalent. Generic sense could be indicated by ὁ μηδὲν ὤν, and ὁ μηδείς; but when phrases with finite parts of εἰμί were used in *independent clauses*, μη- could not give generic sense (such use of μή being reserved for adjectival clauses (generic relatives) and nominal-adjectival phrases). So οὐδέν εἰμι and τὸ μηδέν εἰμι became identical in meaning, and, following on that, ὁ μηδέν, ὁ μηδείς were used with particular, and non-generic, sense. A further encouragement to use μη- was provided by the presence of the article, which could cause hiatus before οὐ -forms (so, τοῦ μηδέν, τῷ μηδένι, τὸ μηδὲν ὄντας). See fuller discussion in my article 'A use of οὐδείς and μηδείς', *C.Q.* 1965, 31-40.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

NOMINAL STRUCTURE

§ 1. *Formal definition*

The great majority of the sentences and clauses in Greek contain a verbal predicate. There existed, however, another type of structure, the nominal, in which the predicate is most often an adjective or a noun, standing in apposition to the subject. The nominal type runs parallel with that employing the copula 'be' (εἶναι most commonly): the two types are sometimes distinguished for convenience by the terms *pure* and *impure nominal* respectively. A special function of the pure nominal is use in maxims and other forms of general predication, for which it is fitted by the absence of a verb (with its attendant association of time and modality). But it is not restricted to such use, while on the other hand the type with 'be' can also express generality. Other favoured areas for nominal use have been claimed: thus, to express necessity, with μοῖρα (*OT* 376), ἀνάγκη (ib. 986), and with verbal adjj. in -τέος (ib. 408, 628). Further, to express possibility, or readiness (with ἕτοιμος: see Denniston on E. *El.* 37); in negative phrases; and with neuter adjj. as predicate, to express a judgement. Schwyzer 623; Chantraine 1 ff.; Humbert 65 ff.; C. Guiraud, *La phrase nominale en grec d'Homère à Euripide.*

With an adj. as predicate: *E.* 174* ἔτι μέγας οὐρανῷ Ζεύς. *OT* 609 οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον οὔτε τοὺς κακοὺς μάτην [χρηστοὺς νομίζειν οὔτε τοὺς χρηστοὺς κακούς. *A*. 665 ἀλλ' ἔστ' ἀληθὴς ἡ βροτῶν παροιμία, [ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα κοὐκ ὀνήσιμα: ἐστί is used in v. 664, conveying the particular judgement about the truth of the maxim, while the maxim itself is in the pure form. *E.* 145*, *An.* 370*, *OC* 1014, *An.* 1244.

With adj. and noun, or simple noun, predicate: *E.* 179* χρόνος γὰρ εὐμαρὴς θεός. Ib. 1054 πολλῆς ἀνοίας καὶ τὸ θηρᾶσθαι κενά. *P.* 1140* ἀνδρός τοι τὸ μὲν εὖ δίκαιον εἰπεῖν. *OT* 376 οὐ γάρ σε μοῖρα πρός γ' ἐμοῦ πεσεῖν.

With adverbial predicate: *OT* 598 τὸ γὰρ τυχεῖν αὐτοῖσι πᾶν ἐνταῦθ' ἔνι. *E.* 1031 σοὶ γὰρ ὠφέλησις οὐκ ἔνι. Ib. 1032 ἀλλὰ σοὶ μάθησις οὐ πάρα. *An.* 48 (μέτα). *A.* 735 (ἔνδον). Schwyzer 423, 4.

Most often the form which a verb would take, if one were used, is ἐστί. But other forms of εἶναι are possible, especially of the prest. indic. εἰμί: *A.* 813 χωρεῖν ἕτοιμος, ib. 400*, *OT* 92. εἶ: *OC* 461 ἐπάξιος μέν, Οἰδίπους, κατοικτίσαι; *T.* 309. εἰσί: *An.* 1016. There are also other, less common,

possibilities. *OC* 1480* ἵλαος, ὦ δαίμων, ἵλαος (sc. imper. ἴσθι). *E.* 821 ὡς χάρις μέν, ἢν κτάνῃ, [λύπη δ', ἐὰν ζῶ (sc. fut. ἔσται); also *A.* 505. *E.* 684 ἀνδρὸς ... δρόμον προκηρύξαντος, οὗ πρώτη κρίσις (sc. ἦν); also 193*, 194*. *A.* 1159 καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρόν (sc. ἂν εἴη), εἰ πύθοιτό τις. 'Omission' of the part. ὤν is found most freely after some introductory conjunctions or equivalents (Goodwin § 875); but here, apart from cases involving the absolute constr., it is not necessarily an instance of the nominal structure, since participles of other verbs may also be dispensed with (cf. *OT* 1141 λέγεις ἀληθῆ, καίπερ ἐκ μακροῦ χρόνου (sc. λέγων)). Thus with καίπερ: *OT* 1326 γιγνώσκω σαφῶς, [καίπερ σκοτεινός, τήν γε σὴν αὐδὴν ὅμως. With ἃ δή: *A.* 1043 τάχ' ἂν κακοῖς [γελῶν ἃ δὴ κακοῦργος ἐξίκοιτ' ἀνήρ. With ὡς: *OC* 83 πᾶν ἐν ἡσύχῳ, πάτερ, [ἔξεστι φωνεῖν, ὡς ἐμοῦ μόνης πέλας (sc. οὔσης) 'you may say all quietly, father, since I alone am near'. An example without ὡς might be found at *P.* 572 πρὸς ποῖον ἂν τόνδ' αὐτὸς οὐδυσσεὺς ἔπλει; Here πρὸς ποῖον ἂν τόνδε (sc. ὄντα) could stand for ποῖος ἂν εἴη ὅδε πρὸς ὃν ... 'who might this man be, for whom Odysseus was sailing?': so Campbell ad loc. (But ἂν could also go with ἔπλει, 'for whom he would have been sailing (on your account)'; while some editors (Pearson, Dawe) read αὖ *per emend.*) The other possible examples are three which involve ὑφηγητής, ὑφηγητήρ: *OT* 966 ... ὄρνεις, ὧν ὑφηγητῶν ἐγὼ [κτενεῖν ἔμελλον πατέρα τὸν ἐμόν 'birds with whose authority I was to kill my father'. Ib. 1260 ὡς ὑφηγητοῦ τινος [πύλαις διπλαῖς ἐνήλατο. *OC* 1588 ὑφηγητῆρος οὐδενὸς φίλων. Variant readings occur with ὑφ' ἡγ. in each case. The main difficulty which has been felt about these is in accepting a *noun* as predicate in such abbreviated gen. absolute; but the verbal force of ὑφηγ. may serve to justify it. See further Ch. 5, § 42.

Nominal expression is not restricted to principal clauses of statement (as may be seen from some examples already quoted). It will serve to give reference to a few passages of different types (for further exx. in subordinate clauses, see Guiraud 209-80). Interrogatives: *A.* 79, *E.* 823*, *OC* 1232*, *OT* 99; dependent ditto, *A.* 103, 118, *An.* 318, *OT* 926. Relative clauses: with ὅς, *OT* 862, *OC* 793, 1133, *P.* 1227, *T.* 1116; with ὅστις, *E.* 257, *An.* 209, *A.* 1038, *OT* 344; with ὅσπερ, *T.* 56. Conditional clauses: *T.* 52, *E.* 432, *A.* 783, *An.* 39, 1259*, *P.* 661, *OC* 1131. Causal clauses: *OT* 377, *A.* 114, *P.* 424, *OC* 32.

§ 2. *Pattern of Use*

If it is true that nominal structure is specially suitable for general rather than particular reference, it may be useful to investigate to what extent this is reflected in the usage of Sophocles. By 'general' I understand in the

first place proverbs or γνῶμαι, such as *E.* 989 ζῆν αἰσχρὸν αἰσχρῶς τοῖς καλῶς πεφυκόσιν, *OT* 617 φρονεῖν γὰρ οἱ ταχεῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς. Further, description of the gods, as being eternal and immutable (*OT* 498* ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὖν Ζεὺς ὅ τ' Ἀπόλλων ξυνετοὶ καὶ τὰ βροτῶν εἰδότες). Also other references to what is regarded as unchangeable, or not limited in respect of time or circumstance (ib. 110 τὸ δὲ ζητούμενον [ἁλωτόν, ἐκφεύγει δὲ τἀμελούμενον; 408 εἰ καὶ τυραννεῖς, ἐξισωτέον τὸ γοῦν [ἴσ' ἀντιλέξαι; 979 εἰκῇ κράτιστον ζῆν, ὅπως δύναιτό τις). I have examined *OT* 1-1000, with the following results. (a) Nominal structures: total 40; general 13, particular 27. (b) Clauses with 'be': total 25; general 5, particular 20. From this it appears that the nominal structure is the more favoured overall (61%:39%), and also for both general and particular reference. Proportionally the association of nominal structure and general reference is the more marked. It may be useful to add here some of the general statistics given by Guiraud (pp. 33, 49): his figures for Soph. (total) give a higher percentage of nominals than seen in my sample. The nominal percentage is given first, then that of clauses with 'be'. *Iliad*, 73: 27. *Odyssey*, 55: 45. Aesch., 75: 25. Soph., 70: 30. Eur., 82: 18.

It might be thought that there would be greater encouragement to dispense with the verb 'be' in specially compressed utterance, that is in single or half-lines in stichomythia. But this does not seem to be so: there are in my sample 9 cases without 'be' in such lines (9/40, or 22% of all instances without 'be'), and 8 with 'be' (8/25, or 32% of all instances with 'be').

It is hard to resist the conclusion that the nominal structure, having started with special association with 'general' statement, was then adopted more widely with semantic indifference. In individual cases patterns of use were set up which resulted in formulas. To take just one such, χρή became general as equivalent of χρή (ἐστι), though provided with verbal forms in other (less easily assumed) tenses and moods (χρῆν and ἔχρην, χρῆσται, χρῇ, χρείη, all in Soph.). Contrast with this ἀνάγκη (both with ἐστι and without it in Soph.). The basic difference is that ἀνάγκη was widely used in non-predicative roles, so that formal indication of predication had its use, and χρή was not.

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